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A HISTORY OF SPANISH LITERATURE

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A HISTORY OF SPANISH LITERATURE

BY

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PREFACE

The late M. Ernest Mérimée [1] first published his *Précis d'histoire de la littérature espagnole* in 1908 (Paris, Garnier). A second edition of 1918 was a mere reprint. For the third, however (Paris, Garnier, 1922), the author thoroughly revised his work and brought it to date, correcting many of the minor errors of detail which had detracted from the usefulness of the first form. Thus improved, the *Précis* stands out as a clear and accurately balanced handbook, and a finely conceived piece of literary history, rich with mellow critical values. "Yo creo" wrote "Azorín" in 1924, "que éste es el más discreto, el más perfecto de todos los manuales de nuestra historia literaria." D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal has also expressed his appreciation: "Ese *Manual* es un poderoso estimulante de la atención del discípulo, como modelo de claridad en la concepción personal de la difícil historia literaria y como intento de relacionarla con la civilización de la época y de los países vecinos."

The present English version, authorized by the publishers and heirs of M. Mérimée, is based on the third French edition. New material of two sorts has been added, however. First, the translator has been allowed to utilize an annotated, interleaved copy of the *Précis*, 1922, in which the author, and after his death his son Henri, himself a distinguished Hispanist, had set down material

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[1] Ernest Mérimée was born at Lyons in 1846 and died in Madrid Jan. 15, 1924. Most of his active career was spent as Professor of the Spanish Language and Literature at the University of Toulouse. His most important writings are his thesis on Quevedo (1886), an edition of Guillén de Castro's *Mocedades del Cid, Primera Parte* (1890), and the *Précis*. Many articles and reviews, his labor on the *Bulletin Hispanique*, which he helped to found, will aid in perpetuating his name, but they are far from giving the measure of his capacity as a scholar and critical writer. His life was too much occupied by teaching and administrative activities. For a long time he was engaged in developing the teaching of Spanish in France; then, in later years, in directing the Toulouse section of the *Institut Français* in Madrid. So it is that many delightful and penetrating pages of literary criticism were sacrificed to the active life. A complete list of his writings and articles concerning him may be found in the *Bibliographie des travaux de Ernest Mérimée*, in *Bulletin Hispanique*, XXVII, 1925, 79–87.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the kindly courtesy and helpfulness of M. Mérimée's daughter-in-law, Mme. A. Mérimée, and her son M. Paul. By their encouragement and by placing the author's papers at the disposal of the translator they have aided him to the extent of their power.

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for the next revision. This accounts for many inserted names and phrases, and some new paragraphs. Second, the translator has rewritten and added with some freedom. This task was the more delicate, since the premature death of M. Henri Mérimée in 1926 made consultation on doubtful points impossible, and the translator has thus been forced to rely wholly on his own judgment in making changes. These consist of adaptations to meet the needs of English-speaking readers; insertion or alteration to accord with the results of the most recent research; and the addition, for the contemporary period, of new names and new material to bring the work to date. Every title and date of the original has been verified, so far as possible. It would be impossible to specify all the translator's contributions; aside from those dealing with living authors, the most important concern the *Romancero*, Alfonso and Juan de Valdés, and the dramas of Pérez Galdós. There are changes of arrangement as well as additions. It is needless to say that he has never ventured to alter an expressed judgment of M. Mérimée; in the rare cases where he did not agree, a note in brackets records the fact. New notes that merely carry additional information are not in brackets.

The contemporary period was the most difficult to handle. The first thought was to keep the text intact and add an epilogue to cover the years since the author's death. But when it became apparent that many changes in the earlier portion of the book could not be avoided, and that most of the authors active in the last lustrum were already mentioned and discussed to some extent, it was decided to insert the new matter *in situ*. The information for it, so hard to gather at this distance from Madrid, has been found in many sources. In particular the translator takes pleasure in acknowledging the aid of "Andrenio" and D. Enrique Díez-Canedo, given verbally and in their articles: the former in his books and the essay *La literatura española contemporánea*, in the volume *Nacionalismo e hispanismo* (1928; pp. 63–123); the latter by his semi-annual surveys of current Spanish literature contributed, from 1925 on, to *La Nación* of Buenos Aires.

The matter added by the translator is, all told, slight in relation to the bulk of the whole.

The bibliography of the *Précis* has been much enlarged, but it is still, of course, narrowly selective; the reader who wishes to explore a special field is referred for additional sources to the works of Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Cejador and Hurtado y González Palencia (*q.v.*). Works of reference to individual authors are still placed in notes, as in the original work. A general bibliography has been added at the end. English works have sometimes been substituted for French. English translations have been noted in some cases for the earlier periods: to do so for recent times would have taken too much space. Reference should be made to Ángel Flores, *Spanish Literature in English Translation*, N. Y., 1926. School editions of works are cited only when the critical apparatus constitutes a real contribution to knowledge, or where the book reprinted is little known or difficult of access. In the notes, when the place of publication of a work is omitted, "Madrid" is to be understood.

The two prefaces of the original have been omitted, as irrelevant to the present purpose.

It remains only for the translator to thank his helpers. Two colleagues, Professors Erasmo Buceta and Robert K. Spaulding, have given ungrudgingly of their time and knowledge. A. Irwin Shone, a graduate student, has been of much assistance in reading the proof. To these and many other friends—Mrs. Mildred Stapley Byne, M. Georges Cirot, Mr. Aubrey F. G. Bell, Sr. Miguel Artigas, Prof. César Barja, Prof. R. Schevill, the secretaries of the Centro de Estudios Históricos, to name but a few—he makes grateful acknowledgment. For whatever errors have defied their efforts he is alone responsible.

S. G. M.

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A HISTORY OF SPANISH LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

THE ORIGINS

1. Geography [1]

The Iberian Peninsula is shut off from other lands by the sea on three sides, and by the Pyrenees mountains on the north. At first glance, therefore, it seems destined to live a life of its own and to retain with ease its independence and unity. In reality, neither sea nor mountain barrier has protected it from many invasions, and even that geographic unity which, one would think, ought to contribute to its political unity, is more apparent than real. The interior sierras divide the surface into compartments of unequal size, and render travel from one to another difficult. The climate, products and aspect of each of these regions differ greatly, on account of differences of altitude and of other physical features. There is, for example, a great dissimilarity between the high plateau (the central *meseta*) and the southern and eastern littoral (Andalusia, Murcia, Valencia, Catalonia), or the valleys running from the Pyrenees down to the river Ebro (Aragon, Navarre) or from the Cantabrian range to the ocean (Biscay, *Montaña* of Santander, Asturias, Galicia). All these regions still preserve their individualities. They were conquered and colonized at different periods by races differing in origin, civilization, religion and language. Only after centuries of struggle was political unity compassed. And this late and difficult unity cannot prevent Spain from being one of the nations in which the provinces still hold with the most remarkable tenacity to their dialects, their local manners and every peculiar trait. Differentiation, regionalism, federalism seem to spring out of the very nature of the terrain.

2. Formation of the Spanish People [2]

The earliest inhabitants known to the ancients were called *Iberians* as early as the sixth century B.C. They had been established in the land for a long time, but we do not know whence nor by what route they arrived. Doubtless other races such as the *Tartessians* and *Ligurians* had existed there before them. Within historic times, several peoples came to join that first nucleus: the Phoenicians, beginning in the eleventh century B.C., invaded the eastern and southern shores; the Greeks, from the seventh century, settled in Valencia and Catalonia; the Celts penetrated into Galicia and Portugal from the sixth century to the fourth. The last named people formed with the Iberians a racial mixture sometimes called *Celtiberian*, an artificial and purely geographic term. Each incoming race brought its customs, language and more or less rudimentary arts. Little by little the earth gives up the potsherds of these vanished civilizations, Ligurian, Iberian, Phoenician, Greek. Proof is revealed that from the earliest times there existed in Iberia a local art (influenced later by Oriental and Greek traditions), which could produce works as original as the cave-paintings of Altamira, the bulls (?) of Guisando, the bust of Elche, etc.[1]

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[1] Cf. Élisée Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie universelle*, Paris, 1876, I, ch. x. "Azorín," *El paisaje de España visto por los españoles*, 1917. M. Legendre, *Portrait de l'Espagne*, Paris, 1923, ch. i, La Terre.

[2] For the prehistoric period, see Émile Cartailhac, *Les Âges préhistoriques de*

During the third century B.C. the Carthaginians established themselves in large areas of Spain, and extended their power as far as the Ebro and Duero, but soon they came in conflict with the Romans, for certain tribes of the eastern border were allies of Rome. In the first century B.C. the Romans subdued the entire country, save for a few obscure Cantabrian clans. The work of Romanization continued for centuries, most thoroughgoing along the shores and the great highways, superficial in the less accessible regions. The old towns, Tarraco, Toletum, Nova-Cartago (Cartagena), Ilerda (Lérida) were supplemented by new ones: Asturica Augusta (Astorga), Caesaraugusta (Saragossa), Legio VII^{a} Gemina (León), Lucus Augusti (Lugo), Pax Augusta (Badajoz), Valentia, etc. By the first century A.D. Spain was contributing her share to Latin literature through the pens of the two Senecas and Lucan (of Cordova), Quintilian (of Calahorra), Martial (of Bilbilis, i.e.

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l'Espagne et du Portugal, Paris, 1886. Mélida and Fita, *Iberia arqueológica anteromana* (*Discursos en la Acad. de la Hist.*, Dec. 8, 1906). E. Philipon, *Les Ibères*, Paris, 1909. M. Legendre, *op. cit.*, ch. ii, "La Raza." C. L. Jullian, *Hist. de la Gaule*, I, Paris, 1908, ch. vii. Havelock Ellis, *The Soul of Spain*, Boston, 1920, ch. ii.

[1] See P. Paris, *Essai sur l'art et l'industrie de l'Espagne primitive*, Paris, 1903–1904. A. Engel and P. Paris, *Une forteresse ibérique à Osuna*, Paris, 1904. E. Pottier, *Le problème de la céramique ibérique*, in *Journal des Savants*, Nov.–Dec., 1918. P. Paris, *Promenades archéologiques en Espagne*, 2 vols., Paris, 1910–21.

Calatayud), Columella (of Cadiz), Mela (of Tingentera). Juvencus, Prudentius, Idatius, Orosius, Isidore and his followers were likewise Spaniards.

The strong political, administrative, judicial and religious organization of Rome was undermined by the growth of Christianity and by the rotting of its own structure. The invasions of the Germanic barbarians completed the ruin. Early in the fifth century the Visigoths entered Spain, and, working for the Romans, drove out the other barbarians, Vandals and Alans, who had preceded them. Completely independent by the end of the same century, they expelled from the Peninsula the Suevi established in Galicia, and the Byzantine Romans who had been dwelling for a hundred years on the Andalusian and Valencian coasts.

At the beginning of the eighth century, the violent and rapid irruption of the Mussulmans swept the Peninsula and crowded the Visigoths into the Cantabrian mountains. The ease of the conquest demonstrates what a feeble hold the barbarian society had upon the land. For several centuries after that various Moslem dynasties succeeded one another in Cordova, Granada, Valencia, Toledo or Saragossa, marking the civilization of the Peninsula with a peculiar seal, and compelling the Christians, by dint of conflict, to become race-conscious and develop their personality. So the little Christian kingdoms, León, Castile, Navarre, Aragon, were organized in the north, and the *Reconquista*, begun by Pelayo, never ceased till the capture of Granada in 1492 left it no further task. The Moors' was the last great invasion which brought new ethnic elements into the Peninsula. Political chance divided Portugal from Spain in 1139, reunited the two nations in 1580 and parted them permanently in 1640. But they sprang from common stock, and have suffered like invasions and revolutions; their elements are almost identical.

In short, the people called Spanish (*hispanum, hispanionem, españón, español*) has been formed by grafting on the autochthonous stock various races: Phoenician and African, Greek, Roman, Germanic, Arabic, they spread and mingled in unequal proportions in different parts of the territory. Upon the civilization Roman influence was most weighty, but it was profoundly modified by that of the Germanic peoples, and, in less degree, by that of the Arabs.

3. The Spanish Character

It is hazardous to try to define the character of a people made up of such dissimilar elements, to fix in words a psychology which is, according to Sr. Ortega y Gasset, "a perpetual flux, a force in action, ever varying, never at rest." Generalizations, more or less brilliant, can be set down, but they must always lack a scientific basis. One may, with some plausibility, speak of the French genius, of the English or German spirit, for in those countries regional distinctions are better fused into one general average type, and besides, one can in those cases deduce it *a posteriori* from the historical rôle played by those races and from the character of their civilization. But Spanish genius takes on different aspects, according to the epoch and the region. Here the fusion is less complete than elsewhere. So true is this that in France it is hard to tell by a writer's work from what region he came, but the Spanish regions preserved their clearly marked personalities, not yet entirely effaced, even in the fields of literature and art. Doubtless some general traits are to be detected in all places and times: such are a jealous love of independence, an untamed individualism, a ticklish sense of honor (or what is thought to be honor), an overmastering religious faith, loyalty to the sovereign which takes precedence over mere obedience to law, a marked tendency to let imagination and instinct dominate reason and reflection. But these traits are not peculiar to Spain, and their relative importance varies at different periods. It is easier to point out the peculiar qualities of each of the regions which, bound together, make up the artificial political unit of the nation. Such a series of definitions will answer our purpose, especially for the Middle Ages. But we must always guard against overstatement.

The north-western provinces are distinguished by a certain tendency to revery and intimate poetic lyricism; their yearning melancholia (*saudades, morriña*) is perhaps an inheritance from the Celts.

The Basques show an adventurous, independent spirit. Good business men, they do not hesitate to leave their native land in order to seek fortune.

Energy, obstinacy, stubbornness seem to be the endowment of Aragonese and Navarrese, and often have they given proof of it.

The eastern coasts (Catalonia, Valencia, Alicante), their harbors facing the other Mediterranean lands, hold an ambitious and enterprising race, which, in the heroic era, took delight in distant expeditions and fabulous conquests. In our less epic times these Levantines turn to the more profitable engagements of foreign trade.

Andalusia, brilliant, impressionable, witty and subtle, heir to a " long tradition of art, poetry and wealth," is a leader in all arts of the imagination, which there takes color from the hot splendor of the southern sun. This race, created for poetry, eloquence and artistry, passes swiftly from enthusiasm to Oriental indolence.

Castile has deserved and justified her glorious destiny. The Castilians are impoverished, hard and dry; burned by a torrid sun and scourged by the bitter *cierzo* in their bleak plains covered with dust and rocks, without roads, without verdure, often without water. This people possesses an incredible power of resistance to storms, hunger, fatigue. Tenacious and proud, it has ever formed the backbone of the nation; it was the solid core of that " terrible infantry " which, at one moment, conquered the world.

These are some of the traits which Spaniards themselves recognize.[1] Yet they are not Spanish traits; they constitute rather a Castilian soul, an Andalusian soul, a Galician, a Catalan soul, etc. With such divergent, often contradictory qualities, who will venture to compose a "Spanish soul" and to paint a single figure, neither a caricature nor an imaginary portrait?

The ethnic characteristics of the various regions of Spain appear more or less clearly in the literature of the provinces. Thus critics have been able to distinguish, later, "schools" of Salamanca, Seville, Catalonia, Galicia, etc. So Menéndez y Pelayo defines the "northern school" as follows: "Its writers are distinguished by the vagueness of their conceptions, by their intense melancholy, by their fondness for the gloomy, sad and nebulous side of nature. In short, their subjectivity is incurable. They rarely select historical themes, and when they do, it is to weep over ancient ruined monuments or desolated regions; they wear mourning for humanity or for their native land. Love is their theme, as it is of every literary school in the world, but love does not mean for them sensual charm, nor admiration for plastic beauty, nor the mystic rapture and metaphysical subtleties of the Petrarchists. Love, in northern poetry, is the substance of a dream, a vague and vaporous phantom, a sylph, a water-nymph. . . ."[1]

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[1] See Joaquín Costa, *Estudios ibéricos*, 1891–1895; *Una ley de la Historia de España* (*Bolet. Inst. libre de enseñanza*, 1893); *Colectivismo agrario en España*, 1898. R. Altamira, *Psicología del pueblo español*, 1902, revised ed. 1919. A. Ganivet, *Idearium español*, 1896. Miguel de Unamuno and A. Ganivet, *El porvenir de España*, 1912. "Azorín," *Castilla*, 1912; *El alma castellana*, 1919. Miguel S. Oliver, *Psicología del pueblo esp.*, in vol. 6 of *Hojas del sábado*, Barcelona, 1920. G. La Iglesia, *El alma española*, 1911. Unamuno, *En torno al casticismo*, 1895 (1902), esp. chs. ii, iii and iv. M. Legendre, *op. cit.*, chs. iii and iv. Havelock Ellis, *op. cit.*

It would be easy to characterize in this fashion each of the provincial "schools," but it is obvious that this method is somewhat artificial, and that such arbitrary systematization must make allowance for numerous exceptions which deviate from the type fixed by certain individual traits of frequent occurrence.

4. Formation of the Spanish Language. Dialects.

Of all the tongues spoken one after another in the area which was to be Spain, only one, Latin, definitely survived. All the others either disappeared completely, or merely contributed a small number of words to the vocabulary of Spanish.

We know little of the "Iberian" languages, and their influence can be found only in certain phonetic developments and a few scattered words; the latter belong mainly to geographical terminology. Some of them seem related rather closely to *Basque* (*Euskara*), which is still spoken in Vizcaya, Guipúzcoa and a portion (daily decreasing) of Navarre and Álava. Present-day Basque (*vascuence*) may be regarded as the last representative of the Iberian tongues, whose origin is still debated. A few Basque words are found in Spanish, but we must remember that there are many more Romance words in Basque than there are Basque words in any Romance language.

The contribution of *Greek* (brought in by early traders and colonists from Magna Grecia, by the Byzantines and by the Greeks of the Middle Ages) is likewise of slight importance. Words of *Germanic* origin are more numerous, but their number is by no means what one would expect, considering the social and political importance of the Visigothic rule.[2] This fact is intelligible when we recall that these barbarians had been much Latinized before they reached Spain. Most of the Germanic roots found in Spanish are common to all the Romance tongues, and had, therefore, entered Latin prior to the Visigothic invasion.

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[1] *Prólogo* to *Poesías de Evaristo Silió*, Valladolid, 1897, pp. ix–xi. The quotation is a paraphrase rather than an exact translation.

[2] Three or four hundred words, according to Paul Foerster, *Spanische Sprachlehre*, Berlin, 1880, p. 177. See also R. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual de gramática hist. esp.*,

Arabic gave a more important increment to the Spanish dictionary.[1] It is easy to recognize on account of the special aspect of the words (*al-*, and many words with *z*). They reveal accurately the nature of the influence exerted by Arabic civilization. By the side of expressions furnished by the arts of war, we find many which designate civic functions, trades, agricultural tools and activities, commerce, industry, plants, fruits, drugs, arts, sciences, etc.

The discovery of America introduced a few exotic words into Spain, whence they almost all passed to the rest of Europe.

Among modern European languages, two have added notably to the Spanish vocabulary, chiefly by literary pressure. *French* exerted it in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,[2] and again in the eighteenth and nineteenth; *Italian*, in the sixteenth.

In spite of all these borrowings,[3] Latin remains the chief and constituent basis of the Spanish language. From Latin almost exclusively it derives its vocabulary, its phonetic system, its morphology (with the exception of the modifications rendered necessary by the substitution of analytic for synthetic processes), and the essential features of its grammar. The Latin which underlies Spanish was not, however, the learned, literary, written type, such as we know it in classic authors, but the *vulgar*, *rustic* tongue, spoken by the lower classes, the plebs and illiterate soldiers. This Latin, or rather this Romance (*lingua romana rustica*), was full of expressions regarded by grammarians as barbarisms or solecisms. We must be careful, again, not to confuse this *Vulgar Latin*

5th ed., 1925, § 4, par. 3. This work should be consulted for all the statements in the present section.

[1] The *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe* by Dozy and Engelmann, Leyden, 1869, contains 650 items. See also Eguílaz, *Glosario etimológico de las palabras españolas de origen oriental*, Granada, 1886. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes*, 1888. Fr. Codera, *Importancia de las fuentes árabes para conocer el estado del vocabulario en las lenguas españolas desde el siglo VIII al XII*, 1910.

[2] J. B. de Forest, *Old French Borrowed Words in Old Spanish* (*Romanic Review*, VII, 1916, 369–413).

[3] There are lists, not complete, of the borrowings in Foerster, *op. cit.*, pp. 171–195. Cf. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual*, § 4.

with *Low Latin*, by which term is meant the sort of Latin written during the centuries of Rome's decadence and by learned men of the Middle Ages.

* * *

Vulgar Latin became variously modified at different points of Romance territory, and so formed the chief Romance tongues, which owed their divergences to many factors: the origin of the Roman colonies and the date of colonization, the phonetic predispositions and linguistic traditions of the original populations, the character of their neighbors, and other obscure causes. In like manner, within the restricted area of Romanized Spain, and under the action of the same causes, spoken Latin continued its evolution and split up into varieties, the first germs of the future Spanish *dialects*. Certain peculiarities of vocabulary, phonetics or semantics remained common to all the dialectal variations and therefore served, we may say, to characterize the hypothetical Latin-Spanish.[1] But before long the local variations became clearly outlined and so fixed they could not be mistaken.

Geographical and political causes created, very early, in the Peninsula two Romance languages independent of Castilian: *Portuguese* in the west and *Catalan* in the east. The latter, closely allied to the Provençal of Southern France, has produced two variant dialects, *Valencian* and *Majorcan*, heavily contaminated today by Castilian. These autonomous languages and literatures lie beyond the scope of the present volume, for the only elements they possess in common with the rest of Spain are those which result from their Latin origin and their reciprocal influences.

Leaving them aside, we find that several dialects must be distinguished within the Spanish area proper. From the beginning of the medieval period, there existed *Galician*, a variety of Portuguese, *Leonese* (much influenced by Portuguese on the west and Castilian on the east), *Aragonese*, and *Castilian* (each with numerous subdivisions). The phonetic laws of these dialects are often similar, but in some details they have their own peculiarities. It is not easy to study them. Authentic dated texts are scarce, the local speeches changed readily, since they were not stabilized by written literature, and they borrowed constantly from one another.

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[1] A. Carnoy, *Le latin d'Espagne d'après les inscriptions, étude phonétique*, 2nd ed., Brussels, 1906.

Naturally, the course of history must be reckoned with in this connection. Thus, the Catalan and Aragonese elements in the Murcian speech (*panocho*) find an explanation in the reconquest of Murcia under Don Jaime of Aragon. In the 13th and 14th centuries, Castile dominated the other kingdoms. The influence of its royal chancellery, especially under Fernando III and Alfonso X (1230–1284), caused the hegemony of that official dialect. Literature quickly lent its consecration, and little by little the other regional speeches sank to the status of patois. Castilian, then, occupied the same position among Spanish dialects that the speech of the Île de France did in relation to Norman, Picard, Lorrain, etc.[1] From the 15th century on, the term *Spanish* language was reserved exclusively for the speech of Castile and its court. For this speech had become the type and norm.[2]

To be sure, the provincial dialects did not disappear. They continued to be spoken and even written, but they borrowed increasingly from the official language. They passed to America, and maintained themselves there. At times they have preserved, in the New World, old phrases and pronunciations forgotten in Spain. In spite of the admixture of Indian and foreign words, the general unity of Spanish vocabulary, pronunciation and syntax is pretty well assured in America among the upper classes, through the influence of literature, the press and the Academies. Purists and grammarians care little about popular speech. Will their efforts triumph over the forces for corruption and regional differentiation? Will not the local dialects, instead, draw farther and farther apart, under the action of the same laws which caused rustic Latin to differentiate over the whole Romance territory? Juan Valera believed that unity would persist, but R. J. Cuervo doubted it.[1]

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[1] And, in Italy, Tuscan toward Roman, Neapolitan, Venetian, Milanese, etc.

There are now many treatises on Spanish dialectology, such as the following: R. Menéndez Pidal, *El dialecto* **leonés** (*Rev. Arch.*, XIV, 1906). Rato y Hevia, *Vocabulario de las palabras y frases* **bables**, 1891. A. Sevilla, *Vocabulario* **murciano**, Murcia, 1919. J. García Soriano, *Estudio acerca del habla vulgar* . . . **murciana**, Murcia, 1920. J. de Lamano y Beneite, *El dialecto vulgar* **salmantino**, Salamanca, 1915. J. González Campuzano (Juan Sierrapando), *Apuntes para un vocabulario* **montañés** (*Bolet. Bibl. Menéndez Pelayo*, II, 1920). G. Lomas y Lomas, *Estudio del dial. pop.* **montañés**, San Sebastián, 1922. G. W. Umphrey, *The* **Aragonese** *Dialect* (*Rev. Hisp.*, XXIV, 1911, 5–45). R. Menéndez Pidal, *Los orígenes del español*, Madrid, 1926; and *Documentos lingüísticos de España*, 1919. On Jewish-Spanish: M. L. Wagner, *Algunas observaciones*, etc., in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, X, 1923, 225–244, and works there cited.

[2] Although the Spanish Academy gives to its grammar the title "Grammar of the *Castilian* Language," the two terms *Castilian* and *Spanish* are by no means synonymous. Castilian pronunciation and linguistic peculiarities are properly those of the lower classes in Old and New Castile. The name *Spanish* should be reserved for the speech and pronunciation of the cultured classes of the capital and other large centers. "The pure, correct, elegant and clear speech," said Cervantes, "is found among the cultured persons of the capital, no matter if they were born in Majalahonda." *Don Quijote*, 2ª Parte, ch. xix.

The Spanish Academy has itself recently adopted the term "Spanish" in preference to "Castilian" language. See T. Navarro Tomás, *Introducción* to *Manual de pronunciación española*, 3ª ed., Madrid, 1926; the same author's *Concepto de la pronunciación correcta*, in *Hispania* (Calif.), IV, 1921, 155–164; R. Menéndez Pidal, *La lengua española*, in *Hispania* (Calif.), I, 1918, 1–14; and his *Prólogo* to Navarro and Espinosa, *A Primer of Spanish Pronunciation*, New York, Sanborn, 1926.

The dialects which still exist in Spain are *Galician* (*gallego*), half-way between Portuguese and Spanish; modern *Leonese* with its numerous variants (*bable* or Asturian, the *montañés* of Santander, the local speeches of León, of Zamora, of Salamanca or *charruno*, of Miranda de Duero or *mirandés*, of Extremadura or *extremeño*, etc.); and *Navarro-aragonese;* not to mention a host of subdialects as yet ill studied. The scientific investigation of the Spanish dialects and their geography has hardly begun.

The *Andalusian* provinces show phonetic perversions of Spanish, morphological corruptions and careless pronunciation, but these peculiarities do not amount to a real dialect. Yet the Romance speech was current in those regions while they were still possessed by the Arabs.[2] The Andalusian manner seems to have made headway in the other provinces, as *majismo* did in the 18th century, and *flamenquismo* is now doing.

5. The First Appearance of Spanish in Texts

The earliest traces of the written Spanish language are to be sought in the grammarians who wrote Low Latin (especially in the *Origines* or *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville, who died about 636), in the first compilations of laws (e.g. the *Lex romana Visigothorum*, a MS. of 506), in explanatory glosses of Latin documents, like the glosses of Silos (tenth century) and of San Millán (*Emilianenses;*

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[1] See J. Valera, *Cartas americanas, passim.* R. J. Cuervo, *Apuntaciones críticas sobre el lenguaje bogotano*, 6th ed., Paris, 1914. Miguel Toro y Gisbert, *Americanismos*, 1912; *Nuevos derroteros del idioma*, 1918.

The theory was once favored that American Spanish resembled the speech of Southern Spain, because the *conquistadores* were men from that region. The weight of authority is now against that view. See Pedro Henríquez Ureña, *Observaciones sobre el español en América*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, VIII, 1921, 357–390; and *El supuesto andalucismo de América*, Buenos Aires, 1925 (*Cuadernos del Instituto de filología*).

[2] Julián Ribera y Tarragó, *El cancionero de Abencuzmán*, 1912; *Poesía épica romanceada en Andalucía* (*siglos IX y X*), 1915.

tenth century), in copies of texts, in catechisms for the use of confessors and their flocks, etc. In a more independent form, freed from Latin, Spanish appears in deeds of churches and monasteries (of Silos, Sahagún, etc.) or of towns and families (*Libros becerros, tumbos*), as well as in public instruments such as collections of laws and *fueros* (e.g. the *Fuero Juzgo* in its Leonese redaction, the *fueros* of Oviedo, 1145, of Avilés, 1155, likewise Leonese, etc.).[1] The publication of these ancient texts is progressing each year, and adds new material for the study of the early local dialects.[2]

From such sources illuminating information may be gained concerning the state of the language in the centuries preceding the first literary manifestations.[3] When literature begins, we find a formed language. It possesses its essential elements and a character of its own, having the traits that persist in later times. Its grammar and pronunciation will not thereafter change except in detail (e.g. the uses of *haber* and *tener*, of *ser* and *estar*, of prepositions, the sounds of *x*, *j*, *c*, *ç*, *z*, *s*, *b*, *v*, etc.). It is worthy of note that the dialectal distinctions just discussed are usually so ill defined in the early texts that scholars sometimes vacillate in the attribution of them to a given region. It is true that copyists made no bones of introducing into the Romance documents on which they worked the forms and spellings of their own native patois. The reader should observe another fact of a general nature, which he can easily verify himself, if he reads Spanish: the Spanish language has changed so little from the beginnings to the present, that most early texts can be understood today without special training. The case is far different in English and French.

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[1] There are many recent editions of *Fueros* (=statutes), as: of Avilés, by Fernández-Guerra; of Alcalá de Henares, by P. Fita; of Usagre, by Rafael de Ureña and Bonilla y San Martín; of Zamora and Alba de Tormes, by Américo Castro; of Salamanca and Ledesma, by Federico de Onís; of Molina de Aragón, by Sancho Izquierdo; of Guadalajara, by H. Keniston; the Cartularies published by the Benedictines of Silos (Silos, Covarrubias, San Salvador del Moral, Cardeña, etc.). The *Fuero Juzgo* was published by the Spanish Academy in 1815. A study on its language, by M. Rodríguez, Santiago, 1905.

[2] See E. Monaci, *Testi bassolatini e volgari della Spagna*, Roma, 1891. E. Gorra, *Lingua e letteratura spagnuola delle origini*, Milano, 1898. J. D. M. Ford, *Old Spanish Readings*, Boston, 1906. A. Zauner, *Altspanisches Elementarbuch*, 2nd ed., Heidelberg, 1921. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Documentos lingüísticos de España, I, Reino de Castilla*, 1919. Id., *Orígenes del español*, 1926. The last contains new material which has pushed our knowledge back at least two centuries.

[3] In private documents (records, deeds), Latin is given preference up to the end of the 12th century; from then till about 1240 it exists beside the vulgar dialects, and then the latter prevail.

FIRST PERIOD

THE MIDDLE AGES

From the Beginnings of Literature to Juan II

CHAPTER I

FROM THE BEGINNINGS TO ALFONSO X

1. Summary of History and Art. General Remarks

IMPORTANT DATES. Asturian Monarchy, 718–909.—Leonese Monarchy, 909–1037.—Castile, an independent County after about 960, was annexed to the Kingdom of León in 1037; as a Kingdom, it had a separate existence again from 1157 to 1230.—Foundation of the Kingdom of Navarre, early tenth century, and of Aragon in 1035 (the two being united from 1076 to 1134).—Union of Aragon and the County of Barcelona in 1137.—Foundation of the Kingdom of Portugal in 1139.

Kings of Castile and León. Fernando I (1037–1065).—Sancho II (1065–1072).—Alfonso VI (1072–1109).—Doña Urraca (1109–1126).—Alfonso VII (1126–1157).—*Kings of León.* Fernando II (1157–1188).—Alfonso IX (1188–1230).—*Kings of Castile.* Sancho III (1157–1158).—Alfonso VIII (1158–1214).—Enrique I (1214–1217).—Fernando III (1217–1230).—*Kings of Castile and León.* Fernando III (1230–1252).—Alfonso X (1252–1284).

Semitic Influences

At the moment when the Arab invasion came to throw Spain into turmoil, society was in process of organization under the Gothic kings. Their codes of laws (known as the codes of Alaric, Euric, Chindaswinth, and the *Fuero Juzgo*) reflect a state of society of the barbaric type (nobility, freemen, vassals, tenant-farmers, slaves), more or less modified by Roman laws. The Visigoths, originally Aryans, were converted to Catholicism with King Reccared (589). From that time the clergy acquired influence, and used it in the Councils, a sort of States General or *Cortes*, which passed laws. Resolutely the Church placed itself at the head of this society which it was to dominate thenceforth. It alone retained remnants of literary and scientific culture, inherited from the Romans, but influenced later by Byzantium (especially in the realm of art) and the Orient (through the Jews). From the fifth century to the thirteenth, from Orosius and Isidore of Seville to Roderick of Toledo and Lucas of Tuy, all literature was Latin.[1]

[1] The following are the chief *Cronicones* (Latin chronicles) of Spain: *Chronicon del Pacense* (covering from 611 to 754). *C. de Alfonso III*, by Sebastian, Bishop of Salamanca (from 672 to 866). *C. de León*, or *Anales Castellanos I* (618–939). *C. de Sampiro*, Bishop of Astorga (866–982). *C. Albeldense* or *Emilianense*, by

It had an effect on ideas and civilization, of course, but that does not fall within the scope of this book. Up to the threshold of the Renaissance the clerics remained faithful to Latin, and did not, therefore, exercise over literature in the vulgar tongue a power commensurate with their social importance.

The Mussulman conquest was an essential factor in medieval Spain. Profound differences in race, religion and customs separated Moors and Christians, but the latter could not help being affected by the brilliant civilizations of the Omayyads (756–1031), the Almoravides (1086–1148), the Almohades (1148–ca. 1250) and finally of the Nazarites, improperly called Alhamares, at Granada (1238–1492). In practice, their influence was transmitted through the *mozárabes* (Christians who remained living among the Moors, in voluntary submission), the Jews, who carried on business with both sides, the *muladíes* or renegade Christians, and the *mudéjares*, the name given to the Mussulmans left in the regions reconquered by the Christian rulers. Many factors aided in the fusion of the two elements at first so opposed: the customary tolerance of the Arabs, political and military alliances, enrolment of soldiers of both races under the same flag, and even intermarriage. The conquered Spaniards learned the tongue of the victors. Together with the *mudéjares*, the latter introduced many Arabic words into the Romance speech, known to them as *alromía, allathina, aljamía.*[2] The *mudéjares* even used Arabic script to write Spanish (*literatura aljamiada*). Moors and Christians alike studied in the flourishing schools of Cordova and Toledo, which attracted scholars from many lands. Their curriculum included, besides the Koran, philosophy, medicine, science, grammar and poetry. By way of the Arabs and the Jews the Christians made the acquaintance of the philosophers and some Greek authors, and learned the road to the rich treasurehouse of Oriental legend and its didactic-romantic

Vigila, a monk of Albelda (from Romulus to 976). *C. Silense* (718–1065). *C. Complutense* (281–1065). *C. de Pelayo*, Bishop of Oviedo (982–1109). *Anales Complutenses* or *Castellanos II* (1–1126). *C. Compostelano* (362–1126). *Historia Compostelana* (St. James to 1139; *Life of the Bishop D. Diego Gelmírez*, after 1140). *Chronica Leonesa* (or *Najerense*), (Isidore to 1159). *C. Lusitano* (311–1184). *C. Burgense* (1–1212). *Latin Chronicle of the Kings of Castile* (Fernán González to 1236). *C. Mundi*, by Lucas of Tuy (Adam to 1236). *De Rebus Hispaniae*, or *Historia Gothica*, by Rodrigo of Toledo (Adam to 1243). *C. Cerratense* or *de Rodrigo Cerratense* (618–1252). *C. Barcinonense* (985–1311).

[2] Arabic influence has been seen in the guttural pronunciation of some Spanish letters, as *j*. See R. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual de gram. hist.*, § 37, 2, b.

literature. Chief among the Arab thinkers were Avempace (d. ca. 1138), Ibn Tufail (d. 1185), author of the *Philosophus autodidactus*, and Averroës (d. 1198), the famous translator and commentator of Aristotle; among the Jews, Avicebron (Solomon ibn Gabirol, d. 1070?), who wrote the *Source of Life* (*Fons Vitae*) and the *Improvement of the Moral Qualities*, Moses ben Ezra (d. ca. 1140), and Maimonides (1135–1204), who left the *Guide of the Perplexed*, in Arabic.[1]

Converted Jews like Pedro Alfonso (*Disciplina clericalis*), Jews like Abraham ibn Daud and Judah ben Solomon Harizi, Spaniards like Domingo González (Gundisalvo), foreigners like Plato of Tibur (Tivoli) and Gerard of Cremona, translated all sorts of Oriental works. Yet in intellectual spheres Arabs as well as Jews were rather intermediaries than creators; they did not so much invent as transmit. Their adversaries do not seem to have been much influenced either by their history or their poetry, although the verses of Judah Halevi (d. ca. 1143), author of the *Cuzari*, and of Avicebron (*The Royal Crown*), are of the first order.[2] In many other respects the Christians learned avidly. The deep traces of Arabic architecture and decoration, so richly developed, are everywhere in evidence.

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In comparison with this civilization, so brilliant at times, especially under the Omayyads, that of the little Christian kingdoms appears, at the outset, crude and rudimentary. All their energy was absorbed by their struggle for existence, dynastic rivalries, and, later, by the obsession of the Reconquest. Yet a future society was being slowly and obscurely evolved in the various States which were taking shape along the Pyrenean and Cantabrian ranges. These States, now joined, now parted, were forever squabbling among themselves. In the main the social structure was about the same in all, though names might differ. Class distinctions were in force, and the political organization had its hierarchy (kings or independent counts; the great vassals, often in revolt; the upper clergy; the monasteries with their seniorial privileges; the common people; serfs). But each region possessed certain local institutions which gave it a character of its own. Without going into detail, we may say that old traditions were adhered to more faithfully in the kingdoms of Galicia and León than in the States of the north-east, whose communications led more naturally toward the south of France than toward the rest of the Peninsula. The Catalonian region, accordingly, began to show signs of differentiation from the others.

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[1] See T. J. de Boer, *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, London, 1903. A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Hist. de la filos. esp*, II. A. von Schack, *Poesie und Kunst der Araber in Spanien u. Sicilien*, 2d ed. 1877, 2 vols. (Span. translation by Juan Valera, 3rd ed., 1881, 3 vols. M. Menéndez Pelayo, *Influencias semíticas en la lit. esp.* (in *Estudios de crít. lit.*, 2nd series, 1895, 353–401). E. Renan, *Averroës et l'Averroïsme*, 4th ed., 1882. Yellin and Abrahams, *Maimonides*, London, 1903. R. Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, trans. by F. G. Stokes, London, 1913.

[2] [A slight swing of opinion toward the theory of Arabic influence has begun, owing to the investigations, already cited, of D. Julián Ribera. It cannot be said that definite proof has been offered. Cf. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca*, 1924, 137–138.]

In the tenth century a middle class, a sort of Third Estate began to appear. Its rights and privileges were gradually sanctioned and set down in the *fueros* and *cartas de población.*

An event of special importance from the political point of view was the union of Castile, León, Asturias and Galicia under the rule of Fernando I *el Magno* (reigned 1037–1065), although the union did not become permanent till the time of Fernando III *el Santo* (1230–1252).

French Influence

During the same period a second influence, parallel with the Arabic, was at work. French civilization, more advanced than that of Christian Spain, exerted a powerful ascendancy over the latter's social and political organization, and likewise its nascent literature and arts. At this moment France was, indeed, the leader among European nations; "they all awoke at her voice," to use the phrase of M. Gaston Paris.[1] Her literary and artistic action upon Spain becomes clearer every day; it has even been said, with obvious exaggeration, that the first period of Spanish literature was only a chapter out of French. Several facts, not all of like importance, bear witness to this preponderant influence and help to explain it. Some may be listed here.

First, as of great moment, come the pilgrimages to the supposed tomb of St. James the Greater at Compostela, which, from the ninth century on, attracted enormous numbers of French, establishing a current of intercourse that affected literary and practical modes, both in Spain and France. French communities (*barrios Francos*) were established in Aragon, Navarre and Catalonia. During the 11th century, many monasteries were founded by the Benedictines of Cluny, and many bishoprics were entrusted to prelates who were either French, like Bernard, first Bishop of Toledo, or Francophiles, like Diego Gelmírez, the turbulent Bishop (later Archbishop) of Santiago. The old Gothic script was replaced by French script, which became current in the 11th century and was used exclusively in the late 12th. Many nobles and soldiers crossed the Pyrenees, and often remained, in order to take part in the perpetual crusade against the Moslems and reap the rewards promised them by the Spanish kings, especially from the time of Alfonso VI (capture of Toledo, 1085) to Alfonso VIII (battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, 1212).[1] There were international weddings; thus Alfonso VI had four successive French princesses as queens, and he married his two daughters to Burgundian princes. The Burgundian dynasty came to the throne of Portugal in 1139. In 1155 Louis VII of France visited Santiago and Toledo. Troubadours from both northern France and Languedoc sought out the Spanish courts. Aragon and Catalonia were constantly exchanging verse with their neighbors in France. Among the suffragans of the Archbishop of Narbonne were, as late as the 12th century, the Bishops of Barcelona, Gerona and Urgel. The conquest of Provence by Simon of Montfort must have driven many of his victims across the Pyrenees.

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[1] *Esquisse historique de la litt. française au moyen âge*, Paris, 1906, p. 135.

The Christian States. At the end of the 12th century, when Spanish literature really begins, the five great Christian States were Castile (from which León was only for a moment separated), Navarre, Aragon, Catalonia and Portugal. The Moorish dominions were growing smaller: Toledo was captured in 1085, Cordova in 1236, Seville in 1248; even Granada was already threatened. In the 13th century, the victory of Las Navas, the permanent conquest of Valencia (1238) and the Balearic Isles (1229–1235) by Jaime I *el Conquistador*, struck an irreparable blow at Islam. With the growth of personal security, education developed in the shadow of cloisters and churches. Patient monkish copyists founded and enriched libraries. That of Ripoll was already well known in the tenth century. Those of Santiago, León, Burgos, Toledo, Silos, Cardeña, Sahagún and many more soon arose, to preserve and increase the monuments of former culture. The *Estudios Generales* or *Mayores* and the first Universities continued, enlarged and coördinated the instruction organized at Toledo by Alfonso VI and Alfonso VII. The earliest of all was the University of Palencia (1212), later coalesced with that of Salamanca (founded 1215?); then came the *Estudios Generales* of Valencia (1245), of Seville (1254), of Valladolid (1260–1264), etc.

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[1] On the part played by the French in the Spanish crusades, and their establishments in Spain, see P. Boissonade, *Du nouveau sur la chanson de Roland*, Paris, 1923, 1–68.

The Arts.[1] The Visigothic period has left us but few artistic monuments. Most of them were found in the chief centers of that empire (Mérida, Toledo, Cordova). The jewelry from Guarrazar (now at Madrid, save for fragments at Toledo) and some carved marble show us that their decorative system was made up of elements borrowed from the Graeco-Syrian and Byzantine tradition, —foliage, branchings, geometrical figures, chrismons, arcatures.

Under the Asturian monarchy, artistic efforts were merely clumsy, incoherent imitations of Roman, Visigothic or Byzantine models. In reality, the architectural remains of the tenth century and the first half of the 11th are of small import and interest none but specialists.[2] The numerous castles which gave rise to the name *Castilla*, have disappeared without leaving any important contribution to the history of art. In the ornamentation of jewelry, chests, reliquaries, hangings, miniatures, lockets, enamels and frescoes one sees first Byzantine influence, and later that of the Moslems and the French.[3] So there is little originality. Borrowing is everywhere in evidence.

Nevertheless, a national art did have a beginning in the ninth and tenth centuries. If circumstances had been favorable, it might have become dominant. It was the style known as *mozárabe*, still to be seen in a number of churches scattered over the Peninsula. The influence of Arabic architecture and decoration is clear in them. The curious mixture of two styles, Visigothic and Arabic, might have developed into something really original, had not other artistic conceptions entered from the north to crush it. The *mozárabe* art gradually disappeared, not without leaving very characteristic monuments.[1]

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[1] General works of reference are given in the *Bibliographies* at the end of this volume. For this period: Puig y Cadafalch, Falguera, Godoy y Casals, *L'Arquitectura románica a Catalunya*, Barc., 1909–1918. G. G. King, *Pre-Romanesque Churches of Spain*, Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1924. Id., *The Way of St. James*, N. Y., 1922. A. Kingsley Porter. *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture*, 2 vols., N. Y., 1929.

[2] E.g. San Miguel de Escalada, San Pedro de la Nave (Zamora), San Miguel de Lino, Santa María de Naranco, Santa Cristina de Lena (Oviedo), San Miguel de Celanova, Santiago de Peñalba, San Cebrián de Mazote, Priesca, Lebeña, etc.

[3] Crosses *de los Ángeles*, *de la Victoria* (at Oviedo), of D. Fernando and Doña Sancha. Virgins of Salamanca, of Atocha, of Silos, of Ujué, of Olmedo (*la Soterraña*); archaic in style, but perhaps much later in execution. Arabic *arquetas* of carved ivory. Enameled altar-front of Silos. Ivory reliefs of San Millán de la Cogolla. Etc.

Romanesque art flourished during the 11th and 12th centuries, and all the varieties of it are represented in northern Spain. There again, French influence outweighed that of the Italian builders (*maestri Comacini* [2] and from Lombardy) and the mudéjar *alarifes* (architects). The region just south of the Pyrenees was dotted with Benedictine monasteries.[3] In the 12th century, French monks from Cluny occupied numerous bishoprics, and brought about a rich flowering of Romanesque art. The *Cámara santa* at Oviedo and the portal at Ripoll offer curious examples of archaic sculpture. Among the other churches, one may mention Santiago de Compostela (1078–1118, a sister, if not a daughter, of Saint Sernin at Toulouse), San Vicente at Ávila, San Pedro de Roda, etc. The Collegiate Church at Toro, the Old Cathedral at Salamanca, the Cathedral at Zamora, as well as a few Catalan churches, offer a peculiar type marked by tall lanterns raised above the crossing (*crucero*) on pendentives (*pechinas*).[4]

In several of these churches and in others of the late twelfth century (Tarragona, Lérida, Tudela, etc.) Romanesque appears modified by *early Gothic*, which gradually carried the field. The growing influence of Clairvaux and the Cistercians (beginning in 1131) replaced that of Cluny and roughly corresponds to the transition period. This current brought the Pointed Style into Spain (Poblet, Santas Creus, in Catalonia; Veruela, in Aragon; Fitero, in

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[1] M. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes, arte español de los siglos IX a XI*, 1919.

[2] The *magistri commacini* were a guild of stone-masons and builders. See Russell Sturgis, *Dict. of Architecture and Building*, N. Y., 1901, *sub voc.* Guild.

[3] San Salvador de Leyre, San Juan de la Peña, San Cugat del Vallés, Ripoll (but its portal shows Lombard influence), San Pedro at Huesca, San Pedro de Cardeña, San Millán de la Cogolla, Santo Domingo de Silos, Dueñas, San Martín de Frómista, San Salvador de Oña, Sahagún, San Zoíl de Carrión, Santillana del Mar, etc.

[4] For Romanesque as well as Gothic architecture see G. E. Street, *Gothic Architecture in Spain*, best read in the annotated reprint by G. G. King, 2 vols., London and Toronto, 1914.

Navarre; Santa María de Meira, in Galicia; Las Huelgas, at Burgos; San Vicente, in Ávila, etc.). Once more we find imitations of various French models: the Burgundian (Clairvaux, Autun), the Languedocian (Fontfroide, Toulouse), the Aquitanian (Périgueux).

The early structures did not escape *Arabic* influence, which appears in certain details of construction and more plainly in profuse ornamentation, as in the unusual capitals of the cloister at Silos, or the façades of Ripoll and Sangüesa. Naturally, the *mozárabe* and *mudéjar* buildings bear most traces of this current. Yet the horse-shoe arch is by no means an exclusive Arabic device.[1]

Many castles are today only ruins, or have been subjected to restoration, and hence no longer possess their first value. Such are the castles of Peñafiel, of Valencia de Don Juan, of la Mota (at Medina del Campo), of Coca, of Alcalá de Guadaira, of Niebla, of Narahío, and of Ponferrada. Military architecture, in various interesting types, may be seen in the castle of Loarre (11th century) near Huesca, the fortified church of Turégano (late 12th) in the province of Segovia, the Alcázar of Segovia (despite its late additions), the palace of Carracedo (León), and in the wall-turrets (*cubos*) of León, Burgos and Ávila.

Sculpture, like architecture, reflects chiefly, in the twelfth century, the inspiration of the studios of Toulouse (in the north and west), of Provence (in the east), and of Lombardy (at scattered points). Only the Moriscos and Catalans displayed real originality.

Painting is hardly known to us in this archaic period, and then only toward its close. It is represented by the frescoes of *El Cristo de la Luz* (Toledo) and of the narthex of *San Isidro* (León), by a few miniatures in manuscripts, and by certain Catalan retables of wood.

Foreign Literary Influences

In this first phase of their literature, the Spaniards could have no other models, aside from classical and Arabic writings, than those afforded by **France** and **Provence.**

As early as the tenth century, sacred poetry existed in French (*Ste. Eulalie, La Passion, St. Léger, St. Alexis* [1040?], *St. Brendan* [1121]). The first French epics (*Chanson de Roland, Chanson*

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[1] Arabic influence penetrated even to the decorative elements of French Clunisian Romanesque. See E. Mâle, *Les Influences arabes dans l'art roman* (*Rev. des Deux Mondes*, Nov. 15, 1923).

d'Antioche) date from the second half of the 11th century and the first third of the 12th. The chivalric epics (dealing with France, Brittany and Rome, i.e. the Ancient World) were numerous in the 12th and 13th centuries. There were the Royal Cycle (*Roland, Pèlerinage de Charlemagne, Huon de Bordeaux, Berte aux grands piés*), the Cycle of William of Orange with all its sequels, the Feudal Cycle (of Doon, Ogier, Renaud), the vast Cycle of the Holy Grail (of Arthur, Lancelot and Tristram), and finally the Ancient Romances (of Thebes, Troy, Aeneas, Alexander). This enormous body of poetry was sufficient to nourish all the literatures of Europe.

In short, as M. Lavisse has said, the France of that time was "already so rich in human values that all the peoples of Europe, Germany as well as Italy and Spain, followed her lead." By the middle of the 12th century, lyric poetry in the north (*langue d'oïl*) had created its principal forms, or borrowed them from Provence or Limoges. So the *Pastourelle, Débat, Aube, Chanson* or *Son d'amour* were adopted by cultured poets before 1300. The first *fabliaux* and the earliest dramas (*Vierges folles, Adam, Jeu de St. Nicolas*) date from the same period. Finally, in the years 1205–1213 Villehardouin was composing his *Chronique*, and in 1230 Gauthier de Coincy was compiling his *Miracles de Notre-Dame*, not long before Guillaume de Lorris finished the first part of the *Roman de la Rose* (1237).

At the same time, in the south of France, first in the Limoges region, then in Provence, lyric poetry flowered splendidly, from the late 11th century till it was killed by the Albigensian Crusade in the beginning of the 13th. All through the 12th century lyrics arose from famous troubadours—Guilhem de Poitiers, Bernart de Ventadorn, Marcabru, Jaufre Rudel, and then Raimbaut d'Aurenga, Peire d'Alvernhe, Peire Rogier, Guiraut de Borneil, Guilhem de Cabestaing, Arnaut Daniel, Bertran de Born, Peire Vidal, to name only the most celebrated. They traveled into Spain. They were found in Aragon, at the courts of Alfonso II (1162–1196) and of Pedro II (1196–1213); in Castile, at those of Alfonso VIII and Fernando III; in León, under Alfonso IX (1188–1230).[1]

So one may well argue *a priori* that the Spaniards, unless they created an entirely original art, must have drawn from this double fountain of the *langue d'oïl* (mainly epic) and the *langue d'oc* (mainly lyric). For Italian literature did not come into being till the end of the 13th century, with Dante and the poets of the *dolce stil nuovo.* Before that time it had been, both on the mainland and in Sicily, only a more or less faithful echo of the northern *Gestes* or the southern lyric. The preëminent authority of French literature at that time must never be forgotten.

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[1] R. Menéndez Pidal, in *Poesía juglaresca y juglares*, 1924, lays bare the influence of the minstrels in Spain. A popular account of the Provençal lyric is Justin H. Smith's *The Troubadours at Home*, 2 vols., N. Y., 1899.

2. The Popular Epic, " Mester de Joglaría "

Spanish literature in the vulgar tongue probably began with chants of epic character. It seems strange that the earliest manifestations of popular poetry should be such relatively long epics, instead of short lyrico-epic attempts, more suited to inexperienced singers.[1] Nevertheless, so far as our knowledge now extends, that appears to have been the case. For us, composition in the vulgar tongue does begin, historically, with poems of a purely epic character. There is even a strong probability that, before the period covered by our actual knowledge, several *Gestas* of some length were composed by authors unknown to us, to celebrate national heroes or great events, already partly legendary. Only one epic has reached us in an almost complete form: the *Poema del Cid* or *Cantar de Mio Cid.* But others must have existed. The proof is found in the frequent allusions made by 13th century writers to the *Cantares,* and in traces of them remaining in popular tradition, especially in the *Crónica general de España,* compiled under the direction of Alfonso X during that same 13th century. The author of this chronicle used such poems as historical documents, and he copied into his narrative extracts from them, sometimes quite long, which he transposed into prose (*prosificaciones*). Similar cases have been found in other literatures; a fragment of a Latin chronicle of The Hague allowed Gaston Paris to reconstruct a passage in the Old French epic of William of Orange. By this method it has been possible to recover a few Old Spanish epics, at least in subject and outline.

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[1] So strange did it seem to Julio Cejador, author of the largest *Historia de la lit. esp.* (14 vols., 1915–1922) that he believed there was first a popular oral epic, national in its themes and in its meter (the octosyllable), prior to the epics in Alexandrines imported from France. The hypothesis is hard to establish as fact.

Sr. Cejador has expanded this theory: *El cantar de Mio Cid y epopeya castellana,* in *Revue Hispanique,* XLIX, 1920, 1–310. He is supported by Prof. H. R. Lang, *Notes on the Meter of the Poem of the Cid,* in *Romanic Rev.,* V, VIII and IX. Cf. S. G. Morley, *Spanish Ballad Problems,* Berkeley, Calif., 1925, 221–222.

There was certainly one *Cantar* that recounted the dramatic adventures of the *Seven Infantes of Lara.*[1] The historical basis underlying the story of this family vendetta is none too clear, but at any rate it goes back to the tenth century. It is natural to suppose that the poem was originally composed in the region where the events, soon colored by legend, took place, that is, in Burgos and about. It must be noted that this epic literature sprang first from Old Castile, and there most flourished. For that reason it is almost always hostile to the Leonese. The story of the loss of Spain by *King Roderick, last of the Goths,* must have made a deep impression on the minds of the people, and the legend may have originated in somewhat the same way as that of the Siete Infantes.[2] The French legend of Charlemagne passed into Spain, flourished there, and gave rise to poems like the French *Mainet,* utilized by the *Primera Crónica general,* which lays the scene in the reign of Fruela I.[3] One of the heroes adopted by ancient Spain as a defender of its independence was *Bernardo del Carpio.* Although epic verse early exalted his figure, it is doubtful if such a person ever existed.[4] Very probably there was a *Cantar* on the murder of the young Count of Castile, Don García, by the sons of Count Vela, at León, in the reign of Bermudo III. The Latin histories of Lucas of Tuy and the Archbishop Roderick of Toledo, the vernacular *Crónica general,* allow us to reconstruct this sombre *Estoria* of blood and love. The most affecting passages must have been the "wailing" of the young Count at the sight of his slain knights, and the death of his fiancée Doña Sancha, when she tried to defend him. The *Crónica* refers directly to an "*Estoria del romance del Infante García.*" [5]

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[1] R. Menéndez Pidal, *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara,* 1896.

[2] [As the Roderick story dates from the early eighth century, one can scarcely postulate a contemporary epic. The origins of this legend, poetic or other, are obscure. Cf. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Rodrigo, el último Godo,* 1925–26; vols. 62 and 71 of *Clásicos castellanos.*]

[3] Ed. of R. Menéndez Pidal, pp. 340 ff. See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Tratado de los romances viejos,* II, 1906, 322 ff.

[4] *Primera Crón. gen., passim,* under reigns of Alfonso II *el Casto* and Alfonso III *el Magno.* Menéndez y Pelayo, *Tratado,* I, 1903, cap. III. Th. Heinermann, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehung der Sage von B. del C.,* Halle, 1927.

[5] See *Prim. Crón. gen.,* reign of Bermudo III. Menéndez y Pelayo, preface to vol. VIII of *Obras de Lope de Vega* (*El primer Rey de Castilla*). R. Menéndez Pidal,

The most typical of Castile's heroes, the Cid Rodrigo de Bivar (1043?–1099), appears as a figure in other epics besides the famous *Poema* which will be discussed in a moment. Not only were his youthful adventures, or *Mocedades*, sung, but he is alluded to in a poem concerning the division of the kingdoms (*Partición de los reinos*) among the children of Fernando *el Magno* in 1065, and the siege of Zamora, which King Sancho of Castile was trying to wrest from his sister Doña Urraca when he was assassinated by Bellido Dolfos.[1] One would like to believe, with Menéndez y Pelayo (*Tratado*, II, cap. vii), that there are also epic sources for the traditions of chivalric or romantic adventure of Alvar Fáñez, Munio Alfonso, Count Rodrigo González, the Hinojosas, Diego López de Haro and the goat-footed Lady, King Ramiro and the Moorish Princess, and the Abbot Juan de Montemayor. But all this lies more or less in the realm of guesswork.[2]

Though in some respects uncertain, this information, added to the poem preserved, suffices to disclose an interesting growth of epic poetry at a rather early period (10th to 12th centuries).[3] Its existence was scarcely suspected fifty years ago. It is important to observe that it falls about half a century later than the corresponding literature of France. It would be agreeable, as we have already said, to believe in the existence of shorter epico-lyric compositions in the vernacular, before the long epics which display a certain literary culture. Such *cantilènes* or *romances* would resemble the Latin verse which we know to have been written on national themes, e.g. the Latin ode in Sapphic strophes about the Cid (early 12th century). This theory, as applicable to France as to Spain, seems today abandoned, though in itself not so much improbable as incapable of proof. Up to the present, it is impossible to point to any short Spanish poem partly lyric in nature, or even to an allusion to one. The epics, so far as one can judge, though they show traces of subdivision (as in the *Poema del Cid*, verses 1619, 2276), are not made up of odd fragments, episodes

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El elemento histórico en el "Romanz dell inffant García," in *Studi letterari e linguistici dedicati a Pio Rajna*, Firenze, 1911.

[1] The poem concerned with King Sancho may have been separate from the first. Cf. J. Puyol y Alonso, *Cantar de gesta de D. Sancho II de Castilla*, 1911.

[2] On the last, see R. Menéndez Pidal, *La leyenda del Abad don Juan de Montemayor*, Dresden, 1903 (*Gesellschaft f. rom. Lit.* II).

[3] [The existence of epics in the vernacular before the 12th century must be regarded as purely conjectural.]

written by different hands and joined at a later date by some rhapsodist. No; they have unity and correct proportion. The only exception is the much later *Rodrigo* (see below, p. 37). It is a mere compilation from various sources and inspirations.

To explain the appearance of these compositions, which reveal an art already quite advanced, we must consider that they were probably imitations of French models. From them were borrowed in part technique, method, poetic form and possibly meter. We must emphasize the French influence upon these epics, and indeed upon this whole early period of literature. This dominant and characteristic fact will become more clear as we examine the chief works of the time. The study of the epic literature of France often sheds unexpected light upon the history of the Spanish epic, in large part lost.

Spain was acquainted with French models brought in by nobles, minstrels, pilgrims and monks. This fact is proved by study of the fragments preserved and by direct testimony that the names of heroes like Roland and Oliver were at that time familiar to Spaniards.

Proof positive of French influence is furnished by the recent discovery of an epic fragment on the Battle of Roncesvaux. The hundred lines contain the laments of Charlemagne over the bodies of the peers who died with Roland. The manuscript is of the early 14th century; the composition probably belongs to the first third of the 13th. So far as one may judge, it is less a translation than a free imitation of one of the reworked versions of the French *Roland*. Menéndez Pidal, who edited the fragment, gave it the title *Roncesvalles*.[1] It much resembles the *Cantar de Mio Cid* in phraseology, meter and even language, despite Navarro-Aragonese forms. This important discovery helps fill the gap between the French *gestes* and the Spanish ballads.

Another equally valuable proof is offered by the Latin Chronicle called the *Pseudo-Turpin*.[2] The first five chapters are somewhat historical, but the second part, by a different author, drew from the poems about Charlemagne, Roland and the other knights.[1] The author was probably French, judging by the way he speaks of the two countries, and by his knowledge of French poetry. Partly through his influence the primitive epic of France rooted in Galicia and spread thence to the neighboring provinces, where, after a time, it gave rise to other legends. It even stimulated a reaction of national protest, if it be true that Bernardo del Carpio sprang out of the Roland story.

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[1] *R.: Un nuevo cantar de gesta esp. del siglo XIII*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, IV, 1917, 105–204. In 1897, without knowing this fragment, Menéndez Pelayo expressed the opinion that "las nuevas de Roncesvalles" must have entered Spain through both popular and learned channels (*Obras de Lope de Vega*, VII, p. xcvii).

[2] Edition of Castets, Montpellier, 1880. Cf. G. Paris, *De pseudo-Turpino*, 1865. R. Dozy, *Le faux Turpin*, (*Recherches*, 3rd ed., Leyde, 1881, II, 372–431. J. Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, III, Paris, 1912, 42–114.

It is also natural to suppose that the French minstrels, who certainly traveled to Spain, earned a living by reciting verse, either learned by heart or read from copies which they owned. Did they recite in French or Spanish? Or did they use for this purpose some Franco-Spanish jargon, like the Franco-Italian employed in certain versions of French epics preserved in a Venetian manuscript? It is hard to say.[2] The contamination of two neighboring tongues is common enough, but such a mixture is, in the present case, wholly hypothetical. Besides, when one considers the large number of French and Provençal words found in the first Spanish works, one will deem it likely that the actual text of the French songs, epic or lyric, entered northern Spain and was there known. Let us add, though the remark applies more to lyric verse than to epic, that the Provençal troubadours were better equipped to use their native speech in Spain, since their *langue d'oc* closely resembled the tongue of the Marches (later County) of Barcelona, much more than northern French (*langue d'oïl*) did Galician and Castilian. This fact, added to the proximity of the regions, explains sufficiently the powerful influence of the poetry of the Midi upon the Catalan and Galician lyric.

The important action of France upon the budding poetry of her neighbor must be recognized, but it should not be too much stressed. Spain did not lose her individuality by reason of it. If the stimulus came from without, if the forms, framework and methods were borrowed, the themes, and still more the spirit in which they were treated, remained national. That, surely, is the important thing.

As has been said, the great events and great names of history or local legend were the ones which poets selected for treatment; and in their work a strong nationalistic spirit protested against foreign meddling in the country's affairs. This gallophobia is evident in several literary relics of the first period. Some scholars have gone farther, and asserted that Spanish works were at this time imitated in France. The cases specified are: the French epic *Anseïs de Carthage* (13th century), which contains the essential elements of the Spanish legend of King Roderick, Count Julian and his daughter La Cava; *Hernaut de Beaulande* (14th century), a partial imitation of the *Fernán González* and the *Mainet* story, which was, according to some, borrowed from the supposed Spanish poem, instead of being itself the source of it, as I believe.[1]

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[1] [M. Bédier believes, however, that a single author wrote the entire work, about 1140–1150. This author pretends to be the Archbishop Turpin, who was a companion of Roland.]

[2] [R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca*, 134, seems to imply that the language was French.]

Such facts show the literary interplay which took place between the two nations; but were they more certain than they are, and more numerous, they would not weaken the dominance of French poetry.

All the Spanish *Cantares de gesta* [2] are anonymous. Their length would indicate that they were fixed in writing as soon as composed. But, judging by the only one we possess in complete form, and by the borrowings made from them at different dates by various Chronicles, they were constantly subjected to reworking, or, as we should say today, they went through successive revised editions. The extant redaction of the *Poema del Cid* is probably not the oldest. We have not the original form. But we know enough to feel certain that each subsequent version of these poems suffered notable modifications; it added new episodes, according to the whim or self-interest of those who copied it or recited it. There is, in fact, little doubt that, in the earliest times at least, the *Cantares* were publicly delivered, and that the recitation or chant was accompanied by instruments, just as the French *Gestes* were, by harp, rote and viol. Repeatedly the minstrel addressed his audience directly, asking for their attention in silence. He expected the public to pay him; if they had no change, he was content with what they could offer, were it only a handful of grain or a glass of wine:

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[1] See G. Paris, in *Romania*, IV, 1875, 305–337. J. Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, III, 151–152. R. Menéndez Pidal, *El rey Rodrigo en la literatura*, I, 1924, 43–45. Id., *Notas para el romancero de Fernán González*, in *Hom. a Menéndez Pelayo*, 1899, I, 472, n. 2. Milá y Fontanals, *Poesía heroico-popular*, 1874, 330 ff. Menéndez Pelayo, *Obras de Lope de Vega*, XIII, pp. xliii ff.

[2] A translation of the French phrase *Chansons de geste*. The word *Cantar* is sometimes applied to portions of a poem, and not to the whole. [See Menéndez Pelayo, *Tratado*, I, 13 ff.; and 81–82. H. R. Lang, in *Romanic Review*, V, 1914, 307 ff., and 312, n. 92. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca*, 368–373. It is not certain that *gesta* or *cantar de gesta* is a translation from French.]

> Datnos del vino, si non tenedes dineros.

Here again, customs much resemble those of France. These popular singers are the minstrels (*juglares, joglares*, French *joglers, jogledors*), a name sometimes given to the authors themselves, who must frequently have recited their own works in public.[1] From the *joglares* the popular epic, anonymous and oral, acquired as early as the 12th century the generic name *mester de joglaría*, in opposition to the *mester de clerecía*, which denominated the learned, clerical poems, written down to be read, and often bearing the author's name. The distinction between minstrels and clergy is very significant. It applied not only to literature, but to the whole of society, for the latter was made up of the two components, clerics and laymen, which long existed side by side without mingling.

The imperfect state of many of these early texts is explained by successive copyings and by the errors inherent in oral transmission. It is necessary to use great caution in their study, especially as regards the versification.

3. The "Poema del Cid" or "Cantar de Mio Cid"

This epic was first published in 1779 by Tomás Antonio Sánchez,[2] from an unique manuscript of the 14th century, copied, probably in 1307,[3] from some earlier text, by one Per Abbat. In the present form there are 3735 lines. The MS. came from the village of Vivar, and now belongs to the Pidal family.[4]

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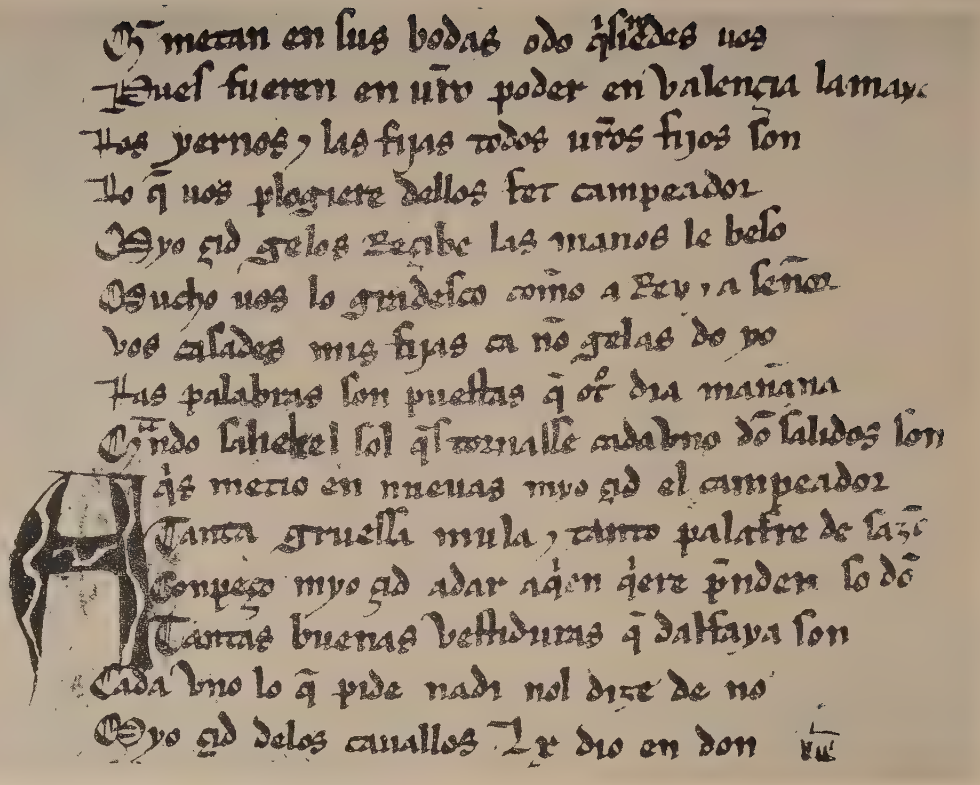
[1] For all these details, R. Menéndez Pidal's capital work, *Poesía juglaresca*. For France, Edmond Faral, *Les jongleurs en France au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1910.

[2] *Colección de poesías anteriores al siglo XV*, vol. I, 1779.

[3] The MS. gives the date "era de mill e CC XLV años," but there is a space before the X, and good reason to believe a "C" has been erased from it. To convert the "Spanish era" (officially abandoned in 1383) into "Christian era," subtract 38 years.

[4] The standard critical edition is that of Menéndez Pidal, with grammar and vocabulary, 3 vols., Madrid, 1908–1911. Popular edition by the same editor, vol. 24 of *Clásicos castellanos*, 1913. Ed. Janer, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LVII, 1864. Ed. A. M. Huntington, 3 vols., N. Y., 1897–1903, with translation. Other English translations, by John Ormsby, London, 1879, in verse and prose; by Rose and Bacon, *The Lay of the Cid*, Berkeley, 1919, in verse. Text and translation to modern Spanish prose by Alfonso Reyes, Barcelona, 1919. Modern poetic version by Pedro Salinas, Madrid, 1926. French prose translation by E. Mérimée, with excellent introduction, *Le Poème du Cid*, Paris, n. d.

Critical matter, by R. Menéndez Pidal, *op. cit.* H. R. Lang, *Notes on the Metre of the*



Q̃ metan en ſus bodas o do q̃ſieredes uos
Q̃uel fueren en uro poder en valençia la may
Los yernos ⁊ las fijas todos uros fijos ſon
Lo q̃ uos ploguiere dellos fet campeador
Myo çid gelos reçibe las manos le beſo
Mucho uos lo gradeſco cōmo a rey ⁊ a ſeñor
Vos caſades mis fijas ca nõ gelas do yo
Las palabras ſon pueſtas q̃ otro dia mañana
Q̃ndo ſalieſſe el ſol q̃s tornaſſe cada vno dõ ſalidos ſon
Aq̃s metio en nueuas myo çid el campeador
Tanta grueſſa mula ⁊ tanto palafre de ſazõ
Conpeço myo çid a dar aq̃en q̃re p̃nder ſo dõ
Tantas buenas veſtiduras q̃ dalfaya ſon
Cada vno lo q̃ pide nadi nol dize de no
Myo çid delos cauallos lx dio en don

MANUSCRIPT OF EL POEMA DEL CID

A comparative study of the *Crónicas* and the *Poema* demonstrates the existence of at least one or two earlier versions. Pidal considers that the first was probably written about the middle of the 12th century (the date 1140, often given, is a mere approximation). This deduction is confirmed by the character of its allusions to customs, and especially to legal usages and social institutions.[1] If this date be correct, the poem was composed only some fifty years after the chief deeds of the hero, since the Cid Ruy (or Rodrigo) Díaz died in 1099. Several circumstances would lead one to believe that the author wrote in the native region of the Cid; repeated mention of the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña, near Burgos, from which the hero departs, in which he leaves his wife and children, and where he was to be buried; the eagerness with which his generosity to this religious house is brought to the reader's attention; close acquaintance with the environs, especially with the middle section of the Ebro and the upper valley of the Duero; and the Castilian forms of the language. Yet Menéndez Pidal inclines to think that the author lived in Medinaceli or in the Val de Arbujuelo, and that the poem was written in the present province of Soria. This conclusion is based on a careful study of the topography of the epic, which is particularly detailed in the region between Medinaceli and San Esteban de Gormaz. His arguments deserve the greatest respect.

The versification, as it appears in the manuscript, is extremely irregular and confused. This might be explained by careless copying, by the probable ignorance of the scribe, and by the difficulty of reducing to writing a text rather chanted than read, and consequently thick with liaisons, apocopes and synalephas used in the recitation, but lost to us. What is certain is that the great majority of lines are Alexandrines (7+7, by the Spanish way of counting), and this may be considered the normal meter.[2] The system of *laisses*, or division into passages of indeterminate length, having

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Poem of the Cid, in *Romanic Rev.* V (1914), VIII (1917), IX (1918). Id., *Contributions to the Restoration of the Poema del Cid*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXVI, 1926, 1–509. Id., *The Metrical Forms of the Poem of the Cid*, in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n Am.*, XLII, 1927, 523–603. J. Cejador, *El Cantar de Mio Cid y la Epopeya castellana*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XLIX, 1920. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Tratado*, I, cap. vi.

[1] Eduardo de Hinojosa, *El derecho en el Poema del Cid*, in *Homenaje a Menéndez Pelayo*, I, 541–581.

[2] [It would be a little more exact to say that the great majority of hemistichs are of 7 syllables.]

a single assonance, either masculine (*á*, *ó*, etc.) or feminine (*á-o*, *á-a*, *í-a*, etc.), is exactly like that of the French epics, and in particular the *Chanson de Roland.*

The impossibility of reducing to any one fixed length the lines not only of the *Poema*, but also of the other early examples of the *mester de joglaría* has given rise to the theory of ametric verse or fluctuation. According to this, Castilian verse followed a certain historical evolution. It began with lines of quite unequal length, knowing no other laws than those of final assonance and median caesura. Then it passed through an intermediate or rhythmic stage, in which regular stresses were marked by the music or song, and so came at last to the verse of fixed syllable-count, which is the typical modern Spanish system. In spite of the irregularity of the early verse, 14- and 16-syllable lines are the most common, and the epic tended toward the latter. The ametric theory, first suggested by Milá, reduced to a formula by Pidal, and expounded as a whole by Henríquez Ureña,[1] is important not alone for the primitive epic but for other poetic genres which partake of a national, popular character.

The *Cantar* relates certain events in the latter years of the life of the Cid Ruy Díaz, "el Campeador." The malice of King Alfonso VI drives him into exile. He leaves Vivar and Burgos, wars against the Moors, and finally captures Valencia. There he establishes himself with his wife Ximena and his daughters Sol and Elvira. The latter he marries, at the suggestion of Alfonso, to whom he still pays allegiance, to the Infantes de Carrión, Diego and Fernando. They are cowards, and, angered and spiteful, abandon their wives on the homeward journey, in the oak-wood of Corpes. The traitors are accused by Rodrigo, summoned before the Cortes by the King, and conquered in the lists by the champions of the Cid. Soon after, the marriage is announced of Sol and Elvira to the kings of Aragon and Navarre.

The narrative has no main action or real unity.[2] It reads like a versified chronicle. Events are tied together only by chronological sequence, not by any careful plan. Some have thought that the author's intention was to show how royal families were united to the Cid's during his lifetime; if so, this genealogical aim is brought out awkwardly and late. Actually, the sole unity lies in the person of the Cid.

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[1] P. Henríquez Ureña, *La versificación irregular en la poesía castellana*, 1920. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, I, 76–103; *Roncesvalles*, 123–136 (*Rev. Filol. Esp.*, IV, 1917).

[2] [Cf. E. C. Hills, *The Unity of the "Poem of the Cid,"* in *Hispania*, XII, 1929, 113–118. He points out stylistic differences between the first (historical) and the second (legendary) parts of the poem which indicate twofold authorship.]

The *Poema* represents a happy fusion of history, legend and imagination. A character of life and reality is imparted to the story by the vivid detail in the description of manners, customs, battles, objects, by exactness in itineraries and topography (at least in certain spots well known to the poet), by the shrewd differentiation in character of the Cid's numerous comrades, and by the plain, natural dialogue. But on the other hand, the author either did not know the historical facts, or he modified them at will. He invented or distorted details, he put in miraculous interventions and apparitions, as of the Angel Gabriel (line 406). Yet the hero is presented in a character not too unlike that which history, as we can know it, assigns to him: as an admirable chieftain, kept in undeserved exile, who had to solve the problem of finding a living for his followers while maintaining a respectful attitude toward Alfonso; and withal a mighty bulwark against the Almoravides. Somewhat idealized, certainly, he appears as a model Christian, a perfect Castilian *conquistador*. He assumes the paramount rôle; his name is accompanied by epic epithets and set formulas; kings, princes, famous leaders are there only to enhance his glory. The great figure of the Cid is already displayed as it was to remain in popular imagination, and it is amazing that this sort of poetic crystallization could have taken place in so short a time.[1]

The figure of the Campeador casts all the others in the shade. Yet many gravitate about him, and their outlines, sketched with a certain brusque art, do not lack clearness. There are Minaya Alvar Fáñez, hero who perhaps had an epic of his own; Martín Antolínez, *el burgalés cumplido;* the Bishop Jerónimo, *coronado mayor*, often compared to Turpin; Pero Vermuez *el mudo*, "the mute," loquacious enough when he desired; Martín Muñoz, all the loyal companions;

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[1] [For the historical figure of the Cid see Dozy, *Recherches*, vol. II. J. Puyol y Alonso, "*El Cid*" *de Dozy*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXIII, 1910, 424–476. R. Menéndez Pidal, *El Cid en la historia*, Madrid, 1921. W. J. Entwistle, *My Cid, Legist*, in *Bull. Sp. Studies*, VI, 1929, 9–15. R. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, 2 vols., 1929. This last work supersedes Dozy, and proves that the term *condottiere* is not applicable to the Cid, either in its exact definition or its connotation. M. Mérimée's words are changed here accordingly.]

and, over against these, King Alfonso, jealous and grasping, and the base Infantes de Carrión, Fernando and Diego González. From time to time the appearance of Ximena with her daughters brings a more tender and intimate note into the clash of arms. The scenes of the leave-taking at San Pedro de Cardeña (lines 235–376) and the arrival of Ximena at Valencia (lines 1558–1617) possess a simple charm. Sometimes the customary gravity of the narrative is tempered with irony, as in the flight of the Infantes from the lion (lines 2278–2310), and the ruse by which Rodrigo hoaxes two Jews of Burgos into a loan (lines 78–212). The typical Castilian *socarronería* crops out here and there.

The style is simple, clear, succinct. The phrases are usually short, and seldom run over the line; one would say that they follow the swing of the tune and musical phrase (chanting). Incidents have no complication; periodic sentences are almost unknown. The author knows nothing of rhetorical artifice. He does not adorn his setting or his style, yet without straining he often finds the expressive, picturesque image, the exact detail, the right word. He depicts, sincerely and naïvely, his feelings of admiration, pity, chivalrous honor, Christian pride. His language reveals a vocabulary by no means limited, and a grammar tending to regularity, though still at some points vacillating.[1] In short, the *Poema del Cid* may properly be placed beside the *Chanson de Roland*, which was probably known to the Spanish minstrel. Fifty years apart,[2] these two poems inaugurate brilliantly two literatures, and justly occupy their respective places in the first rank of national epics. The *Poema* has the same merits as the *Chanson*, yet is distinguished from it by less crudity in the sentiments perhaps, greater austerity and smaller use of the supernatural. For the modern reader it has the advantage of being easier to understand in the original.

4. The "Crónica rimada" or "Rodrigo"

The Cid was one of the favorite heroes of early poetry in Spain. That is sufficiently proved by the *Poema* itself and by Latin verse of which he was the subject, such as certain monorhyme Sapphic quatrains, possibly imitated from a lost Castilian poem.[1] Another proof is found in a work which we may now compare with the *Poema*, though very different from it in date, spirit and worth. This is the *Crónica rimada del Cid*, or *El Rodrigo*, called also *Leyenda de las Mocedades del Cid*, for it has received all three titles from editors or critics. It is a poem of 1126 lines, found in a unique manuscript at Paris (Bibl. Nat., formerly 9988, now Espagnol 12), of the late 14th or early 15th century.[2] The date of composition has given rise to the most contradictory hypotheses; but today there is general agreement that it is much later than the *Poema*. This anonymous compilation, which has but little literary value, is a clumsy patchwork of material from various sources. Besides, the defective state of the single copy makes it still harder to read.

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[1] As, agreement of past participle and auxiliary, use of *ser* and *estar*, etc.

[2] The interval would be some thirty years less, if one adopted M. Boissonade's theory, which places the *Chanson* close to 1120. See *Du nouveau*, etc., pp. 432 ff.

At least, the theme is interesting. It begins with a rambling summary of the previous history of Castile and its separation from the Kingdom of León. Then follows an account of the youthful exploits of Rodrigo and his marriage to Ximena, the first germ of that emotional conflict which was to be developed in the *Romancero*, and put on the stage by Guillén de Castro and Corneille. The *Crónica* comes to an abrupt end (the copy is incomplete) with fabulous and romantic expeditions of the Cid into France. The national hero, who appeared so noble, prudent and loyal in the *Poema*, has here become first a turbulent and rebellious vassal, then the disrespectful protector of the sorry weakling to whom he owes fealty. At the same time he is a knight who encounters marvelous and impossible adventures. The intrinsic richness of the material compensates in a way for the mediocre execution. The compiler (a cleric of Palencia?) should be credited only with the latter.

In this poem the prevailing line is the assonated 16-syllable, which became, by a natural halving, the modern *romance* 8-syllable. But the glosses, faulty reading, and general stupidity of the copyist render difficult any definite determination of the meter.

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[1] Such was the hypothesis of Milá, *Poesía heroico-pop. cast.*, p. 228, n. 1. [The poem was published by E. Du Méril, *Poésies Populaires Latines du Moyen Âge*, 1847, 284–314. It contains 129 lines. Menéndez Pelayo, *Tratado*, I, 308–311. G. Cirot, *Bull. Hisp.*, XI, 263, regards these Sapphics as the only remaining specimen of the Latin epic in Spain.]

[2] First published by Francisque Michel, Vienna, 1846. Other editions by A. Durán, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XVI, 1851, 651–664; B. P. Bourland, *Rev. Hisp.*, XXIV, 1911, 310–357; E. Díez-Canedo, in *Poema de Mio Cid, y otros monumentos de la primitiva poesía española*, Calleja, 1919. See Menéndez Pelayo, *Tratado*, I, 337–345. Some of the supposed 1126 lines are only prose.

5. Erudite Poetry; the "Mester de Clerecía"

The popular, national epic has come down to us in such scanty remnants that one may say that only chance preserved any of them. That is not the case with the erudite verse known as the *mester de clerecía.*

The appearance and development of this *nueva maestría* is the logical consequence of the transformation of Spanish society during the 13th and early 14th centuries. The vogue of the new style is sufficiently explained by the progress of scientific and religious culture, the creation of universities, the triumph of monastic orders, especially of the monks from Cluny, and perhaps also by the need for enlarging the circle of the old themes, which were not inexhaustible. The characteristics of the new verse are easily stated. Poetry, which had till then been spontaneous and anonymous, became a work of erudition and forethought. Formerly it had been in the hands of minstrels, drawn from the people or soldiery; the "new mastery" was a privilege reserved to the clergy. It took a more personal, less indefinite, turn, even in works whose authors are unknown. The didactic and moral tendency is plain; it was no longer sufficient merely to celebrate a hero and relate his deeds. In proportion as literary art became more subjective, it acquired greater psychological or philosophic value, if one can apply such terms to that naïve period. Writers sought out a varied subject-matter. Themes were religious, liturgical and mystic, like most of those chosen by Berceo; romantic and marvelous, as in the *Apolonio;* pseudo-historical, as in the *Alixandre;* biblical, as in the *Poema de Yúçuf;* and even epic, as in the *Fernán González.* Finally, in the 14th century the same meter served as a vehicle for the moral and satirical verse of López de Ayala and Juan Ruiz.

Another noteworthy point is the geographic range of the learned poetry. The old popular epic, so far as we can judge, was confined to a relatively small area, Old Castile, and often expressed this kingdom's hostility to León. But the new *mester* was cultivated alike in all the provinces, and so took on a more national character. Berceo came from La Rioja, the *Alixandre* is supposed to be Leonese, the *Fernán González* Castilian, the *Yúçuf* Aragonese (some think, Toledan), the *Apolonio* Aragonese, etc.

Leaving aside now origin and theme, and considering only form, one may say that in general the art of composition is more careful, and the style more personal and hence more varied. The vocabulary is richer, grammar and syntax less simple and meagre. Phrasing and line grow flexible, the sentence more complex. The versification is always the same in all these poems: it is the *cuaderna vía*, the monorhyme quatrain of Alexandrines (*tetrástrofo alejandrino monorrimo*). Henceforth meter obeys strict rules and syllables are counted in each line (*a sílabas cuntadas*). It is indeed a novelty, a *nueva maestría*. The 14-syllable line is divided into two equal hemistichs, with accent on the sixth syllable of each. Both line and strophe found their immediate model in French poetry, but medieval Latin verse offered numerous examples before that. Heaviness and monotony are the defects of the *nueva maestría*. This massive strophe with its fourfold insistence on the same rhyme, obviously lacks flexibility and variety, and lends itself to padding, which is certainly common.

Finally, the new *mester*, even more, perhaps, than the old, was indebted to French models for its form and matter. It is not possible to establish with certainty the chronological order in which the first poems of the new school appeared. At least two writers claim to have been the first to practise the *nueva maestría*, Gonzalo de Berceo and the author of the *Apolonio*.[1]

6. Gonzalo de Berceo

The author who best epitomizes the spirit and methods of the *mester de clerecía* is in fact a cleric, a priest, **Gonzalo,** who took from his native village the name **Berceo.** He was born at the end of the 12th century, and was reared in the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla, ten miles from Nájera (La Rioja). His life probably extended to the middle of the 13th century, but the date of his death is not known; we have his signature as witness on documents still extant of 1237, 1240, 1242 and 1246. He never left, probably, the region of his birth. His greatest literary activity was between the years of 1220 and 1242. His works [2] are almost exclusively of a religious nature. They include: 1°, lives of local saints, *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, the restorer of the famous Benedictine monastery of St. Sebastian, afterwards of St. Dominic of Silos (near Burgos), one of the centers of Spanish civilization in the Middle Ages; *Vida de San Millán*, founder and abbot of the no less famous monastery of St. Millán; *Vida de Santa Oria*, a work of the author's old age, concerning a recluse (*emparedada*) at the monastery of Silos; *El martirio de San Lorenzo;* 2°, poems in honor of the Virgin: *Milagros de Nuestra Señora, Loores de Nuestra Señora, Duelo de la Virgen;* 3°, other pious and edifying poems: *El sacrificio de la misa, Los signos del juicio*, and perhaps some hymns. Several of these *prosas* or *dictados* are very long; Gonzalo's literary remains are reckoned at some 13,000 lines. This figure would be increased by about 10,000 if one admitted the authenticity of the last *copla* of one manuscript of the *Alixandre*, which formally attributes this poem to him (cf. p. 42).

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[1] General survey of the writers of the *mester de clerecía*, Menéndez Pelayo, *Antología*, II, pp. xxxi–lviii. Their versification, especially that of Berceo, J. D. Fitz-Gerald, *Versification of the Cuaderna Vía*, N. Y., 1905.

[2] Edition of T. A. Sánchez, *Colección* . . . II, 1780. Ed. Janer, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LVII. Separate pieces: *La Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, ed. J. D. Fitz-Gerald, Paris, 1904. *El Sacrificio de la misa*, ed. A. G. Solalinde, 1913. *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, ed. A. G. Solalinde, 1922 (*Clásicos Castellanos*, 44). *Cuatro*

Berceo's productivity seems less surprising when one knows that most of these poems are only translations or imitations of previous works, some of them foreign. Often we know their names, and he made no secret of his borrowing. He alluded repeatedly to his sources, and boasted of following them faithfully: "We write nothing else than what we read," he said,

> Al non escribimos sin non lo que leemos.

So the *Vida de Santo Domingo* is scarcely more than a versified translation in *roman paladino*, that is, in the vulgar tongue, of a biography of the Saint written in Latin by his contemporary and disciple Grimaldus. The *Vida*, in turn, inspired the *Miráculos romanzados* of a monk of Silos, Pero Marín, at the end of the same century. The *San Millán* follows, in general, the *Vita* written by St. Braulio, a disciple of St. Isidore. The life of Saint Oria was taken from one written by her confessor, Friar Munio. In Prudentius, in St. Jerome and in a *Tractatus* by St. Bernard, are to be found respectively the originals of the *San Lorenzo*, the *Signos del juicio* and the *Duelo de la Virgen*. As for the *Milagros de la Virgen*, 18 out of the 25 are found also in a compilation by Gautier

poemas (*Milagros de la iglesia robada y de Teófilo, y Vidas de Santa Oria y de San Millán*), ed. Marden, from a new MS., 1928. *Veintitrés milagros*, ed. Marden, 1929. See Menéndez Pelayo, *Antología*, II, pp. xxxi–lviii. Solalinde, *Prólogo* to ed. of *Milagros*. R. Lanchetas, *Gramática y vocabulario de las obras de G. de B.*, 1900 (inadequate). R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca*, 349–355.

de Coincy, monk at Saint-Médard de Soissons, then prior at Vic-sur-Aisne (d. 1236). Berceo may have taken his material from him, or both from a common source.[1]

Berceo's merit, therefore, does not lie in creative force. It is found rather in the details; in picturesque naïveté of emotion, and savoury candor of expression. We must not be misled by the epithets "learned," "erudite," applied to the "clerics' handicraft," the ecclesiastical *prosas*, the *dicts* of foreign origin, in contradistinction to the purely popular poetry (*cantares*). Nor should the Latinisms which have crept naturally into his *romance* deceive us. Berceo is quite the opposite of a scholar. He himself declared, perhaps with mock modesty, that he was not learned enough to write in Latin, and that all he could do was to write in the common *romance* "which ordinary folk use to talk with their neighbors." He does, in fact, address the common people; he is of the people, a plain *joglar*, a *trovador*, a *versificador*. He does not scorn the popular epics; he likes to preserve their formulas.[2] Like the old minstrels, he is not above asking his hearers for a glass of wine, some handfuls of wheat or even "*sendos paternostres*," a pater noster from each one, as a reward for his efforts.

It is this popular character which gives genuine interest to these hagiographic narratives, especially to the *Santo Domingo*, the *Santa Oria* and the *San Millán*. By bringing together the colorful touches scattered through them, one could easily form a vivid picture of the life led by the monks and farmers who, with the soldiers, made up the backbone, the effective force, of Castile. Nowhere perhaps are the intimate feelings and the social customs of the lower classes in primitive Castile set forth in clearer relief or with fresher charm than in the artless chatter of this village priest who so admired his powerful neighbors, the monks of Silos, San Millán, Arlanza or Cardeña:

> Es por un monesterio un reino captenido.
> S. D. 204.

The child-like candor, simplicity and naturalness of the style make the reader overlook its frequent lapses into prosaic, hollow diffuseness. There is a typical mingling in Berceo of everyday speech and idiom with outbursts of mystic inspiration, which rise at times unconsciously to the loftiest poetry. His tales are often enlivened by rustic bonhomie and the mischievous spirit of a goliard; he must have stirred the newly tonsured novices to laugh till the cloisters echoed. His vocabulary is abundant. He seems to have composed his picturesque diction out of varied elements. His syntax is rich in adroit, expressive turns, and, though he allows himself many rhyme-tags and *ripios*, his verse does not lack elegance and harmony in the good spots (e.g. the *Introducción* to the *Milagros*). The epithet of "patriarch and founder of Spanish poetry," which Sánchez bestowed on Berceo, must be reserved for the author of the *Poema del Cid*, but we can concur in the opinion of Menéndez Pelayo: "There is more instruction and even more pleasure to be had from his poetry, taken as a whole, than from almost the entire contents of the fifteenth century *Cancioneros*." Several of the legends which he planted in the national soil have taken root there and even blossomed later in foreign lands.[1] Men will long come to pluck the flower of poetry in his garden.

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[1] [The second alternative seems more likely, since Becker discovered in the Library of Copenhagen a Latin text containing 24 of the 25 miracles. See ed. Solalinde, pp. xix ff.]

[2] *La Gesta del Confesor;* D. Fernando, *essa fardida lanza;* Santo Domingo, *que nasció en buen punto . . .* ; San Millán, *el buen campeador;* García, *noble campeador, el confesor caboso . . .* , etc.

7. The "Libro de Alixandre"[2]

This poem, important by its length (10,500 lines) as well as by its worth, dates from the middle of the 13th century. Some critics, following the Madrid manuscript, have attributed it to "Johan Lorenzo Segura, de Astorga," who says he wrote it, but was perhaps only the copyist; others have thought it by Berceo, who is named in a 15th century manuscript, discovered in 1888, and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris:

> Sy queredes saber quien fiso esti ditado,
> Gonçalo de Berçeo es por nombre clamado.

Before this statement can be believed, it would be necessary to establish beyond doubt the authenticity of these lines and the authority of the manuscript. In truth, when one passes from the reading of Berceo's authentic works to the *Alixandre*, one cannot but feel a striking difference in matter and form, and it is not surprising that good judges like F. J. Wolf, Menéndez Pelayo, and Morel-Fatio pronounced against the attribution to Berceo before the new manuscript was found.[1] Against him are: a forced display of erudition to which he never pretended, intentional intertwining of the various sources used, an obvious striving for brilliant effects in extraneous episodes, differences in dialect (*Leonesisms*, not all due to a copyist) and in syntax (e.g. apocope of pronouns), and, lastly, noteworthy divergence in metrical practice. It is but fair to add that the erudition might have come from his sources, and that he could have found all he needed for his compilation in the libraries of Silos or San Millán. The author knew the Latin *Alexandreis* of Gautier de Lille (or de Châtillon), finished before 1179; the *Roman d'Alexandre* (end of 12th century), by Lambert le Tors and Alexandre de Paris, who themselves only reworked material used at the beginning of the century by Albéric de Besançon; a version in decasyllables attributed to the cleric Simon; the *Liber de proeliis* of the Archpriest Leo; the *Crónica Troyana;* the Pseudo-Calisthenes; *Pindarus Thebanus;* Isidore of Seville (for the Lapidary); *Floire et Blanceflor* (for the description of Babylon); and some Greek and Latin authors, in particular Josephus, for the siege of Jerusalem, and Statius, for the siege of Troy. As for the Leonese traits in the language, it is still a question whether they are due to the author, as Menéndez Pidal thinks, or to the copyist.

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[1] *El Cristo de la Vega* (Zorrilla), *Margarita la Tornera* (Zorrilla), *La Vénus d'Ille* (Prosper Mérimée).

[2] Madrid ("Osuna") MS., ed. T. Sánchez, *op. cit.*, III, 1782; and Janer, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LVII, 1864. Paris MS., ed. A. Morel-Fatio, Dresden, 1906.—See A. Morel-Fatio, *Recherches sur le texte et les sources du Libro de Alexandre*, in *Romania*, IV, 1875, 7–90. Menéndez Pelayo, *Antol.* II, pp. lxii–lxxviii. Comte de Puymaigre, in vol. I of *Les vieux auteurs castillans*, Paris–Metz, 1861.

This hasty enumeration of sources shows how erudite the poem is. It was the first to draw so largely on themes of the Ancient World. Its learned character would appear still more clearly if one ran over all the inserted bits of knowledge, which make of it a true encyclopedia of medieval science, like the *Setenario* of Alfonso X (1250) or the *Tesoro* of Brunetto Latini (1265); there is, however, no proof that these were known to the author. He simply followed the current of awakening curiosity which seized men's minds in the century of Alfonso the Learned. He crammed every atom of his learning into a subject which lends itself very well to digressions, and thus we are carried over the whole habitable earth, not to mention the depths of hell, heaven and the seas. His wonderful travels remind one in turn of Dante, Sindbad the Sailor, Oriental writers, even Jules Verne! Plainly, the author meant to instruct: now he is historian, now geographer, now astronomer, geologist, naturalist. But he is more than these, for he does not stop with mere facts. He prides himself on his moral lesson, and points his moral, after the fashion of the ancients, with long speeches, letters, portraits, didactic tales and apologues. He does not shut himself up within cloistered walls, as did Berceo of the sacred legends; he knows the world, he is past master of courtly ways, of noble devices and of prowess. His Alexander is the model knight, the perfected type. All this lends interest to his variegated, overloaded poem.

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[1] [The consensus of opinion is still against Berceo. Menéndez Pidal assumes that Juan Lorenzo Segura was the author (*Poesía juglaresca*, p. 355).]

Here and there artist and writer emerge from the thicket. If you wish to judge of his best talent, you may read, not without pleasure, the description of the months, a favorite subject then for poets and decorators (*coplas* 2518 ff. of Morel-Fatio's edition), or the pretty lines on Spring (*coplas* 1929–1934), the portrait of Queen Calestrix (1851 ff.), the apologue of the Envious Man and the Covetous Man, or the oversubtle comparison between the earth and the human body. You will quickly learn that the author knows how to adorn his thoughts with colors bright or delicate, at will, and that under his pen the language has acquired flexibility and variety of tone.

8. "Poema de Fernán González" [1]

The *Poema de Fernán González* shows acquaintance with the work of Berceo and with the *Alixandre*. It cannot have been written before 1236, since it used the *Chronicon Mundi* of Lucas Tudensis, finished in that year. Prof. Marden places it in 1250 or soon after.[2] In all probability it was composed at the monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza, near Burgos, for the hero, the first independent Count of

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[1] Manuscript of El Escorial. Ed. Gallardo, *Ensayo de una bibl.*, I, 1863. Ed. Janer, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LVII, 1864. Ed. C. Carroll Marden, Baltimore, 1904, authoritative, with Notes and Glossary.—Critical matter in last named ed. Menéndez Pelayo, *Antol.* II, pp. lxxviii–lxxxi; and XI, cap. iv. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Notas para el romancero de Fernán González*, in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, I, 429–507. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía jugl.*, 359–361. G. Cirot, *Sur le "Fernán González,"* in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXX, 1928, 113–146.

[2] *Rev. Hisp.*, VII, 1900, 22–27. The counties of Poitou and Toulouse were united temporarily between 1250 and 1271.

Castile, endowed it richly and was buried there in 970; and so his memory, with his body, was piously preserved. The *Poema* relates his story in nearly 3000 lines, adding all sorts of legends and, as introduction, an incoherent summary of Spanish history. Like the *Poema del Cid,* it is essentially Burgalese (*Castylla Vieja . . . mejor es que lo hal*), and, like it, wears an epico-historical air, though it belongs to the *nueva maestría* by date, meter and certain pretentions to erudition. Five times the author alludes to sources which he speaks of as *escryto, ditado, lienda* and *escrytura;* these must be in some cases *gestas.* He knew contemporary poems (the *Alixandre* and *Apolonio,* among others), and the epic heroes both national and French (see *copla* 352, ed. Marden). But his great enthusiasm is his little native region, Castile, incarnate in the person of Count Fernán González. Indeed, the special quality of this poem and its real interest arise from the author's jealous attachment to the soil and his hatred of all foreigners, be they Navarrese, Poitevins or Toulousans, and from his naïve faith in local legends and miracles: the story of the hermit Pelayo, the apparition of San Millán or Santiago, the anecdote of the goshawk and the steed, the romantic adventures of the Count's wife Doña Sancha in freeing him from prison. The poem constitutes a transition, in inspiration if not in date; it is a sort of mingling of two "masteries." The language possesses much interest for the scholar.

9. The "Libro de Apolonio" [1]

The *Libro de Apolonio* dates likewise from the first half of the 13th century. It is one of the earliest examples of the *nueva maestría* and likewise one of the most curious and best written. In 2624 lines it relates the romantic story of Apollonius, Prince of Tyre, who loses his wife Luciana and his daughter Tarsia, and at last finds them again. The original tale was Greek; subsequently it was much imitated and worked over. Gower and Shakespeare (*Pericles*) used the theme. This author was Aragonese, judging by dialectal peculiarities. It is hard to say if he drew directly from a primitive Latin redaction (*Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri,* tenth century), from one included in the *Gesta Romanorum,* or from some lost French version. Whatever be the case, the complications of this Oriental tale, the novelty of the characters,[1] the author's fertility of invention for the details, and the skill with which he managed the heavy *cuaderna vía* must have pleased his contemporaries, and ensure to him a place among the founders of poetic style. At all events his skill as writer and his originality, in the measure then possible, appear the least debatable of any. Works like the *Apolonio* really enriched imaginative literature.

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[1] MS. of El Escorial. Ed. José Pidal, 1841. Ed. Janer, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LVII, 1864. Ed. C. C. Marden, 2 vols., Paris, 1917–1922 (definitive).—Criticism, last named ed. Puymaigre, *Vieux auteurs cast.*, I, 229–250. Menéndez Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, pp. lviii–lxi.

10. Other Poems in "Cuaderna Vía"

The poems already described are the most important of those belonging to the new *mester de clerecía*. But this school continued for another century to produce works externally similar. Although they belong to a later period, some will be mentioned here, in order to avoid recurring to the theme.

POEMA DE YÚÇUF.[2] The most interesting of this group is the poem called either *Poema de Yúçuf* or *Poema de José* (*Alhadiz de Yúçuf*). In 312 of the usual Alexandrine quatrains it tells the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. The narrative, which is unfinished, is drawn both from the Bible and from Sura 12 (verses 23–28) of the Koran. It was probably written by a *mudéjar* of upper Aragon. The date has been much discussed; it cannot have been later than the 14th century. The special peculiarity of this poem is that it is written in Arabic characters. It is certainly the most precious monument of the *aljamiada* literature,[3] though it includes a number of works in prose and verse. Most of them are paraphrases of the Koran, or Oriental tales (*racontamientos*, *alhadices*), in the manner of the Arabian Nights. There are also among them some echoes of medieval poetry (*Racontamiento del rey Alixandre*, *Historia de los amores de Paris e Viana*, *Doncella Larcayona*, which appears derived from the *Apolonio*). Only recently have scholars recognized the importance of these works from the triple view-points of history, literature and philology, and catalogues of the *aljamiado* texts have been drawn up.[1] The comparison of Arabic and Castilian symbols often sheds light on the Old Spanish pronunciation of certain sounds.

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[1] The sketch of Tarsiana as *juglaresa* has attracted much comment. She is a precursor of the *gitanilla* Preciosa and of Hugo's Esmeralda.

[2] Two manuscripts. That of the Bibl. Nac. of Madrid has been edited by Janer, vol. LVII of *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*; by H. Morf, Leipzig, 1883; by M. Schmitz, in *Rom. Forschungen*, XI, 1901, 315–411, 623–627. That of the Acad. de la Historia of Madrid, by R. Menéndez Pidal, in *Rev. de Archivos*, VII, 1902, 91–129, 276–309, 347–362. See Ticknor, *Hist. Span. Lit.*, 1st Am. ed., 1849, III, 432–458. J. D. M. Ford, *The Old Spanish Sibilants*, Boston, 1900. R. Menéndez Pidal, in *Rev. de Archivos*, VII, 1902, 276 ff., 347 ff. J. Saroïhandy, *Remarques sur le poème de Yúçuf*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, VI, 1904, 182 ff.

[3] The name comes from the word *al-'ajami*, "foreign," a term applied by the Arabs to the Romance tongues spoken by the *mudéjares*.

The *Poema de Yúçuf* itself does not lack literary merit. But, despite a certain Oriental color, easily explicable by the nature of subject and models, I prefer to see in it a proof of the influence wielded by Spanish literature upon Arabic culture rather than the reverse.

VIDA DE SAN ILDEFONSO.[2] The *Vida de San Ildefonso,* in 1030 Alexandrines, dates from the beginning of the 14th century. The date is made certain by the poem itself,[3] and it was probably inspired when, in 1302, the Council of Peñafiel fixed the saint's holiday. The author's name is not known, though he tells us that he had " previously rhymed of the Magdalen, in the time when he was holder of a benefice at Úbeda." His *façion rimada* about San Ildefonso has no literary merit. It celebrates in the most prosaic fashion the virtues and miracles of that saint, a disciple of St. Isidore of Seville, and later Archbishop of Toledo, who received the chasuble from the hands of the Virgin. A good " language text," but sorry verse, the poem doubtless issued from some cloister or church of that city of Toledo which is in it " exalted above all others, *sobre todas mucho ensalzada.*"

Lastly, in the *cuaderna vía* school, we should name the *Libro de miseria de homne,* published in 1920 by Miguel Artigas. It belongs to the 14th century.[4]

11. Other Archaic Poems

Besides the poems which fit properly into the *mesteres de joglaría* and *de clerecía,* there remain a few poetic compositions on various themes, written in different meters. They are in the main contemporary with the others. They demonstrate the variety of poetic inspiration which prevailed.

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[1] Ed. Saavedra, *Índice general de la lit. aljamiada* (*Discurso en la R. Acad. Esp.,* 1878). It contains a list of 135 titles. Many others have since been added; see *Col. de textos aljamiados,* by P. Gil, J. Ribera, M. Sánchez, 1888. P. Gil y Gil, *Los manuscritos árabes de mi colección,* in *Hom. a Codera,* Zaragoza, 1904, pp. 537–549. J. Ribera y M. Asín, *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la Bibl. de la Junta para ampliación de estudios,* 1912. G. Palencia, *Algunos manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de Toledo y Madrid,* in *Misc. de estudios y textos árabes,* 1915.

[2] Original MS., now lost, of San Martín, Madrid. Known to Sánchez, but not published by him. Ed. Janer, in vol. LVII of *Bibl. Aut. Esp.* from a poor copy. Cf. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía jugl.,* 379, n. i.

[3] " *Reynaba don Alonso* (read *Fernando*), *quando el lo fisiera, Fijo de don Sancho e de donna Maria.*" I.e. Fernando IV, 1295–1312.

[4] *Boletín de la Bibl. Menéndez y Pelayo,* Santander, 1919–1920.

I. The LIBRE DELS TRES REYS D'ORIENT.[1] The *Libro de los tres Reyes de Oriente* (250 lines) is extant in the same manuscript that contains the *Apolonio* and *Santa María Egipciaca.* It narrates first the arrival of the Magi and the Massacre of the Innocents, then the Flight into Egypt and the story of the two thieves, Dimas and Gestas. The two subjects are simply placed side by side. The purely Catalan form of the manuscript title, the abundance of nine-syllable lines, although the Spanish octosyllable predominates, and the frequent occurrence of this legend in the pious literature of the monks of Cluny make it probable that the model was Provençal or French. The date does not seem earlier than the 13th century.

II. LA VIDA DE SANTA MARÍA EGIPCIAQUA[2] is far more important, though its merit belongs more to its model than to its anonymous author. The foreign origin is obvious. It is shown by words like *domatge, argente, ostat, affer,* and many more, as well as by syntactical turns like *tornat vos end* (=*retournez-vous en*). Mussafia discovered the exact source from which it came, directly or indirectly: it was a French composition preserved at Oxford in a manuscript of the 14th century.[3] The naïve romantic legend reads pleasantly in the Castilian; it would be easy to select passages of charming rude simplicity, as the two portraits of the erring woman in youth and in age, her meeting with the hermit Gozimas in the desert, etc. The mixture of eight- and nine-syllable lines, as in the preceding poem, reveals a struggle between national and French meters.

III. The influence of the Spanish ballad-line is seen also in the DISPUTA DEL ALMA Y EL CUERPO.[4] The Anglo-Norman original, found and reprinted by F. Wolf, is written in seven-syllable lines,[1] (*Un samedi par nuit,* | *Endormi dans mon lit* . . .), but the Spanish version, in couplets, contains lines of seven and eight: (*Si quereedes oir* | *Lo que vos quiero dezir* . . .). This brief fragment, found on the back of a donation of 1201, is only one of those debates (*débats, rixes, disputes*) so common in France and Provence during the Middle Ages.

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[1] MS. of El Escorial, first published by P. J. Pidal in *Revista de Madrid*, 1841. Ed. Janer, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LVII, 1864. Ed. E. Díez-Canedo, in *Poema de Mio Cid y otros monumentos*, etc., 1919. Facsimile of MS. by A. M. Huntington, N. Y., 1904.

[2] MS. of El Escorial, ed. P. J. Pidal, 1841. Ed. Janer, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LVII. Ed. Foulché-Delbosc, Barc., 1907.—See Mussafia, *Ueber die Quelle der altsp. Vida de S. M. E.* in *Sitzungsberichte d. k. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, Wien, 1863. G. Bertoni, in *Giornale storico*, LI, 1908, 207–215. A. T. Baker, in *Rev. des Langues Romanes*, LIX, 1912, 145–401.

[3] Perhaps by Bishop Grosseteste, d. 1253.

[4] Ed. P. J. Pidal, 1856. Ed. Octavio de Toledo, in *Zeitschrift f. rom. Philol.*, II, 1878, 60–62. Ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, in *Rev. de Archivos*, IV, 1900, 449–453 with

IV. To the same category of debates belong: 1°, the RAZÓN DE AMOR CON LOS DENUESTOS DEL AGUA Y EL VINO,[2] an incoherent composition, in which two very different themes, a love-meeting in the Galician manner and a debate, were clumsily united by the same author, or else were arbitrarily juxtaposed by a minstrel, probably Navarro-Aragonese, early in the 13th century. Was the author the *Lupus de Moros* who set his name at the end of the manuscript? We cannot be sure of it, on account of the possible duality of origin of the two parts, and also because the author of the amorous pastoral, the *escolar* of line 5, declares that he was educated in Germany, France and Lombardy, and so would seem to be another person than the Aragonese *Lope* who signed the extant copy. However that may be,[3] the two poems, especially the first, display real talent. The *Razon feyta d'amor* is in point of time the first Castilian poem deserving the name of lyric. That in itself gives it importance.

2°, ELENA Y MARÍA, or the DISPUTA DEL CLÉRIGO Y EL CABALLERO, the fragments of which were published by Menéndez Pidal.[4] The subject, which had been treated several times already in French courtly poetry,[5] is a debate between two girls concerning the relative merits of their gallants, a cleric (*abbad*) and a knight. The

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facsimile; same text in *Poema de Mio Cid y otros monumentos*, 1919. Ed. J. D. M. Ford, in *Old Spanish Readings*, Boston, 1906.—See B. Sutorius, *Le débat provençal de l'âme et du corps*, Freiburg, 1916.

[1] [In this book the syllable-count will always be reckoned *modo hispanico*, that, is, as if each line ended in a paroxytone. M. Mérimée, in speaking of French verse naturally counted by the French system (*modo gallico*), as if the last accented syllable were in fact the last.]

[2] MS. of Paris (Bibl. Nat. no. 3576). Ed. A. Morel-Fatio, in *Romania* XVI, 1887, 368–379. Ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Rev. Hisp.*, XIII, 1905, 602–618; reprinted in *Poema de Mio Cid y otros monumentos*, 1919.

[3] The matter has been much debated. Menéndez Pidal credits the whole work to a single author; cf. *Poesía juglaresca*, p. 186.

[4] In *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, I, 1914, 52–96; reprinted in *Poema de Mio Cid y otros monumentos*, 1919. See also his *Poesía jugl.*, 380–381.

[5] As for example, in the *Jugement d'amour*, a Picard poem of the end of the 12th century or beginning of the 13th.

date is probably in the last third of the 13th century. The language is Leonese, and the meter an imitation of the French nine-syllable, although the *romance* line of eight syllables, so popular in Spain, is the most common.[1]

12. Beginnings of the Drama

Dramatic poetry appeared but late in Spain, though it was to flower there so brilliantly. During the archaic period it has left only few and mediocre remains, at least in Castilian literature proper.

In Spain, as in France and elsewhere, the drama grew out of the liturgical ceremonies of the Church. Some of them, in particular the Passion and Nativity, contained elements easily adapted to the stage. These germs developed when French monks introduced, together with other customs of their native churches, this type of literature which was already flourishing in France. The legal texts of the Middle Ages, the *Fuero Juzgo* and later the *Siete Partidas*, shed some light upon stage performances, often accompanied by mimetic dances, and likewise on the professional performers (*juglares*, *remedadores*, *cazurros*).[2] It is probable, to be sure, that the theatrical traditions of ancient times never completely disappeared from the Peninsula. They may have left obscure traces the search for which fascinates the erudite investigator, but the average person of letters will during a long period find nothing worthy to arrest his attention.

One of the very rare mystery plays which have survived to show us what the feeble drama of that time was like is the *Auto* or *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*.[3] In its present form it was written down early in the 13th century, though it was doubtless composed earlier, judging by the archaisms which the text contains. The three Magi Gaspar, Melchor and Baltasar [4] appear at first separately; then, after meeting and consulting with regard to the meaning of the mysterious star they have seen, they seek Herod, who, disturbed by this warning sign announced by Jeremiah, questions his priests and sages. This Mystery Play is only a fragment, and it breaks off abruptly after about 150 lines. It is not easy to count them exactly for there are gaps, and the meter is none too clear. In the main the lines are arranged in couplets. The nine-syllable predominates, but there are many of seven, and some as short as four and as long as fourteen. This polymetry seems to foreshadow the *copla de pie quebrado,* as well as the mixture of verse-forms so characteristic of the later *comedia.*[1] There are also some monorhyme series. Fragmentary as it is, the little play does not lack power and vivacity. It is certainly the oldest dramatic text yet discovered in Spanish literature, and it stands in isolation at the beginning of the archaic period.

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[1] [Next to it the seven-syllable, and third in frequency the nine. See Pidal's ed., p. 94. He regards it as an "ametric poem," like the *Poem of the Cid*, though in shorter verse.]

[2] On the distinctions between these and other names, see R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía jugl.*, *passim.*

[3] MS. of Toledo, first published by Amador de los Ríos, *Hist. crít.*, III, 658–660. Ed. Lidforss, *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.*, XII, 1871, 44–59. Ed. G. Baist, Erlangen, 1887. Paleographic ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, in *Rev. de Archivos*, IV, 1900, 453–462; reprinted in *Poema de Mio Cid y otros monumentos*, 1919.—See A. M. Espinosa, in *Romanic Rev.*, VI, 1915, 378–401. A. Bonilla y San Martín, in *Las Bacantes*, 1921. J. D. M. Ford, in *Old Spanish Readings*, Boston, 1906.

[4] Cf. K. A. M. Hartmann, *Ueber das altspanische Dreikönigsspiel*, Bautzen,

13. The Galician Lyric

Lyric poetry of this time is scarcely richer. Castilian poetry, properly so called, seems not to have felt any direct and genuine influence either from the Arabic or Jewish lyric, flourishing as they were, or even from that of Provence and Northern France, despite the frequent visits of the troubadours. As regards Arabic influence, nearly all the critics consider it negligible.[2] Some Arabic scholars do not agree, however. D. Julián Ribera, for example, goes so far as to say that the " mysterious key which explains the mechanism of poetic forms in all the lyric systems of the civilized world in the Middle Ages is to be found in the Andalusian lyric."[3] His conclusion is based upon a study of the *cancionero* of Abencuzmán, a Cordovan poet of the 12th century.

If there was a Castilian lyric in those early times, scarcely any trace of it remains; no one troubled to write down such songs. Yet

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1879. The names of the Three Magi did not become popularly known till after the alleged discovery of their bodies at Milan in 1158 and their transportation to Cologne in 1164.

[1] This remark was made by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, p. xxix. On the versification, see Espinosa, *op. cit.*, and H. R. Lang, *A Correction*, in *Romanic Rev.*, VII, 1916, 345–349; and Espinosa, *Synalepha in Old Spanish Poetry, a Reply to Mr. Lang*, in *Romanic Rev.*, VIII, 1917, 88–98.

[2] As, Milá y Fontanals, Amador de los Ríos, Renan, Dozy, Menéndez y Pelayo. [But cf. above, p. 19, n. 2.]

[3] J. Ribera, *Discurso leído en la recepción . . . en la R. Acad. Esp.*, May 26, 1912, *El Cancionero de Abencuzmán.*

some of them endured in oral tradition. There later poets, investigators and dramatists (Tirso de Molina and especially Lope de Vega) sought remnants of that lyric folk-lore in order to adorn their works with them or to imitate them, as Santillana and Juan Ruiz had done.[1] But in written literature the most that one can do is to pick out a few passages that have a somewhat lyric air, such as the *cántiga* or *villancico* of the Jews in Berceo's *Duelo de la Virgen*, or some lines of the *Razón de amor*. What is the explanation of so striking a lacuna?

An unexpected phenomenon, and one hard to explain at first glance, is that all the lyric poetry of the first period is Galician. That is to say, it was written in the Galician or Portuguese dialect (at that time one and the same) by native Castilians like Alfonso X and Gonçalo García, and even by the Sevillan Pedro Amigo. Almost the entire body of Galician verse is contained in Alfonso's *Cantigas de Santa María*, which will be discussed later, and in the three *Cancioneros* of the Vatican, of Colocci-Brancuti and of Ajuda.[2]

In the 15th century the Marquis of Santillana bore witness to the fact. He pointed out how the poetry "of the Limousins" had spread toward the western nations of Spain, and added that in no other province was it so much cultivated as in Galicia and Portugal, "to the extent that not long since every *decidor* and troubadour, whether of Castile, Andalusia or Extremadura, composed all his works in the Galician or Portuguese tongue." [3] His statement is most exact; there did take place in Portugal and Galicia, from the 12th to the 14th centuries, a fascinating bloom of lyric verse which may be explained by the political and historical causes already set forth.

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[1] [It is, of course, impossible for us to know the age of the popular lyric morsels which do not appear till the 16th century. A full and valuable, though undiscriminating, collection of them is *La verdadera poesía castellana; Floresta de la antigua lírica popular, recogida y estudiada por* D. Julio Cejador y Frauca, 5 vols., 1921–1924. The editor believes them very ancient. The best discussion of the whole subject is in R. Menéndez Pidal, *Discurso acerca de la primitiva poesía lírica española*, 1919.]

[2] Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*, 2 vols., Halle, 1904. E. Monaci, *Canzoniere portoghese della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Halle, 1875. Th. Braga, *Cancioneiro portuguez da Vaticana*, Lisboa, 1878. E. G. Molteni, *Canzoniere portoghese Colocci-Brancuti*, Halle, 1880. Cf. H. R. Lang, *Cancioneiro Gallego-Castelhano*, N. Y., 1902. H. R. Lang, *Das Liederbuch des Königs Denis von Portugal*, Halle, 1894. See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. de poetas líricos*, III, pp. v–lii.

[3] *Carta al Condestable de Portugal*, § XIV.

The Provençal lyric acted first on that of northern France, and then radiated outward. It projected its models, types, metrics and laws beyond the Pyrenees. Its influence was weak in the center of Spain, but became dominant in the east and west, in Catalonia and Portugal. It kindled there, so to speak, two fires of poetry, one of which cast its glow upon its neighbor Castile. Gradually fashion and convention became involved. It was the proper thing to follow the example of King Alfonso X or his grandson King Diniz (d. 1325), and write *cantares d'amor* "*en maneyra de proençal*" in the language consecrated and reserved for the purpose. This phenomenon resembles one observed in ancient Greece: the adoption of a given dialect for a certain poetic genre. Galician-Portuguese was the lyric idiom, just as Castilian was the epic idiom, and it remained such till the early 15th century. From that time on, Castilian gained the advantage, east and west.

This poetry is essentially *courtly*, as was its prototype. It flourished in the courts; princes or court poets cultivated it. But by the side of the conventional elegant models, the Vatican *cancioneros* have brought to light another sort, less artificial and, if not popular (for that word is too vague), at least closer to the people.[1] The satirical portion is represented by *cantigas de maldizer* and *d'escarnho*, by the *joguete derteiro* and *risaoelha*, closely related to the Provençal *sirventés*. "There is no denying" says Menéndez y Pelayo, "that there existed in the 13th and 14th centuries a popular lyric of rare freshness and beauty." [2] Is the tinge of dreamy melancholy which one catches in some of these poems to be explained by a survival of racial traits in that half-Celtic stock? Possibly, but the importance of that hypothesis must not be exaggerated. In the first place, the French models had something to do with it. Then, these verses, often signed by professional poets, can be at best only echoes, more or less skilful imitations of a local, popular lyric, if such existed. In any case, it did not create for itself an original mould. "Most of the popular themes found in the Vatican *cancionero* entered Portugal from France, and Portuguese poetry has merely modified them in slight details. With regard to the method of their treatment, one can affirm still more definitely that French imitation is evident."[1] The most original, perhaps the only truly original characteristic of this poetry is a particular shade of sentiment which is hardly to be found in the models.

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[1] The *cantares de ledino*, or merry songs, the *cantigas d'amigo* or *d'amor*, according to whether they are sung by maid or man, the *baladas* or *rondas*, the *villanescas*, pastorals, the *cantigas* of sailors, or barcaroles, and certain others of an unexpectedly melancholy nature. [The term *cantar de ledino* is a relatively modern term, never used in the *cancioneros*. See H. R. Lang, *Romanic Rev.* XV, 1924, p. 129; and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. de poetas líricos*, III, p. xix, n. 1.]

[2] *Antol. de poetas líricos*, III, p. xvii.

Be that as it may, the existence of this lyric, unknown not so long since, is now a fact not to be overlooked. The Galician-Portuguese school remains, to be sure, outside of Spanish literature proper, and we need not study it for its own sake, but its influence must be considered. Some of the later lyric types and certain metrical forms derive from it, such as the *cantigas de serrana* or *serranillas*, *villancicos*, popular *églogas*, etc. The hendecasyllable called *de gaita gallega*, with its two obligatory accents on syllables four and seven, comes directly from that source. This influence can be seen strongly at work in the growing lyric of the following centuries, witness the Castilian anthology of Baena and the Portuguese of Resende. We know now the reason for the lyric poverty of Castile in the archaic period: her poets did not sing in their own tongue.

There is reason to believe, however, that the people's muse sang in Castilian, and that is what Menéndez Pidal has tried to demonstrate in his *Primitiva poesía lírica española*.[2] Among the different types of *serranilla*, he finds one which existed in germ in the *villancicos* of the sierra, free from all foreign influence. Among such native beginnings he would count the May-songs, songs of watchmen (*veladores*), harvesters, gleaners, *villancicos* of shepherds, carols of Christmas and St. John's Eve, songs of pilgrims and a few other modest flowers of the fields, humble treasures that poets or folklorists gathered with care in later years. A comparative study of the early Castilian lyric and the popular poetry transcribed by Abencuzmán may yet disclose some bond of union between the two.

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[1] A. Jeanroy, *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, Paris, 1889, p. 334.

[2] Cf. p. 52, n. 1, end.

CHAPTER II

FROM ALFONSO X TO JUAN II
(1252–1406)

1. Summary of History and Art

Kings of Castile and León, House of Burgundy: Alfonso X *el Sabio* (1252–1284).—Sancho IV *el Bravo* (1284–1295).—Fernando IV *el Emplazado* (1295–1312).—Alfonso XI *el del Salado* (1312–1350).—Pedro I *el Cruel* or *el Justiciero* (1350–1369).—*House of Trastamara:* Enrique II *el de las Mercedes* (1369–1379).—Juan I (1379–1390).—Enrique III *el Doliente* (1390–1406).

During this period Castile (united with León), Navarre and Aragon (united with Catalonia) still keep their separate dynasties. All over Christian Spain like conditions prevailed throughout these two centuries: on one hand, the kings struggled to hold down the turbulent, ambitious nobles; on the other, the bourgeoisie and the lower classes grew in power, profiting by the quarrels between royalty and nobility to gain and hold a relative liberty, and to have their rights enacted into law.

Consequently the history of these reigns is, except at rare intervals, a monotonous succession of rebellions, usurpations and civil wars, interrupted only by cruel repression on the part of some energetic sovereign or minister, such as Sancho IV *el Bravo* and his wife María de Molina, regent during the minority of Fernando IV and also during that of her grandson Alfonso XI, or still more those forceful rulers Pedro *el Cruel* and the Constable Don Álvaro de Luna, favorite of Juan II. Thanks to this perpetual discord, the hard-pressed Moslems were able to hold out in the Kingdom of Granada. The invasion of the Benimerines came near proving disastrous to Spain, but Alfonso XI saved the day by winning the battle of the river Salado (1340). Aragon and Catalonia, relieved of menace from the Arabs, turned their activities toward the Mediterranean. Roger de Lauria, Ramón Marquet and other skilful leaders conquered Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia. The *almogávares* of Roger de Flor even seized Constantinople for an instant and carried the fear of the Aragonese *barras* throughout the Levant.

In the midst of these constant struggles, the domestic situation of the Spanish kingdoms, especially of Castile, was far from reassuring. The real interest of the period lies in the efforts of the middle classes to attain a recognized position which, guaranteed by *Fueros*, might insure to them relative independence. The former serfs (*juniores de hereditate, yugueros* in Castile, *vasallos de parada, homes de paratge, payeses de remensa,* in the Aragonese-Catalan monarchy, *forenses* in Majorca), completed, in law if not always in fact, the acquisition of a more favorable status, recognized by the Cortes and written down in the *Fueros.*[1] Municipal institutions became organized. Through the communal *concejos* the middle classes grew conscious of their strength; from them issued the jurists or *letrados,* natural allies of royal authority. These municipalities became the cradle of future liberties, especially in the eastern provinces, at Barcelona and Valencia.[2] Aragon created a special magistrate, the *Justicia,*[3] a mediator between the nobles and the king; under certain later conditions, he came to personify the *fueros* of the land as opposed to royal omnipotence. But in that kingdom the condition of the servile classes long remained more harsh than elsewhere. The *Privilegio general* (1283) and the " Privilege of the Union " (1287) merely served to strengthen the position of the aristocracy over against the king.

The development of commercial, fiduciary and maritime institutions has not yet been well studied, but it is certainly one of the striking cultural features of this time.[4] There is another characteristic, more related to our field, which a mere reading of the literature would allow us to detect: it is the general lowering of civic morale. Almost continuous social upheavals, murders, treachery, scandalous examples set by kings, princes and prelates, anarchy in State and Church (the latter rent by the Great Schism of the West), not to mention scourges like the Black Death of Algeciras, "*la gran mortandad*" (1348), make of these two centuries, especially the 14th, one of the saddest epochs in all Spanish history.

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[1] We have already indicated the importance of the *Fueros* for the study of vocabulary and language (p. 13).

[2] In Castile, the Cortes of Valladolid in 1296, 1307, 1325, 1351; of Burgos in 1311; of Madrid in 1329; of Alcalá in 1348. In Catalonia, the Customs (*Usatges*) of Tortosa, 1279; the Constitution of Barcelona (1283).

[3] J. Ribera, *Orígenes del Justicia Mayor de Aragón,* Zaragoza, 1897 (*Col. de estudios árabes,* II).

[4] *Privilegio de mercaderes,* 1281; *Ordenamiento de menestrales,* under Pedro I; development of *Cofradías, Gremios;* institution of *Consulados de Mar,* and *Lonjas* (mercantile exchanges); introduction of bills of exchange, etc.

Literary and Artistic Influences

But at least the fine arts and literature, as will be seen, continued to develop. New facts may be added to those already noted in the preceding period. The French *Midi* continued to exert a strong power on the northern provinces of Spain, and through them on the rest of the country. From 1234 to 1253 the famous Thibaut de Champagne reigned in Navarre, an inheritance from his mother's side. He brought with him French customs. Thibaut was a poet, and a friend or contemporary of Guillaume de Lorris, Chrétien de Troyes, Gautier de Coincy and others. Through him something of the lyric of the time, courtly and artificial as it was, must more readily have passed the Pyrenees, and with it the Ovidian literature, the *Pamphilus de amore* and the *Ars amandi.*

During the greater part of this period the two most powerful influences were still the French, in literature and art, and the Arabic, in science, philosophy and the arts of luxury. Italy did not make her entrance till near the end of the 14th century. The sources of knowledge were multiplied by the *aljamas*, or *mudéjar* schools, and the Toledan school of translators and learned men, who taught even the black arts (*los diablos, la ciencia toledana*). Universities were organized and developed; some Spanish scholars even distinguished themselves in foreign parts, at Paris, Rome and Bologna, where, in 1364, Cardinal Gil de Albornoz founded the Spanish college of San Clemente.

The Arts

In the course of the 13th century the Pointed Arch (*Gothic*) definitively replaced the Round Arch (*Romanesque*). At first the two were combined, as at Santiago, Tarragona, Lérida, the Cistercian monastery of Las Huelgas at Burgos, and many another edifice. This period gave to Spain, if not in every detail, at least in the main plan and structure, the splendid cathedrals which are her finest architectural jewels: Burgos (founded by Fernando III *el Santo*, July 20, 1221), Toledo (August 11, 1227), and León (begun about 1250). These masterpieces have remained for the most part, like the earliest monuments of Spanish literature, anonymous, but French influence is clear in both. The great cathedrals of northern France gave the models for the former.

In like periods like currents were in motion in art and literature.

Beside these master churches, others arose on every side, at Palencia, Cuenca, Oviedo, Barcelona, Palma de Mallorca. Their roofs sheltered countless wonders of detail, cloisters, tombs, portals, tympanums, statues, retables, etc. In Spain ogival art followed the same course as in France, from the severe simplicity of the 13th century, through the more complex ornamentation of the 14th to the exuberant fancies of the flamboyant style in the 15th and 16th centuries.

The architecture of Southern France is to be found copied at Manresa, Gerona, Tarragona and in the Cistercian abbeys (Santas Creus, Poblet, etc.). Quite often one finds the single nave, with chapels set between the buttresses, as at the Church of the Jacobins in Toulouse. The octagonal bell-towers (*Miguelete* and *Torres de Serranos* at Valencia, towers at Lérida and Barcelona) are also reminiscent of the campaniles of Toulouse and Provence.

Imitation of the Arabic styles produced a more national type, *mudéjar* art, which has left so many characteristic edifices, from the old Alcázar of Seville and the synagogues of Toledo (El Tránsito, Santa María la Blanca), to the elegant Puerta del Sol of the same city, the recently demolished Torre Nueva of Saragossa, and numerous churches of Old Castile, like Santa María de la Mejorada.

Nuestra Señora de la Lugareja (Arévalo) offers an interesting type of brick Romanesque-ogival, from the early 14th century. This transition style lasted long, and may be studied in many buildings, as in the Sala Capitular of the Cathedral of Toledo, the chapel of the Annunciation in that of Sigüenza, and the University chapel at Alcalá.

The mural paintings in the Old Cathedral and San Martín at Salamanca, the Last Judgment in San Isidoro at León, give a notion of the early frescoes. In the 14th century imitation of Italian primitives, especially of Giotto (1266?–1337), appears, and this is most in evidence on the Mediterranean coast (see the Museum of Valencia). Then, after the visit of Van Eyck to Spain (1428) the influence of the Flemings (*flamencos*) begins and in the following period becomes dominant. Painting on glass (stained-glass windows of León, 14th century) and on parchment (miniatures) takes rather after French and Parisian models, though there are already traces of the Italian illuminators. As fine examples of illuminated manuscripts one may mention certain works of Alfonso X (*Cantigas*, *Lapidario*, *Saber de Astronomía*), the Bibles of Pedro of Pamplona and of Luis de Guzmán, the *Pontifical* of Seville, etc. Plainsong reached its full development in the 13th century, with the monks of Cluny; the profane lyric borrowed its melodies and instruments from the Provençals, Galicians and Moslems.

Contemporary Literatures

The chief names of **French** literature during this era are: the chroniclers Joinville (1224–1319) and Froissart (1338–1410?), who followed the example set by Villehardouin; the poets Guillaume de Lorris (d. ca. 1260) and Jean de Meung (d. ca. 1305), authors of the *Roman de la Rose;* Ruteboeuf (fl. 1260) and Eustache Deschamps (d. ca. 1410?); the dramatist Adam de la Halle (d. 1286?). Miracle Plays (*de Notre-Dame, de Théophile,* etc.), Mystery Plays, the *Jeux* (*de la Feuillée, de Robin et Marion, de Grisélidis*) continue the dramatic traditions. In short, as the epic died, prose, lyric and drama assumed greater importance.

Provençal literature, so flourishing just previously, was crushed at one stroke by the Albigensian crusade (1209). Many troubadours fled to Spain, and contributed to the brilliance of the courts of Jaime I (1213–1276) and Pedro III (1276–1285) of Aragon, and of Alfonso X of Castile.[1] Most of them were protégés of the last-named, or corresponded with him. Castile, to be sure, was still poor soil for the lyric, and these singers found warmer welcome in Portugal, Aragon and Catalonia. The rules of their complicated, highly formal art were set down successively by Raimón Vidal of Besalú, in his *Razós de trobar* (first half of the 13th century), by Jaufré de Foxá (*Regles de trobar*, ca. 1290), and later by Guilhem Molinier, ca. 1355, in his *Flors del gay saber*, or *Leys d'amors*. The creation of the *Consistoire de la gaie science* in Toulouse in 1323 had brought about a sort of revival of poetic art, and in 1393 another *Consistorio* was established at Barcelona. "The doctrines of the *Leys d'amors* remained in force for a long time, as is shown by the many poems which received awards during the 15th and 16th centuries at the *Floral Games* of Barcelona, Valencia and Palma. In this last city there appeared in 1550, when the Renaissance was at its flood, an *Arte de trobar* which is no more than a summary and final reworking of the old Toulousan code." [1]

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[1] Milá y Fontanals, *De los trovadores en España*, vol. II of *Obras completas*, Barcelona, 1889, esp. ch. II, *Trovadores provenzales en España*. C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, *Canc. da Ajuda*, II, Halle, 1904, ch. vii. A. Jeanroy, *Les Troubadours en Espagne*, *Annales du Midi*, XXVII, July–Oct., 1915. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca, passim.*

Italian literature burst forth into a splendid flowering precisely at the end of the 13th and during the 14th centuries. This brilliant period began with the *Novellino* (near 1300), Dino Compagni (*Cronica delle cose occorrenti ne' tempi suoi*, ca. 1310), the *Tesoretto* of Brunetto Latini (1210?–1294; the work was an adaptation from the French, the author Florentine ambassador to Alfonso X), the poetry of Guido Cavalcanti (1259?–1300), Cino da Pistoia (1270?–1337) and Ser Durante (Dante?). Then came the great *Trecento:* Dante Alighieri (1265–1321; *Vita Nuova, Divina Commedia, Convivio*), Petrarch (1304–1374; *Rime, Trionfi*, Latin works), Boccaccio (1313–1375; *Decameron, Filòcolo, Filostrato, La Fiammetta, Il Ninfale Fiesolano, L'Amorosa Visione*). Almost contemporary were Francesco da Barberino (1264–1348; *I Documenti d'Amore, Del reggimento e costumi di donna*), Sacchetti (1330?–1400), G. Villani the historian (d. 1348), St. Catherine of Siena (1347–1380; *Letters*), and lastly Salutati (1331–1406), who, with Petrarch, initiates the era of Latinism and humanism. Clearly, a radiance so magnificent could not fail to shed its light on the surrounding nations, and especially on the eastern regions of Spain. Before long Italy became one of the most fecund inspirers of Spanish literature and art.

English literature and Spanish were little known to each other at this time. Contact was first provided when Prince Edward, later Edward I, married Eleanor, half-sister of Alfonso X, in 1254. From that time till the reign of Philip II the two countries were generally friendly and often in alliance. English troops trod Spanish soil when the Black Prince aided Peter the Cruel to defeat Henry of Trastamara at Nájera (1367). But English influence upon Spanish letters was slight and slow. Odo of Cheriton's *Narrationes* (1222?) and an English-made abridgment of it, *Speculum laicorum*, finally reached Spain about 1400 as the *Libro de los*

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[1] A. Restori, *Hist. de la litt. prov.*, Montpellier, 1894, p. 81. Cf. J. Anglade, *Les Troubadours*, Paris, 1908.

gatos (*cuentos?*) and the *Espejo de legos* respectively. John Gower's *Confessio amantis* (1390?) traveled more rapidly, for Juan de Cuenca's Castilian version, made from a lost Portuguese rendering, was done about 1400.[1] What share any English Arthurian or other romances may have had in forming the Spanish Romances of Chivalry is in doubt. Important among English writings of this period were: Miracle and Mystery Plays; Moralities; Interludes; Langland?, *Vision of Piers Plowman* (1362, 1377); Wyclif, translation of the *Bible* (1380?); Geoffrey Chaucer (1340?–1400). *Troilus and Creseyde* (1380–1383); *Canterbury Tales* (1373–1390?).

LITERATURE

FIRST PART: PROSE

2. The Literary Work of Alfonso the Learned [2]

It can be said without paradox that the real founder of Castilian prose was King Alfonso X, whose long reign (1252–1284), so unlucky politically, was at least very favorable to letters. There are, to be sure, a few earlier works which may be cited to show that prose in the vulgar tongue had made some headway. Such are: the brief and insignificant treatise on the Ten Commandments (*Los diez mandamientos*, early 13th century); the *Anales toledanos*, mere chronological notes, the first two parts of which reach respectively the years 1219 and 1250; the *Estoria de los Godos*,[3] a Castilian version of the *Historia Gothica* of the Archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (d. 1247); and in particular the *Fuero Juzgo*,[4] a translation, made in 1241 by order of Fernando III, of the *Forum Judicum*, inspired by the ancient *Lex Romana Visigothorum*. The *Fuero Juzgo* is of prime importance for the history of both literature and law.

But none of these books can compare in literary merit with some of those written, or at least inspired, by the learned king. During his reign, says Amador de los Ríos, "all human knowledge was summoned to contribute to a marvelous concerted effort guided by that intelligent monarch. Natural sciences, philosophy, jurisprudence, history, poetry and all branches of learning became the object of a cult; the enlightened prince sought out constantly men and books that might contribute to the full development of his great plans." His court was one of the most brilliant in the Middle Ages. Provençal and French troubadours flocked thither, sure of finding protection and profit. Many of them have left testimony of their admiration and gratitude for the artist king, of whom Bonifaci Calvo wrote:

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[1] *Confisión del amante*, ed. Birch-Hirschfeld, 1909. It was never printed before.

[2] See A. G. Solalinde, *Alfonso X el Sabio, Antología de sus obras*. 2 vols., 1922. Contains some selections from unpublished MSS., and Bibliography.

[3] Ed. Paz y Melia, *Doc. inéd. para la hist. de Esp.*, LXXXVIII, 1887.

[4] Ed. R. Acad. Esp., 1815.

> Enquer cab sai chanz e solatz,
> Pos los mante lo Reis N'Anfos,
> Mas si per lui tot sol no fos
> Ja'ls agron del tot oblidatz.

(*Still song and merriment are here, for King Alfonso fosters them; but were it not for him, and him alone, by now they would have been wholly forgotten.*)

Leaving aside the works which are certainly apocryphal (*Espéculo*, *Tesoro*, *Cartas de Alixandre*, *Libro de Alixandre*, *romance* in Castilian, poems in Provençal), we can do no more than enumerate here those which have only a technical and scientific value: the *Libros del saber de Astronomía* and the *Tablas Alfonsíes* (1252);[1] manuals for players of chess (*Açedrez*),[2] dice (*Dados*), and backgammon (*Tablas*); the book on hunting (*Libro de la Montería* or *Tratado de la Venación*), which after all is probably not the one written by this king, and perhaps not by Alfonso XI either; the curious *Libro de las piedras* or *Lapidario*,[3] which he caused to be translated from the Arabic "while he was still Infante," i.e. before 1252, by the rabbi Judah Ben Mosseh and Garci Pérez; the *Libro de la ochava esfera* (1259), and even the *Septenario* or treatise on the Seven Arts,[4] an encyclopedic summary of all the science of the Middle Ages, like Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*, which in the following reign received a translation. The enormous output of Alfonso and his collaborators constituted in fact a sort of Encyclopedia, meant to embrace the entire knowledge of the epoch. In Spain, as elsewhere, the need was already felt of a stock-taking. Alfonso the Learned deserved to have his name attached to the enterprise. At least three of his own works hold a place in literary history.

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[1] Ed. Rico y Sinobas, 5 vols., 1863–1867.

[2] *Das spanische Schachzabelbuch des Königs Alfons des Weisen*, etc., Leipzig, 1913.

[3] Ed. J. Fernández Montaña, facsimile of the Escorial MS., 1881.

[4] The *Trivium* (Grammar, Logic and Rhetoric) and *Quadrivium* (Music, Astrology, Physics and Metaphysics).

3. The Chronicles of Spain

The *Primera Crónica general* or *Estoria de España*[1] is a sort of universal history beginning with the creation of the world and stopping with the death of Fernando III. It holds a mass of tales borrowed from the most diverse sources, from the Bible and ancient authors down to *Cantares de gesta*, Arabic writers (especially for the story of the Cid), popular traditions, and previous historians who wrote in Latin, like the Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo and Lucas, Bishop of Tuy.[2] Attention has already been drawn to the "prosifications" of the *Cantares*, so precious for literary history. Even in the Florián de Ocampo edition of the *Crónica* (Zamora, 1541), which was the only version current till recently, it is clear that the great differences of manner and style are due to the intervention of many hands in the labor. The differences become more striking still when one examines the earliest extant forms. This is not surprising, for if the first part of the Chronicle was put together at the court of Alfonso, about 1270, the second part was probably not completed till the reign of his son Sancho IV. So the work cannot be considered as the personal writing of the scholar king. It would be safer to call him its inspirer, supervisor and editor, at least as regards the first part. He directed the labor and lent his name, but certainly he called upon many men of good will, who did not fail him. The best known among his probable collaborators[3] were Juan Gil de Zamora[4] and García Jofré de Loaysa. The first was a Franciscan and the tutor of Sancho IV; he was himself the author of *De praeconiis Hispaniae* (1278–1282) and a collection of biographies, *Liber illustrium personarum*. The second, an Archdeacon of Toledo, wrote a Castilian continuation of Rodrigo de Toledo's *Historia Gothica,* but it is lost and known to us only through a Latin translation by Armando da Cremona.[1]

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[1] Best MS. at El Escorial, in two parts. See Mondéjar, *Memorias hist. de Alfonso el Sabio y observaciones a su Chrónica*, 1777. R. Menéndez Pidal, *La Crón. gen. de España, Discurso leído ante la R. Acad. de la Hist.*, May 21, 1916.

[2] Lucas Tudensis, *Cronicon mundi*, in Schott, *Hispaniae illustratae*, vol. IV, 1608, 1–116. Finished 1236. Rodericus Ximenius Toletanus, *De rebus Hispaniae* or *Historia Gothica*, *ibid.*, vol. II, 1603, 25–195. Finished 1243. Cf. p. 17, n. 1.

[3] Complete list of the men of science in Rico y Sinobas, *op. cit.*, I, p. xcii. Cf. A. G. Solalinde, *Intervención de Alfonso X en la redacción de sus obras*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, II, 1915, 283–288.

[4] G. Cirot, *De operibus historicis Joannis Aegidii Zamorensis*, Bordeaux, 1905.

Sr. Menéndez Pidal has said [2] that the genuine text of the *Estoria de España* has been unknown to us, and that it can scarcely be detected underneath the many reworkings and deformations it suffered in the two later revisions, an abbreviation by Juan Manuel, between 1320 and 1324, and the *Second Chronicle,* of 1344. The Ocampo text merely represents one of four extant versions of a lost *Tercera Crónica general.* But Pidal has done better, and by the use of neglected manuscripts has given us a text which represents a vast improvement on any before printed.[3] From it we can judge, better than from the Latin chronicles, how simple, graceful and charming the old historians could be, despite a certain clumsiness resulting from their inexperience. The instrument of Castilian prose was found; henceforth it would serve for any enterprise.

As to the *Grande et general Estoria* (1270–1280), still unpublished,[4] its author tried to write a summary of universal history. It has reached us in an incomplete form, comprising five books or parts. For it sources were used similar to those of the *Crónica general,*—the Bible, classic and Oriental authors. It begins with the opening words of Genesis and ends with the life of Joachim and Anna.

4. "Las Siete Partidas" [5]

This compendium of laws and customs is of the highest historical and social importance. The codification was made, it is believed, under the King's guidance, by legal experts (Fernando Martínez, Roldán, Jacobo Ruiz *el de las Leyes*). The title comes from the seven chapters into which it is divided: 1, religion; 2, monarch, state and subjects; 3, justice; 4, marriage; 5, contracts; 6, testaments; 7, crimes and penalties. Not alone for lawyers is the work valuable. Historian and student of culture find a rich harvest in it, for the author did not confine himself to a dry statement of laws and regulations; like a statesman, he provided their commentary, and at times he reasoned upon them like a philosopher. He presented, in fine, a complete picture of all classes of society. He exposed to view manners, virtues and vices; he described usages and faithfully set down their vocabulary, so that no work is more useful in verifying and explaining observations of life transmitted to us by contemporary or even later literature. Thus, certain of the writings of Juan Manuel cannot be rightly judged or understood except in the light of corresponding portions of the *Siete Partidas.*

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[1] Ed. A. Morel-Fatio, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, LXIX, Paris, 1908, 325–378.

[2] *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, pp. 50–51.

[3] *Primera Crónica general*, tomo I, texto, 1906 (*Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, vol. 5).

[4] Extracts in vol. I of Solalinde's *Antología*, already cited. He is at work upon a complete edition. There are many manuscripts, at the Vatican, Madrid, El Escorial, etc.

[5] Ed. R. Acad. de la Historia, 1807, 3 vols. Cf. also *Opúsculos legales*, ed. id., 1836, 2 vols.

5. "Las Cantigas"

The most literary performance of Alfonso is his *Cantigas,*[1] a collection of more than 420 poems in honor of the Virgin. Before that he had composed *Cantigas de amor e de maldizer,*[2] that is, amorous and satirical verse. All his *Cantigas* are written in Galician, for the reasons already given. The religious collection includes pious hymns intended to be sung (the manuscript contains the music, the *neumes*), panegyrics and miraculous legends, such as are so common in collections of the time; Berceo, as we have seen, translated some from Latin into Castilian verse.

The edifying tales of the king have the same interest as those of the Riojan priest, but are superior in richness and grace. Some reveal him an authentic poet. Though in dialect, his stanzas could well serve as models for future poets, so varied are the rhythms and metrical combinations, so skilfully does the author handle them.

In another order of effort, Alfonso performed valuable services for the vulgar tongue of Castile. More and more he substituted Castilian for Latin in public documents; he imposed rules and traditions upon the notaries and secretaries of his chancellery;

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[1] The manuscript of El Escorial, adorned with miniatures, portraits and vignettes, is one of the most precious known. *Las Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. R. Acad. Esp., by the Marqués de Valmar, 2 vols., 1889. Julián Ribera, *La Música de las Cantigas*, etc., 1922; Eng. tr. by Eleanor Hague, as *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain*, Stanford Univ., Calif., 1929. Id., *24 Cantigas armonizadas*, 1923.

[2] Cesare de Lollis, *Cantigas de amor e de maldizer di Alf. el Sabio*, etc., in *Studj di filologia romanza*, II, Roma, 1887, 31–66. These poems, the authenticity of which has been doubted, are found in the *Cancioneiros* Colocci-Brancuti and of the Vatican.

and he thus brought greater uniformity into usages of vocabulary and script.

These various excellences justify the admiration which his contemporaries felt for the "learned king." His reign merits the paramount place it occupies in the literature of the Middle Ages.

6. Sancho IV; Don Juan Manuel. Development of the Language

The example set by Alfonso X was not wasted. His literary work was continued by several princes of his family: his brother Fadrique, his son **Sancho,** his nephew Juan Manuel, and his great-grandson Alfonso XI. Sancho IV (reigned 1284–1295) was once thought to have written, in 1292, under the title of *Libro de castigos e documentos,*[1] an educational treatise for the use of his son, later Fernando IV. But this work, in its extant form, is original only in small part. Forty chapters out of ninety are scarcely more than a reproduction of a Castilian translation made in 1345 from the *De Regimine Principum,* a work composed about 1284 by Egidio Colonna for Philippe le Bel. It would not be safe to attribute even the remaining portion to Sancho.[2] But he probably inspired, if he had no hand in writing it, the *Lucidario,* an encyclopedia in question-and-answer form, which is also an imitation, of a French *Elucidarium* or *Speculum naturale.* Its 106 chapters treat all sorts of matters, some in very naïve and puerile fashion: religion, ethics, theology, natural history, astrology, etc.[3] In Sancho's reign, too, and perhaps by his direction, Paredes and Gómez translated Latini's *Trésor,* using the French text.

But Sancho, interested as he may have been in science, was no rival to his cousin the Infante Don **Juan Manuel** (1282–1348?). From an agitated life spent amid civil strife and crusades against the Moors, this prince snatched time to write numerous works.[4] He had himself drawn up two lists (not identical) of them, one in the preface to *El Conde Lucanor,* the other in a general preface for his authorized and definitive text, which he deposited for safety in the monastery of Peñafiel. Despite his precaution, this manuscript was lost, and with it several of his works, not preserved elsewhere. Among them are: *El libro de los sabios* (unless it be connected with the *Libro infinido*); *El libro de los engeños* (*Book of Engines of War*); *El libro de la caballería,* of which we can form some idea both from the extant *Libro del caballero et del escudero,* though incomplete, and from his avowed model, the *Libre del Orde de Cauaylería,* of the great Catalan polygraph Ramón Lull (1235–1315?). The famous Majorcan influenced Juan Manuel strongly, as indeed he did all his contemporaries.[1] Beyond question, however, the loss we most regret is that of his collection of lyrics, or *Libro de los cantares,* and his *Reglas de como se deve trovar,* the oldest Castilian treatise on versification.

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[1] Ed. Pascual de Gayangos, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* LI.

[2] Cf. Paul Groussac, in *Revue Hisp.,* XV, 1906, 212–339. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *ibid.,* 340–371.

[3] This work is still unpublished as a whole. For description, extract and chapter-headings see *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* LI, 80–84.

[4] MS. of the Biblioteca Nac., Madrid. *Obras,* ed. P. de Gayangos, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* LI, 1857.

The *Libro de la caza* [2] (*Book of the Hunt*), finished in 1326, has little interest today except that it gives us a rich technical vocabulary replete with Arabic terms, and lists of place-names precious to geographers. At almost the same time Juan Manuel completed his *Libro del caballero et del escudero,*[3] which derives directly from the above-mentioned work of Lull. In the form of a dialogued novel divided into fifty-one chapters, it presents a treatise on the perfect knight, and also, with the recurring preoccupation of that age, an encyclopedia of all knowledge, divine and human. Somewhat similar is the matter of the voluminous *Libro de los estados,* written between 1328 and 1330 ["*Los estados del mundo son tres: oradores* (priests), *defensores* (soldiers), *labradores*"]. Its framework and setting, especially in the first book, are taken from an Arabic version of the *Barlaam and Josaphat.* In many respects, and in particular with regard to the make-up of society in those days, it is only a free copy of the *Siete Partidas.* Gayangos thought he knew the key to the characters who take part; King Morovan, Prince Johas, the tutor Turin and the apostle Julio were respectively D. Pedro Manuel, D. Juan Manuel, López de Ayala and St. Domingo de Guzmán. But these fantastic identifications raise all sorts of difficulties.

The *Crónica abreviada* (1320–1324), the *Crónica complida* (1329) and the *Tractado de las armas* (1332) are Juan Manuel's chief historical writings, and they possess no great interest. The first is a mere extract from the *Estoria de España*. The second is known to us, according to Baist, by a brief Latin version printed in the second volume of *España Sagrada*, and by a London manuscript,[1] but this identification is far from certain. The *Tractado de las armas* is a dry genealogy of the author's family; his personal recollections alone impart here and there a little interest. The *Libro infinido* (*Unfinished Book*), called also *Libro de los castigos* (1332?), is one of the many pedagogical works so common at that time.

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[1] Cf. J. H. Probst, *Caractère et origine des idées du Bienheureux Raymond Lulle,* Toulouse, 1912.

[2] Ed. Baist, Halle, 1880.

[3] Ed. S. Gräfenberg, in *Rom. Forsch.*, VII, 1893, 427–550.

From the literary point of view, Juan Manuel's masterpiece is the *Libro de Patronio*, or *Conde Lucanor* (1328–1335),[2] first printed in 1575. It is divided into four parts, of which the last three contain only brief notes; the first part alone has value. It is composed of fifty "exemplary tales," whence the title sometimes given of *Libro de los enxemplos*. These moral anecdotes, varying greatly in theme, are told to a young nobleman named Lucanor by his tutor Patronio, in answer to questions by the former. Each tale ends with a short moral in verse; these taken together form a collection of meters very valuable for the study of contemporary versification.[3]

The apologues, very agreeably retold by the Infante, had for the most part long before entered the common domain of popular wisdom, and there they have since remained. Some go back to the very origin of the human race: a study of the author's sources shows that he read freely in numerous out-of-the-way corners. In particular, he owed much to the Arabic story-tellers through whom most Oriental legends reached Europe. He was able to read them in the original. We must not, however, stress his erudition. These stories already belonged to common knowledge, and Juan Manuel never allowed learning to mar the pleasant flow of his style. Many of his tales have become classics, e.g. II, *How a Father Corrected his Son;* XI, *The Dean of Santiago and Don Yllán of Toledo;* XXIV, *The King and his Three Sons;* XXX, *King Abenabet of*

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[1] Reproduced by Baist, *Rom. Forsch.*, VII, 1893, 551–556.

[2] Ed. Gayangos, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LI. Ed. Krapf, 2 vols., Vigo, 1898; 2nd revised ed., 1902. Ed. Knust-Birch-Hirschfeld, Leipzig, 1900. English transl. by James York, *Count Lucanor, or the Fifty Pleasant Stories of Patronio*, London, 1868; new ed. with Introduction by J. B. Trend, 1924.

[3] The verses are nearly all mere couplets, but the length of line varies. See F. Hanssen, *Notas a la versificación de Juan Manuel*, in *Anales de la Univ. de Santiago de Chile*, CIX, 1902.

Seville and his Wife Rramayquia; XXXI, *The Canons of the Cathedral of Paris and the Franciscan Friars;* XXXV, *The Taming of the Shrew;* XLVIII, *The Trial of Friendship.* They bring to mind at times the dramatic charm of the Italian collections (observe that the most famous of these, the *Decameron*, was thirteen years later than the *Conde Lucanor*), or again the kindly malice of La Fontaine, who later used several of the same fables (II, *The Miller, his Son and the Ass;* V, *The Crow and the Fox;* VI, *The Lark and her Young;* VII, *The Milk-Maid and her Pail*).

In short, there is much truth in Menéndez y Pelayo's assertion that Juan Manuel was "the first Spanish prose writer who possessed a personal style." This appears especially in *El Conde Lucanor.* Yet his grammar has no originality or personal quality; it is the grammar of all the prose writers of his time. It may be studied better, however, in the Infante's works than elsewhere. The vocabulary displays increasing richness; the phonetic transformation of Latin into Romance is nearly completed; the proportion of Arabic words is relatively large; there are words of French origin, which did not remain in the language. I have not noted a single Italianism. The Castilian is of the normal type, with numerous traces of the Leonese dialect. The main lines of its structure are formed, yet in morphology as well as in syntax it vacillates at certain points.[1] But it is worthy of note that, in all cases where Juan Manuel's language hesitates, the usage which was to endure is already there. The phenomena of the enclitic, of apocope, metathesis, abnormal order of pronouns (*lo non ha*, etc.) are common. Later the language in some cases reverted to the earlier forms (*responderé* instead of *respondré*).

Some of these facts indicate in a way the characteristic style and manner of the author. We may add that his sentences are usually periodic, ample, and laden with dependent clauses. Rarely does his writing grow warm and oratorical; an exception is the passage in the *Libro de los estados* which argues that the crucified Christ was not guilty of our crimes; doubtless an echo of some Easter sermon. The habit of medieval dialectic and syllogistic is betrayed by the abuse of divisions and monotonous repetition of set formulas. The same awkwardness is felt in the clumsy suture of sentences.

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[1] Use of *el* or *la* before a feminine noun beginning with a vowel; apocope of adjectives; distinction between adverb and adjective; use of conjunctive and disjunctive pronouns; forms of the third person pronoun; shifting vowels in verbs in *o-ir* and *e-ir;* use of *ser* and *estar;* use of preposition *a* before accusatives of persons or things; agreement of past participles, etc.

But there are many excellent qualities. First, the clearness and solidity of language and phrasing; they were made to endure. The author says cleanly, if heavily, what he has to say. His thought is simple, without affectation or bad taste, poor but honest. It is extremely important to point out this virtue, which became more and more rare in Spanish literature. Nearly all the writers of that time possessed it. The tone of his exposition is grave; it is that of a man of experience, a ripe man, who has seen much and learned much, and who enjoys relating it all to us at his leisure, not without a sort of diffuse complacency. He is listened to more for what he has to say than for the way in which he says it. Yet one could readily cite happy verbal finds, shrewd thoughts, elaborations all the more welcome since the author seems to have made no effort to seek them.

Emotion and warmth are lacking. The level, impersonal tone seems to suppress imagination, and that explains the absence of similes, metaphors and brilliant expressive turns. After all, this solid, rather lustreless stuff has greater intrinsic value than the loud ornaments, the tinsel and spangles of the seventeenth century.

For its qualities as well as its defects, Juan Manuel's work has real importance, for it bears witness to the progress of the Spanish language. He was, like his uncle, a very useful artisan of style. Both of them hastened the development of prose, which reached its point of maturity, and, in my opinion, of perfection, with the *Corbacho* and, more particularly, the *Celestina*.

7. Historical Writings. "La Gran Conquista de Ultramar." "La Crónica Troyana"

Historical prose and didactic prose produced a number of other works besides those which have been reviewed. They demonstrate the fertility of the century, or, if you prefer, its eagerness to learn.

Among the **historical writings,** we need only cite:

1, the Spanish translation by *el maestre* (architect) Mahomad and Gil Pérez of the *Crónica* called *del Moro Rasis* (Abû-Bekr Ahmed ar-Râzî, tenth century). The extant manuscripts are defective, especially at the beginning of Rodrigo's reign, but the gaps have been filled by Menéndez Pidal, with the aid of the *Crónica de 1344.*[1]

2, the *Crónica general de 1344* itself, known also as the *Segunda Crónica general;* a revision of the work of Alfonso X by an unknown author. He retouched it and added the reigns of Alfonso X, Sancho IV, Fernando IV and Alfonso XI up to 1340. This chronicle, which replaced the *Primera Crónica general,* was itself recast in the 15th century. Later it fell into obscurity, and has never yet been printed.

3, the *Crónica de Veinte Reyes* (from Fruela II to the death of San Fernando). It was composed in the second half of the 14th century, and drew from both the *Primera Crónica* and that of 1344. It "prosified" the *cantares de gesta,* especially that of the Cid, more closely than any other.

4, the *Crónicas* of López de Ayala on Peter the Cruel, Henry of Trastamara, Juan I and Enrique II. They will be discussed in connection with their author (p. 82).

5, the **Gran Conquista de Ultramar,**[2] which, from the literary, not the historical, point of view, is the most important of all. This lengthy and fabulous account of the Crusades up to 1271 was probably begun at the suggestion of Alfonso X, continued under Sancho IV and perhaps finished under Alfonso XI. From the epilogues one might infer that its model was a French book, and such seems to have been the fact. The ending at least is a mere copy of a French original bearing the same title (*Conqueste d' Outremer*) and written in 1295. The process of adaptation must have been much the same as that employed in the *Estoria de España* with regard to the epics. So far the direct model has not been found. Guillaume de Tyr's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* may have been the source of the hypothetical French or Provençal account followed by the *Gran Conquista,* at least up to the year 1184, beyond which the *Historia* does not go. The 707 Provençal verses discovered by Paul Meyer and supposed by M. Chabaneau to belong to a 12th century poem by Gregorio Bechada, seemed to Gaston Paris a possible indication of the real source of the *Gran Conquista.*[3]

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[1] See R. Menéndez Pidal, *Crónicas generales de España,* 3rd ed., 1918, 41–43 and 54–75.

[2] Three manuscripts. Ed. Gayangos, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XLIV, 1858.

[3] See G. Paris, *La Chanson d'Antioche prov. et la Gran. Conq. de Ultramar,* in

Whatever be its sources, this huge compilation from the French poems of the Crusade cycle brought into Spanish literature for the first time a throng of legends on themes of chivalry which were later to be used in diverse ways. The richest of them (it occupies about a hundred chapters out of the 1320 in the *Gran Conquista*) is that of the *Chevalier au Cygne* (*Swan-Knight, Lohengrin*), an episode attached to the story by way of Gudufre (Godfrey of Bouillon), a descendant of the Knight. Another curious tradition inserted in the *Conquista* is the *Maynet and Galiana* story. As has been seen, it was early naturalized in Spain, though not created there, as some Spanish critics have thought.

6, the **Crônica** or **Estoria Troyana,**[1] the material of which comes from those narratives of the decadent period of antiquity, bearing the names of Dares the Phrygian and Dictys of Crete. This matter entered Spain by two channels: on one hand, through local versions (one Castilian, of 1350, and one Galician, of 1373) of Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie* (ca. 1160); on the other, from a *Historia Trojana* (1272–1287) by a Sicilian, Guido delle Colonne, who in turn had merely paraphrased in Latin the French poem already named. It was probably this Italian version that Ayala made known in 1358;[2] certainly it was the original for Jaime Conesa's Catalan translation of 1367. These translations or reworkings are mentioned here not for any merit of their own, but because they furnished new and fertile themes to imaginative literature. One of the Castilian versions contains inserted in its prose some curious poems in varied meters.[3]

8. Didactic and Moral Literature. Oriental Sources. First Novels

Contemporary with these historical narratives, there appear abundant writings of a didactic order, in the main translated from Latin, French or Oriental tongues with the encouragement of

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Romania XVII, 1888, 513–541; XIX, 1890, 562–591; XXII, 1893, 345–363. P. Groussac, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XV, 1906, 265–289. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, I, pp. clv–clviii.

[1] *Crónica Troyana, códice gallego del siglo XIV*, etc., ed. A. Martínez Salazar, 2 vols., La Coruña, 1900.—See A. Mussafia, *Ueber die spanischen Versionen der Historia Trojana*, 1871. A. G. Solalinde, *Las versiones españolas dcl "Roman de Troie,"* in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, III, 1916, 121–165. Full bibliography in the last.

[2] According to F. Pérez de Guzmán's *Generaciones y Semblanzas;* cf. *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXVIII, 703.

[3] Paz y Melia, *Poesías intercaladas en la Crónica Troyana*, etc., in *Rev. Hisp.*, VI, 1899, 62–80.

Alfonso X and his immediate successors. They convey their lesson of ethics or courtly behavior under a more or less novelesque disguise.

The great flood of Oriental literature entered Spain through the Arabic population, and swept along a flotsam of parables, tales, proverbs, and *enxiemplos* which provided many following generations. As early as the beginning of the 12th century, to go back no farther, the Aragonese Jew Pedro Alfonso (Moséh Sefardi, born 1064, converted in 1106) compiled his *Disciplina clericalis*, one of the most read and most pilfered books of the Middle Ages.[1] From it came many of the apologues in the famous *Barlaam and Josaphat*,[2] one of the oldest books known, so far as its primitive elements are concerned. They passed on into Juan Manuel's *Libro de los estados* and *Conde Lucanor*, and into the *Castigos* attributed to Sancho IV. In the following century we find them in the 467 tales of the *Libro* (or *Suma*) *de los enxemplos por a. b. c.*,[3] by the Archdeacon of Valderas (León), Clemente Sánchez de Vercial (d. 1434?); in the *Libro de los cuentos* (formerly called *de los gatos*),[4] a translation from the Latin of Odo of Cheriton (d. 1247) remarkable for its biting satire; and finally in the collection of fables brought together under the name of *Ysopete historiado* (*Aesop in History*). All these are later works; they are mentioned here because they issue from the same sources and display the same didactic trend.

In the thirteenth century the same tendency appeared in the Spanish translation of the *Kalila et Digna* (*Calila y Dimna*),[5] made directly from the Arabic in 1251 by order of Alfonso X (then Infante); and again in the *Libro de los engannos e assayamientos de las mugeres* (*Book of Women's Wiles and Deceits*),[1] translated from an Arabic version of the ancient Indian *Sindibâd* (*Sendebar*, *Syntipas*) by D. Fadrique, brother of Alfonso, in 1253.[2] We may here observe, with Menéndez y Pelayo, that the *Kalila et Digna*, *Sindibâd* and *Barlaam and Josaphat* were the three capital contributions made by the Oriental tale to Europe in the Middle Ages. "The relation of this callow didactic literature to the beginnings of the novel are evident. They are connected by origin, by tendency, by many common elements, and even by constant invasion of each other's fields." [3]

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[1] Ed. V. Schmidt, Berlin, 1827. Ed. Hilka and Söderhjelm, Heidelberg and Helsingfors, 1911. A Gascon version, ed. J. Ducamin, *Disciplines de Clergie et de Moralités*, Toulouse, 1908.

[2] Ed. of the Spanish text by Lauchert, in *Rom. Forsch.*, VII, 1893, 331–402. *Baralâm and Yĕwâsĕf*, ed. E. A. Wallis Budge, with transl., Cambridge, 1923.—See G. Moldenhauer, *Die Legende von B. und J. auf der iberischen Halbinsel*, 2 vols., Halle, 1929.

[3] Ed. Gayangos, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LI. Ed. A. Morel-Fatio, in *Romania* VII, 1878, 481–526.—See E. Díaz-Jiménez, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, VII, 1920, 358–368; and in *Bol. Bibl. Menéndez Pelayo*, X, 1928, 205–224. Sánchez de Vercial also wrote the *Sacramental*, a sort of catechism designed to instruct and reprove the clergy, who seem to have stood much in need of it.

[4] Ed. Gayangos, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LI. Ed. G. T. Northup, Chicago, 1908 (*Mod. Philol.* V).—See H. Knust, in *Jahrbuch für rom. und engl. Lit.*, VI, 1865, 1–42, 119–141.

[5] There are two MSS. at the Escorial, one of 1367. Ed. Gayangos, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.* LI. Ed. C. G. Allen, Mâcon, 1906. Ed. J. Alemany Bolufer, Madrid, 1915. Ed. Solalinde, Calleja, 1917. English transl. by I. G. N. Keith-Falconer, Cambridge, 1885. Arabic text of 1339, ed. Louis Cheikho, Beirut, 1922.

The *Libro de los doze sabios* [4] is one of the oldest of the treatises written during this period for the education of princes, for it is thought to have been composed during the reign of Fernando III (1217–1252). The title is derived from the twelve sages who are supposed to meet in order to examine "*lo que todo principe et regidor de regno a de fazer en ssi et de commo deve regir et castigar et mandar et conoscer a los de su regno.*" This Areopagus discusses in succession the virtues and vices of princes, such as "*lealtança,*" "*cobdicia,*" etc. The work also goes under the title *Tractado de la nobleza y lealtad.*

A similar theme is developed in the *Poridad de las Poridades* or *Castigos de Aristotil a Alexandre*, a translation of the *Secreta secretorum*, and also in the contemporary *Flores de filosofía.*[5] The last-named compilation of wisdom has 38 chapters, and is supposed to have issued from the collaboration of 37 sages with Seneca. The *Libro de la saviesa*, or *Book of Wisdom* (in Catalan) was written, apparently, by D. Jaime I of Aragon himself, "the Conqueror." As for the *Bonium* (the name of an imaginary sage) or *Bocados de oro*,[6] it is supposed to have been composed in the reign of Alfonso XI. It was adapted from an Arabic work with a frankly moral and didactic aim. It contains one of the two letters attributed to Alexander the Great; the second occurs in the *Poridad de las Poridades.*

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[1] Ed. D. Comparetti, London, 1882 (*Publ. Folk-Lore Society*, IX). Ed. A. Bonilla y San Martín, 1904 (*Bibliotheca hispanica*, XIV).

[2] The *Sindibâd* went by many other names: *Dolopathos*, *Story of the Seven Wise Masters*, *Historia del Príncipe Erasto*, *Libro de Çendubete*, etc.

[3] *Orígenes de la novela*, I, p. lxiv.

[4] See M. Lafuente, *Historia de España*, V, 1851, 485–494.

[5] Ed. H. Knust, in *Bibliófilos españoles*, XVII, 1878.

[6] Ed. H. Knust, in *Mittheilungen aus dem Eskurial*, Tübingen, 1879; 66 ff., 538 ff.

The *Libro de los buenos proverbios* [1] is another translation from Arabic, but the original was Greek. It reveals a significant mingling of Greek philosophy and Oriental wisdom, expressed, as so often, in maxims. Here the sage is Alexander, the Arabic "Dulcarnain." Spain in the Middle Ages knew but few stories out of the *Arabian Nights;* one is found in the *Capitulo que fabla de los exenplos e castigos de Teodor la donsella.*[2] It narrates the marvels of erudition displayed by the slave-girl Teodor at the court of a Caliph. Lope de Vega dramatized the theme, adding to it a love intrigue. The Doncella's ostentation of encyclopedic pedantry resembles the *Capitulo de las cosas que escribió por respuestas el filosofo Segundo a las cosas que le preguntó el emperador Adriano,* found in the same manuscript as the preceding work.[3]

All these treatises are unoriginal and possess, after all, slight value. *El Caballero Cifar* [4] is of different rank. It is the oldest Spanish romance of chivalry whose origin and date (early 14th century) are known. Menéndez y Pelayo said of it that "its component materials are so many and so heterogeneous, not fused but merely placed side by side, that it may be regarded as a specimen of every genre of fiction and of didactic literature attempted in Europe up to that time." [5] The numerous sources cannot even be named here, nor can we stop to tell the extraordinary adventures of the knight Cifar and his sons Garfin and Roboam. But we cannot omit to say that El Ribaldo, Cifar's esquire, has often been called the ancestor and prototype of Sancho Panza. He resembles the latter not only in good-natured malice and in his frank representation of the common people, but also in his characteristic mania of quoting proverbs (*refranes*) on the slightest occasion. If Cervantes never read this book, printed at Seville in 1512, the coincidence is strange. *El Caballero Cifar,* which never received the attention it deserved from the earlier historians of

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[1] Ed. Knust, *ibid.,* 1 ff., 519 ff.

[2] Ed. Knust, *ibid.,* 507 ff., 613 ff.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *La doncella Teodor,* in *Hom. a Codera,* Zaragoza, 1904, 483–511.

[3] Ed. Knust, *ibid.,* 498 ff., 602 ff.

[4] Ed. H. Michelant, Tübingen, 1872. Ed. C. P. Wagner, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1929.—See C. P. Wagner, *The Sources of El Caballero Cifar,* in *Revue Hisp.,* X, 1903, 4–104.

[5] *Orígenes de la novela,* I, p. clxxxvii.

Spanish literature, is the first genuinely Spanish novel, "not a pure romance of chivalry, but a transition work which combines the chivalresque, the didactic, and the saintly legend" (story of St. Eustace, or Plácido).[1] Finally, some of the book's realistic scenes seem to anticipate the picaresque novel.

SECOND PART: POETRY

9. Satirical and Moral Poetry

Poetry, like prose, put on a certain moral dress during this era. In the preceding period heroes and saints were its favorite themes; but now, grown more bourgeois and more critical, it brings forward claims, not always justified, to be both teacher and chastiser. The *cuaderna vía*, identified with the *mester de clerecía*, is still used in elevated styles, despite the difference in inspiration; but other forms, more lyrical and closer to the people, make their appearance in the versification. The two great names in poetry are those of Juan Ruiz and Pero López de Ayala. Sem Tob and Ruy Yáñez take their place somewhat below them, and there are other versifiers of less importance.

10. Juan Ruiz, the Archpriest of Hita (1283?–1350?)

The *Libro de buen amor*, by Juan Ruiz, is the most significant and brilliant work of the 14th century.[2] The author was probably a native of Alcalá de Henares (see *copla* 1510, ed. Ducamin). He lived at times in Guadalajara and Toledo, and became Archpriest of Hita, a village some distance north of Guadalajara. He was cast in prison for reasons unknown, by order of the Cardinal D. Gil de Albornoz (Archbishop of Toledo 1337–1367), and according to report, was a prisoner for thirteen years. He finished his book about 1330, according to the Toledo manuscript, or in 1343, according to the Salamanca version. In January 1351 a certain Pedro

[1] Menéndez y Pelayo, *ibid.*, p. cxcix.

[2] Manuscripts: of Salamanca (now at Madrid, Royal Library); of Toledo (now at Madrid, Bibl. Nacional); Gayoso (Madrid, Spanish Academy); all three of the 14th century. Ed. Sánchez, *Colección* . . ., IV, 1790. Ed. Janer, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LVII. Paleographic ed. J. Ducamin, Toulouse, 1901. Ed. J. Cejador, *Clásicos cast.*, vols. 14 and 17, 1913. Ed. Alfonso Reyes, Calleja, 1917.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos cast.*, III, pp. liii–cxiv. J. Puyol y Alonso, *El Arcipreste de Hita, estudio crítico*, 1906. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *The Archpriest of Hita*, in *Chapters on Spanish Literature*, London, 1908, 25–54. F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Siete versos inéditos del "Libro de buen amor,"* in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, V, 1918, 43–45. J. M. Aguado, *Glosario sobre Juan Ruiz*, 1929.

Fernández was Archpriest of Hita, but it is scarcely safe to infer that Juan Ruiz was then deceased. Little is known of his life aside from the personal information that he himself vouchsafes. At least, he has left us an admirable portrait of his physical appearance (*coplas* 1485 and following).

His book has been given various titles: *Libro del Arcipreste, Libro de los cantares, Trobas e cuento rimado, Libro de buen amor.* The last, first suggested by F. J. Wolf, is preferable, according to Menéndez Pidal,[1] because it opposes *amor loco o mundano* to *amor bueno o divino.* This point of view was shared by the editors of the Archpriest of Talavera, who gave the latter's book the title *Reprobación del amor mundano.*

Juan Ruiz begins in the most edifying fashion, with a prayer in verse and a sermon in prose. His aim, he says, is to forewarn his readers against foolish love. His own life, his own sad experiences, shall serve as a lesson. These experiences seem to have been numerous:

> Ove de las mugeres a las vezes grand amor . . .
> Senbré avena loca ribera de Henares . . .

After the sort of introduction just mentioned, the work opens with an invective against love and an eloquent *castigo* or warning by Don Amor. The Archpriest, who is willing enough to be convinced, addresses a pious prayer to the "*Señora doña Venus, muger de don Amor.*" This prayer (*coplas* 585 ff.) is so fervent, its accent is so personal, that we are only half convinced when the author gives us to understand that his love-affairs are purely imaginary, or that other persons, such as D. Melón de la Huerta and Doña Endrina, were the real protagonists:

> Entyende byen mi estoria de la fija del Endrino;
> Dixela por te dar ensienpro, non porque a mi vino.

Such declarations are to be regarded as the merest rhetorical precautions according to Menéndez y Pelayo, Puymaigre, and others; but some (Amador de los Ríos, Cejador) take them at face value. The latter would have us believe that there is little or nothing autobiographic in the somewhat shady adventures of the jovial

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[1] *Rev. de Archivos,* II, 1898, 106–109. The Frenchman André le Chapelain had in the 13th century used a title *De arte honeste amandi.*

Archpriest; that he generously assigned to himself the rôle of scapegoat for others' sins. This hypothesis appears more charitable than likely.

At any rate, this long and interesting intrigue of Don Melón and Doña Endrina (3,244 lines) contains the admirable figure of Doña Urraca, called *Trotaconventos*, a picaresque figure who sheds an indiscreet light on contemporary manners; she is a daring descendant of Ovid's Dypsas and the pale go-between of the *Pamphilus de amore*, a precursor of the Celestina, the Gerarda of Lope's *Dorotea*, and Régnier's Macette, who " went from convent to convent, night and day."

After a second amour equally unlucky in its outcome, the Archpriest retires to the nearby mountains to undergo a sort of cure for his moral health; yet his retreat is enlivened by pleasant encounters with *serranas* and *vaqueras* of the Puerto de Lozoya, Fuenfría, Tablada and other nearby spots.[1] Then the easy-going cleric is recalled to more serious thoughts by Lent at Santa María del Vado, *logar onrrado, muy santo e muy deuoto.* But having paid this tribute to propriety, he relates with gusto and many savory details the combat between Don Carnal and Doña Cuaresma. So Rabelais later sang the *Querelle des Andouilles et de Carême prenant* (*Pantagruel*, IV, 35). Needless to say, Cuaresma is vanquished: *Jueves lardero* (Thursday before Lent) triumphs together with Love, and the archpriest hastens to offer them the hospitality of his house. Then the indefatigable Juan Ruiz finds new gallant adventures: amours with nuns, with Moorish girls, with Doña Garroza. Lastly, he relates the death and apotheosis of the too obliging *Trotaconventos*, and as a grateful client he bewails his loss:

> ¡Ay! ¡mi Trota conventos, mi leal verdadera! . . .
> Cyerto, en parayso estás tú assentada . . .

The work concludes with a medley as amusing as it is bewildering. There is a discourse on the weapons which a Christian must use to overcome the world, the flesh and the devil; a praise of little women (*duennas chicas*) translated by Longfellow; a portrait of the author's servant Don Furón, worthy cousin of Marot's " valet de Gascogne "; and, if one may so speak, the " moral " of the book (*De como . . . se ha de entender este su libro*). Then follow *Canticas* in praise of the Virgin, and a very curious *Cantica de los clérigos de Talavera,* in league against the Archbishop Don Gil, who commanded every ecclesiastic:

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[1] C. Bernaldo de Quirós, *La ruta del Arcipreste de Hita por la sierra de Guadarrama*, in *La Lectura*, III, 1915, 145–160.

> Que non touiese mançeba cassada nin soltera.

Such is, in brief, this work, a bizarre medley of unrelated strokes of genius, joined together with no apparent logic and with utter scorn of transitions.[1] The different influences and imitations can be discovered without effort, for the author took no pains to hide his special erudition. He knew classic authors, in particular Ovid, [2] whose influence on Spanish literature in general can scarcely be exaggerated, and whose *Ars amatoria* offered a model not to be missed; the fabulists, from the Oriental apologues (known to him probably in the original), to the Ysopets and fable-writers of his own time; French literature, from which he borrowed five or six stories, the long *fableau De Karême et de Charnage,* and doubtless some *villanelles* and *pastourelles* too; native poems like the *Alixandre;* Latin ecclesiastical literature; the Latin comedy called *Pamphilus de Amore,*[3] utilized also by Guillaume de Lorris in the *Roman de la Rose,* [4] but here marvelously expanded and enriched; pious hymns like those of King Alfonso; and the popular songs of Galicia and Castile, perhaps even Provençal poetry direct. All this matter is adopted, transformed, mingled in diverting disorder, swept along by the bubbling verve of an unfailing spring of merriment. The originality of the ensemble is undeniable.

The author's personality, in truth, emerges boldly on every page, in the conduct of the story, in the ideas set forth, and in his conception of life, which is more pagan than Christian, and perhaps more Italian than Spanish. With engaging cynicism and unruffled immodesty he flaunts his particular brand of ethics.

To be sure he invites the reader, as Rabelais did, not to stop at the letter, but to uncover the hidden meaning. But however much we crack the bone, the "substantific" marrow does not come to light. All we find is a glorification of nature and passion, a scandalous parade of scenes bordering on the salacious and an exaltation of flesh and sensual love. That is a new spirit welling up in literature, and it reveals a veritable transformation in manners and ideas.

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[1] [The logical unity of Ruiz's intention appears greater than is indicated by M. Mérimée. See F. Castro Guisasola, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, XVI, 1929, 69–70.]

[2] See R. Schevill, *Ovid and the Renascence in Spain*, Berkeley, 1913, 28–54.

[3] Ed. A. Baudouin, Paris, 1874; reprinted by Menéndez y Pelayo at the end of vol. II of the Krapf ed. of *La Celestina*, Vigo, 1900; on the work itself and Ruiz's relation to it, see the critical remarks following the text. Ed. Bonilla y San Martín, in *Bolet. Acad. Hist.*, LXX, 1917, 395–467; with Spanish translation. The text is from a Toledo 13th cent. MS.

[4] See F. B. Luquiens, *The Roman de la Rose and Medieval Castilian Literature*, in *Rom. Forsch.*, XX, 1907, p. 284.

Liberty of thought and expression reach such a point in the Archpriest that some critics, like Puymaigre, have doubted his sincerity, and thought him at bottom only a pagan, an unbeliever. His pious effusions and fervor, his mystic outbursts, would then merely veil a sacrilegious farce, or, if you prefer, a superior, transcendental irony. But others, like Amador de los Ríos, see in him an austere moralist who wished to shame his contemporaries and show them the truth in all its repugnant nudity, by means of pitiless and brutal satire, and realistic presentation of every vice and hypocrisy.

Neither of these explanations seems just. In reality, Juan Ruiz was a man of his time, and he personifies exactly its morals and its spirit. That was a sorry era, when faith, not yet mortally wounded, was already too often empty formalism; when schism weakened, corrupted and lowered religious ideas and respect for holy things; when turbulent princes and fratricidal strife endangered loyalty to the monarchy; when customs grew lax in all classes of society, but especially in the highest. This work reflects its author's times with fidelity, although he probably was unaware of the fact.

Yet in that lies the poem's chief merit. It exudes satire, all the more brilliant and terrible because the wrath and *splendida bilis* of the indignant moralist are wholly absent. Big thieves and petty rogues, profligate clerics, simoniacs, ignorant monks, unchaste women, flatterers, go-betweens, active workers for social decomposition, avaricious peasants, cheating shopkeepers, all who bow before the omnipotence *que el dinero ha*, all these types jostle each other and mingle in extravagant promiscuity. There is no sign of the indignation of a Juvenal. The painter is manifestly more diverted than scandalized by the spectacle; he finds pleasure as well as profit in it. The satirical power of this human comedy has rarely been surpassed; here and there it bursts out in types never to be forgotten. The writer's keenness of vision, the certainty and lavishness of his details are admirable; the portraits of the

Archpriest himself, of Doña Endrina, Trotaconventos, the *serrana* Aldara, etc., are true speaking likenesses.

The style too is individual. It is fluent, frank, sometimes incorrect, but juicy, expressive, full of lucky finds and strokes of genius, displaying always and everywhere the unmistakable naïveté and freshness of popular origin.[1] In spite of erudition and imitation, the savor of the soil arises to the nostril. The rich and nicely shaded language has all the color that was lacking in the earlier productions of Spain. Its richness was scarcely to be equalled later; only the *Celestina*, which derived directly from it, was to surpass it. The picaresque novel found in its diction a model.

As a versifier Juan Ruiz deserves special study.[2] "I composed this book" he says in his preface, "as well to give some persons a lesson and model in making lines and rhymes and verses." And so, besides the ancient *cuaderna vía,* which acquires warmth and suppleness beneath his pen, a great variety of meters are to be found. And yet his *canticas de serranas, chanzonetas* and pastorals, his *canticas de loores* and *gozos de Santa María*, all the varied lyrics that he has left are but a slight sampling of the actual poetic production of this incredible Archpriest. "I composed many dance and street songs (*cantigas de dança e troteras*) for Jewish and Moorish girls and for women of love (*entendederas*) . . . I wrote songs for blind men to recite, and for night-prowling students (*escolares nocherniegos*), and for many others who wander from door to door. As for my songs of jests and mockery (*cazurros e de bulrras*), ten quires would not hold them all." [3] Unhappily they are lost to us; but the twenty-one fables scattered through the *Libro de buen amor* are most of them charming (*The Mole and the Frog, The Two Mice, The Sick Lion, The Frogs who Asked for a King*, etc). In these verses the ancient or Oriental apologue has assumed a definitive form, more truly than in the prose of Juan Manuel. In this regard, Juan Ruiz should be placed on the same plane with La Fontaine.[4]

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[1] On the archpriest as goliard and minstrel, see R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca*, 1924, 264–275. "Solemos mirar al Arcipreste solamente como un autor muy personal, apartado a un lado de todos los de la Edad Media. Yo, sin desdecir esto un punto, haré notar que es a la vez un autor vulgar, y que en él la originalidad y la vulgaridad no sólo son compatibles, sino esencialmente inseparables."

[2] F. Hanssen, *Los metros de los cantares de Juan Ruiz,* in *Anales de la Univ. de Chile*, CX, 1902, 161–220.

[3] *Cantares cazurros:* see R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca*, 296 ff.

[4] Otto Tacke, *Die Fabeln des Erzpriesters von Hita im Rahmen der mittelalterlichen Fabelliteratur*, Breslau, 1911.

11. López de Ayala (1332–1407)

Pedro López de Ayala had not the bubbling spirits or the rich imagination of Juan Ruiz; as compensation, his entire work bears a moral character, a tone of gravity and an historic importance absent from the *Libro de buen amor*. Ayala was one of the great figures in the reigns of Pedro I, Enrique II of Trastamara, Juan I and Enrique III. A Basque, born of a noble Álava family in 1332, educated in the palace of the Infante de Aragón, captain of the Castilian fleet under Pedro I in 1359, *alcalde mayor* (1374–1375) and *merino* of Vitoria, and later of Toledo under Enrique II; loaded with favors by this last ruler, who generously made up to him for his captivity after the battle of Nájera, and by Juan I; twice ambassador to France (1379–1380 and 1395–1396), granted a pension by Charles VI of France for his conduct at Roosebeke (1382); again a prisoner for fifteen months in Portugal, after Aljubarrota (1385); a member of the Council of Regents during the minority of Enrique III, chancellor of Castile in 1398, he died in 1407, under Juan II, laden with honors as with years.

The extent of his humanistic knowledge and his serious turn of mind are well shown in his translations, though his authorship of some is doubted. They include three *Decades* of Livy, Boëthius's *De Consolatione philosophiae*, St. Isidore of Seville's *De summo bono*, the *Historia Trojana* of Guido delle Colonne, St. Gregory's *Morals*, and Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum et feminarum illustrium.*

His *Libro de las aves de caza*,[1] written during his second captivity, affords us knowledge of his tastes and pleasures, which were those of all the great nobles of his day. But Ayala the huntsman interests us less than Ayala the historian. He has left us *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla don Pedro, Don Enrique II, Don Juan I, Don Enrique III*,[2] and who could better recount the events of those agitated and dramatic reigns? No witness was better informed; he had a hand in the doings and was present at the councils. He was in a position to let the reader into every secret of the government, and his testimony is, therefore, of the first importance. Of course, his statements must be verified, for he was frankly partisan:

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[1] Ed. Gayangos, vol. V of *Bibliófilos españoles*, 1869. Ed. J. Gutiérrez de la Vega (*Libro de la caza de las aves*), vol. III of *Biblioteca venatoria*, 1879.

[2] Ed. Llaguno y Amírola, 2 vols., 1779–80. *Crónica de Don Pedro*, ed. Rosell, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXVI.

he has been accused of partiality for Henry of Trastamara and severity toward Peter the Cruel. Certainly his sympathies and antipathies must be taken into account, but he does not consciously conceal the truth.

With Ayala, contemporary as he was of the Frenchman Froissart and the Italian Villani, history loses the impersonal character it had usually preserved up to that time; the man emerges from the page, and colors his narrative with a personal touch. Ayala, in addition, created a work of art, or at least tried to do so, following the classic models (in particular Livy) which he knew and sometimes tried to reproduce. The first breath of the Renaissance had touched him, for he studied and copied Livy and Boccaccio, even while he was seeking among the moralists, St. Gregory, St. Isidore and Boëthius, some consolation for his woes. So, for varied reasons, his *Crónicas* mark an important evolution and a real forward step in Spanish historiography.

Yet Ayala's chief title to fame lies in his poem called variously *El rimado de palacio* or *Libro de los fechos de palacio* or *Rimos de las maneras de palacio* (*Poem of Life at Court*).[1] Drawing on his rich store of experience, he wrote this book in the latter years of his life. One of the poems included, the *Deytado sobre el cisma de occidente* (in *coplas de arte mayor*) was composed between 1398 and 1404; the lyric section, which interrupts the monotony of the *cuaderna vía,* dates from his Portuguese captivity (1385). The preceding part must be earlier than 1380, judging by the allusions in it. There are many points of resemblance with the *Libro de buen amor,* both in subject-matter and plan (or lack of plan, if you prefer). The *Rimado* is at once an autobiography, a work of moral philosophy, a summary of Christian doctrine (*The Ten Commandments, The Seven Deadly Sins, The Seven Works of Mercy, The Five Senses, The Seven Spiritual Works*), and a long lamentation over the vices and miseries of his time. The last-named portion, obviously, satirical and moral as it is, touches the modern reader more closely than the rest. On every page one hears the voice of an honest soul and statesman shocked and dismayed at the horrible evils of his day. Nowhere, even in Juan Ruiz, is there more exact and damning testimony to the corruption, simony, lechery, ignorance and cupidity of laymen and clerics:

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[1] Two MSS. of the *Rimado:* at the Escorial and at Madrid (Bibl. Nac.). Ed. Janer, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LVII. *Poesías*, ed. A. F. Kuersteiner, 2 vols., N. Y., 1920. —See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos*, IV, pp. ix–xxxvii.

> Quales menistros tiene el que por nos murió,
> Verguença es desirlo . . .
> Si estos son menistros, sonlo de Satanás.
> (Stanzas 219, 226)

Kings, princes, prelates, ministers, Jews, lawyers, soldiers, merchants, all who live off the poor and wretched, all the parasites who suck their blood to the last drop (*para bever la sangre de los pobres cuytados*),—he passes down their line with a scourge. Yet the wicked flourish, and always will:

> Asy pasa, ¡mal pecado! pasó e pasará.

His favorite exclamation, that lamenting *¡mal pecado!* recurs again and again like a sort of despairing refrain. The spectacle of the world before him wrings from the old chancellor cries of human feeling which honor him the more since they were rare in those harsh days:

> De un padre, de una madre con ellos [los reyes] descendemos;
> Una naturaleza ellos e nos auemos;
> De vivir e morir una ley tenemos . . .
> (Stanza 236)

He makes touching appeal to the justice and pity of God:

> ¡Ayamos por ti enmienda, segunt nos prometiste!

The work contains as well a series of *consejos* based upon the experience of a veteran statesman, and the *Cantares* to the Virgin. Some of these he composed while a prisoner,

> . . . encerrado en una casa escura,
> Trabado de una cadena asás grande e dura;

others, *de grueso stilo*, in the mountains to which he had retired. These songs in various meters have not much poetic inspiration, yet they necessarily occupy an important place, beside those of Juan Ruiz, in the scanty Castilian lyric of the period.

12. Sem Tob

If the morals of the 14th century were not all they should have been, it was not for lack of advice and preachments. The counsel of the Archpriest Juan Ruiz is not above suspicion, but that of the Rabbi Sem Tob permits of no reproach, unless one objects to a certain Oriental fatalism, which might easily blunt the edge of human will. This Sem Tob (Don Santo, Don Santob, in the manuscripts) [1] was a Rabbi of Carrión de los Condes. He was already old, his prologue tells us, when he addressed to King Peter the Cruel his *Proverbios morales*. Most of them were written during the life of Alfonso XI, whom they praise with enthusiasm. The work contains, in the Escorial MS., 686 *coplas* or *redondillas* of heptasyllables (*abab*), that is, 2744 lines. It is made up of apothegms and moral counsels, *enxemplos buenos*. Their obvious pedagogic value is emphasized by a sententious brevity of expression. The book had precedents in Spain, where the literature of proverbs has always been abundant. At the end of the previous century an unknown writer, possibly Pero Gómez, the translator of Brunetto Latini's *Trésor*, had composed some *Proverbios en rimo* [2] which he attributed to "*el sabio Salamón rey de Israel.*" These 203 Alexandrine lines have likewise a didactic aim, and form a very general satire on human vices. But it is far inferior in elegance and literary worth to the *coplas* of Sem Tob. The latter are attractive not only by the concision so necessary in this genre, but also by the charm of their Oriental metaphors and the note of resigned melancholy which moves the author as he contemplates that indifferent Nature who

> Non se paga, nin se ensanna,
> Nin ama nin desama;
> Non ha ninguna manna,
> Nin responde nin llama.
> Stanza 637.

Sem Tob had a genius for compression. The whole fable of *The Oak and the Reed* lies in these sixteen words:

> El mesmo [viento] menusó
> El arbol muy granado,
> Y non se espelusó
> La chica yerua del prado.
> Stanza 72.

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[1] Two: of the Escorial (the longer), and Madrid (Bibl. Nac.). Ed. Gayangos, in Span. translation of Ticknor's *History*, IV, 1856, 331–373. Ed. Janer, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LVII.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas líricos*, III, pp. cxxiv–cxxxvi. L. Stein, *Untersuchungen über die Proverbios morales von Santob de Carrión*, Berlin, 1900.

[2] 14th cent. MS. at Toledo. Ed. Paz y Melia (incomplete), 1882 (in vol. 29 of *Biblióf. Esp.*). Ed. P. Mazzei, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LVII (1923), 25–35. Ed. C. E. Kany, in vol. I (1925) of *Homen. Menéndez Pidal*, 269–285.

Man, angel and brute, science and virtue, word and writing, speech and silence, man and tiger inspire in the Rabbi antithetical thoughts which reappear under Pascal's pen:

La bestia, desque farta,
Una de otra non cura . . .

El onbre rroba y mata, . . .
Desque farto se cata.
Stanzas 657–658.

Artistic desire to catch the brief, exact and picturesque phrase is the true originality of this writer, the first, perhaps, who had, in the modern sense, what we call *feeling for words:*

Plase al ojo del lobo
El poluo del ganado . . .

Fasta que le fazen tuerto [al villano]
Nunca él faze derecho . . .

Sy honbre dulce fuere
Por agua le beuerán . . . etc.

There are many such *trouvailles*, and they make the *Proverbios* a pleasure to read. In point of moral aim, they bring together in agreeable mixture, not at all pedantic, Biblical sentences, Oriental wisdom (formulated many times in the didactic works already reviewed), and the traditional experience of the people.

13. Other Poems

The **Poema de Alfonso Onceno**, or *Crónica rimada de Alfonso onceno* [1] dates likewise from the mid-fourteenth century. The author gives his own name (st. 1841) as **Rodrigo Yannes** (=Yáñez, Ibáñez), but his phraseology (*la noté en lenguaje castellano*) seems to indicate that he was only a translator or at best a reviser. The Galician character of his name Yannes, the existence of a Portuguese poem by Afonso Giraldez on the battle of the Salado, the mention of the *Amadís* and the prophecies of Merlin, and above all the fact that frequently the existing faulty rhymes become normal if the Castilian is translated into Portuguese,[1] have given rise to the theory that the original must have been a Galician-Portuguese poem. Be that as it may, the work rather deserves the name of chronicle than poem, so accurate and minute are the details of fact included. In lieu of poetic merit it offers at least the interest of a veracious narrative. In Yáñez's lines one can hear the echo of the struggles with the Moslems: his patriotism and faith often make up for his lack of inspiration. No medieval work transcribes more literally the enthusiasm which at certain moments urged the entire people against the *morisma*.

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[1] MS. of the Escorial. Ed. Janer, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LVII. A recently discovered MS., not yet published, is now the property of the R. Academia Española.

The noteworthy feature of its form is the substitution of the *romance* octosyllable for the Alexandrine. The poem marks the end of the *cuaderna vía*, but it is questionable whether the revolution was worth while, and whether the choice of the new meter, ill adapted to a lengthy poem, was happy. It is wearisome to read 2455 of these quatrains (*abab*); they give a jerky gait to the story of epic battles and heroic raids.

Certain compositions found in the same manuscript with Sem Tob's *Proverbios* are frequently printed with his book, and sometimes even attributed to him. He certainly wrote more than one work, but neither the *Doctrina Cristiana*, nor the *Revelación de un Ermitaño*, nor the *Danza de la Muerte* are his.

The author of the little catechism in verse called **Doctrina Cristiana** (*Tractado de la doctrina*)[2] gives his own name as Pedro de Beragüe. The **Revelación de un Ermitaño** [3] is dated 1382 by its third line, and the anonymous author declares that he was skilled in the *çiençia gaya* of poetry which was revived and cultivated eagerly at Barcelona in the early 15th century. He gave slight evidence of it in this reworking of the traditional commonplaces on the *Debate between Body and Soul.* There is in him a touch of the Dante influence already felt in Spain.

As for the Spanish version of the **Dance of Death**, [4] that theme so often treated in medieval literature and art, it is generally dated not earlier than the opening years of the 15th century. The model was probably a lost French poem.[1] It is not certain that the extant imitation (*trasladacion* is the author's own word) was the first one in Spain, nor was it the last, for there exists a version of about 1500.[2] The *Danza de la Muerte* of the Escorial manuscript presents the traditional picture in all its details. Death appears and proclaims his omnipotence. The preacher invites all men to prepare to die as Christians. Death then summons in succession each of those who must pay tribute to him, from the fair maids, his brides, to Popes and Emperors. It is curious that a good half of the actors in this weird drama are clerics, and that the common people hardly figure in it. Worthy of note, too, are a rabbi and a Moslem priest (*alfaquí*), in the procession; their presence would scarcely be understood in a French text, but in Spain they are not out of place. Given the framework of this sort of funereal comedy, it was easy for each writer to fill it in and vary the scenes and actors as he liked. With such a theme, which flattered the instinct for equality, moral exhortation was very naturally supplemented by satire on various professions (e.g. the portraits of the usurer, merchant and tax-gatherer). The expression is powerful at times, and the style, in which some French flavor may be noted, is clear and easy. The twelve-syllable octaves (*coplas de arte mayor*, *ababbccb*) are, in the present state of the text, quite faulty.

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[1] Mme. C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos points out that on the other hand many other rhymes would become false if this were done. She inclines to think that the author was a Portuguese writing in Spanish. See her *Estudos sobre o romanceiro peninsular*, in *Cultura esp.*, XV, 1909, p. 728. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.* III, pp. cxvii–cxxiv.

[2] Ed. Janer, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LVII. Ed. Foulché-Delbosc (*Doctrina de la discriçion*), in *Rev. Hisp.*, XIV, 1906, 565–597.

[3] Ed. Octavio de Toledo, in *Zt. für rom. Philol.*, II, 1878, 63–69. Ed. Janer, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LVII.

[4] Ed. Janer, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LVII. Ed. Gayangos, in Sp. trans. of Ticknor,

14. The Courtly Lyric

To preserve a strictly chronological order we should place in this chapter a certain number of lyric poets who flourished or lived before the reign of Juan II, during the reigns of Enrique II, Juan I and Enrique III. Such are Pero Ferrús, Pero González de Mendoza, Garci Ferrández de Jerena, the Archdeacon of Toro, Francisco Imperial, Villasandino, Lando and some others. But most of them lived also or died in the time of Juan II; their verse is known

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IV, 1856, 374–393. Ed. C. Appel, Breslau, 1902. Ed. Foulché-Delbosc, Barcelona, 1907 (*Textos castellanos antiguos*, II). Ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, II, 1–25. Ed. Icaza, Madrid, 1919.

[1] Perhaps the *Dance Macabré*, or *de Macabré*, written before 1376, by Jean Le Fèvre. Cf. Gaston Paris, in *Romania*, XXIV, 1895, 129.

[2] A. de los Ríos, *Hist. crít.*, VII, apéndice, 507–540, taken from the ed. of Sevilla, 1520, in the Vatican.

to us only in the *Cancioneros* published then; they form, with other lyrists, a group of court poets who, in spite of differences of date, have a great family resemblance and belong to the same literary circle. Having indicated here their chronological position, it seems preferable, for these reasons, not to split the group, but to study them all together.

SECOND PERIOD

THE RENAISSANCE

From Juan II to Carlos V (1406–1516)

1. Summary of History and Art

Important Dates. Juan II (1406–1454).—Enrique IV, *el Impotente* (1454–1474).—Isabel de Castilla and Fernando de Aragón (*Los Reyes Católicos* (1474–1504).—Juana *la Loca* (1504–1507), and Felipe *el Hermoso*, Archduke of Austria (d. 1506).—Regency of Fernando de Aragón (1507–1516).

From a political point of view, this period, up to the accession of the Catholic Kings, continues the long, confused era of civil strife, of struggles between nobles and kings, dynastic wars, pillage and ferocious pogroms. Incompetent, helpless rulers abandoned the power to their favorites (Álvaro de Luna, under Juan II; Beltrán de la Cueva, under Enrique IV). The nation's strength was exhausted in turmoil without profit or glory. Navarre was subject to like disorders. In Aragon, the dynasty of the Counts of Barcelona ended in 1410 with Martín *el Humano*. The compromise of Caspe gave the crown to Fernando I *de Antequera*, brother of Enrique III of Castile and uncle of Juan II of Castile. His son Alfonso V *el Magnánimo* (1416–1458) conquered the Kingdom of Naples, made of that capital a city as much Spanish as Italian, and established a solid domination of Spain over all Italy. This fact is as important for literary and social history as it is for political history.

The marriage of Isabel of Castile, daughter of Juan II, to Fernando of Aragon (1469) marked a new era. At the death of his father, Juan II of Aragon (1479), Fernando inherited that kingdom, which from that time remained definitively united to Castile. The conquest of Granada from Boabdil, *el rey chico* (1492), and that of Navarre from Jean d'Albret (1515), completed the political and territorial unity of Spain. Thenceforth all power was concentrated in the same hands, and directed only against external enemies. The union of the three kingdoms necessarily brought about, after a time, the unification of laws, customs and manners.

The discovery of America in 1492 (*annus mirabilis*) gave Spain a new world. From that moment one could foresee the realization of the formula: one God, one King, one Law. The municipalities lost the last shreds of independence which their *fueros* had been able to save; the Cortes, ever less frequent, yielded place to absolutism. The nobility suffered one blow after another: incorporation of the masterships of the military orders into the crown (Calatrava in 1487, Santiago in 1493, Alcántara in 1494; Montesa not till 1587); demolition of the feudal castles; restitution of usurped property and revenues; increasing power of lawyers (*letrados*) in councils and administrations; creation of a rural police (*la Santa Hermandad*) dependent on the central power (1476).[1] The "Catholic Kings" justified their adjective by the unjust and imprudent expulsion of the Jews, in 1492, and of the unconverted *mudéjares*, in 1502, as well as by the establishment, in 1478, of the Inquisition, which speedily became a powerful *instrumentum regni*.

Yet even during the unhappy reigns of Juan II and Enrique IV the varied arts of civilization grew apace. The introduction of printing, soon after 1470, at Valencia, Barcelona, Saragossa and Tortosa,[2] and the rapid multiplication of books (printed mostly by German or Italian workmen) gave a sudden impulse to the spread of ancient and modern letters. New universities were founded: Barcelona, 1450; Valencia, 1499; Sevilla, 1509; most important, Alcalá, 1508.[3] Rich libraries were formed.[4] The queen greatly favored scholars and men of letters. She had studied Latin under the celebrated Beatriz Galindo (*la Latina*, 1475?–1534), who was her maid of honor (*camarera mayor*), and she liked to surround herself with the learned; her example led many noblemen and even noble ladies to do the same. She was intelligently guided by men like Cardinal Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros (1436–1517),[5] the founder of the University of Alcalá. It was a true Renascence.

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[1] J. Puyol, *Las Hermandades de Castilla y León*, 1913. C. López Martínez, *La Santa Hermandad de los Reyes Católicos*, 1921.

[2] It is usually stated that the first book printed in Spain was *Les Trobes en lahors de la Verge María*, Valencia, 1474. It is a collection of 45 poems by 40 poets. But some scholars claim priority for a press at Barcelona.

[3] Alcalá was the stronghold of humanism and philology in Spain, while Salamanca remained the conservative defender of medieval science. The former attracted many teachers of the first rank, such as the two Vergaras, Hernán Núñez *el comendador griego* and Nebrija.

[4] E.g. those of Villena, King Duarte of Portugal, Gómez Manrique, the Marquis of Santillana (Iñigo López de Mendoza), Luis Núñez de Guzmán, the Prince of Viana (that unfortunate prince, so attractive and learned, who has been called a sort of Spanish Hamlet; cf. Desdevises du Dézert, *Don Carlos d'Aragon, Prince de Viane*, Paris, 1889), of Doña María de Aragón, the Constable D. Pedro de Portugal, the Count of Haro, Alfonso V at Naples, Queen Isabel herself, Fernando Colón, etc. See Rudolf Beer, *Handschriftenschätze Spaniens*, Wien, 1894. Mario Schiff, *La Bibliothèque du marquis de Santillane*, Paris, 1905.

[5] Conde de Cedillo, *El Cardenal Cisneros, gobernador del reino*, 1921.

General Character of the Literature

As early as the reign of Juan II the literary and artistic influence of France was growing weak, while that of Italy increased daily in power. Everything was in its favor: close political, commercial and religious relations between the two peninsulas, and above all that capital event, the establishment of the Aragonese dynasty in Naples in 1443. "The Court of Alfonso V" wrote Menéndez y Pelayo, "was the very portico of our Renaissance, and the first school of our humanists." Scholars, poets, ecclesiastics, artists, students swarmed on the road to Rome, Bologna, Padua and Naples. Not only did Spaniards go abroad to learn, they went also to teach; thus the universal and cosmopolitan Fernando de Córdoba (1425?–1486?) disputed untiringly in all the Universities of his day *de omni re scibile*, as did his young contemporary Pico della Mirandola.[1] Important Councils (Constance, 1414; Basle, 1431) gave prelates and canonists a chance to travel in Italy or elsewhere, and they brought back profitable connections, manuscripts, books, works of art.

As one would expect, the eastern provinces of Spain were the first to feel these new currents. It is true that in Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia the Toulousan school was still revered at the end of the 14th century, as is proven by the foundation of the Consistory of the *Gaya Ciencia* and of Floral Games at Barcelona in 1393. But the Italian influence mingled increasingly with this. "Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio" says Amédée Pagès, "were the more easily welcomed in Catalonia and Valencia because they had themselves experienced the ascendancy of Provence, and so were only continuing, in a way, the tradition of the troubadours." Enrique de Villena translated the *Divina Commedia* into Castilian prose in 1427–28, just as Andreu Febrer, *Alguacil* of Alfonso V, was rendering it into Catalan verse (1429).[2] Jordi de Sant Jordi, chamberlain of the same king, imitated Petrarch so well that it was thought for a moment that Petrarch had copied him.[3] The great Petrarchist Auzias March (d. 1458), Alfonso's falconer on the Valencian *albufera*, was nourished on the works of the Aretine poet, and himself affected Castilian poetry personally and powerfully.[1] The same spring fed the ingenious author of the *Spill*, Jacme Roig (d. 1478). As for Boccaccio, Bernat Metge had rendered an extract from his works at the close of the preceding century, and the *Decameron* was translated into Catalan in 1429.[2] These few names may suffice to outline this brilliant literary movement. It must never be overlooked, both because of its intrinsic value, and because it aided in the diffusion throughout the Peninsula of the masterpieces of the Italian Renaissance as well as those of classical antiquity.

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[1] A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Fernando de Córdoba y los orígenes del renacimiento filosófico en España*, 1911.

[2] See Mario Schiff, *La première traduction espagnole de la Divine Comédie*, in *Homen. Menéndez y Pelayo*, I, 1899, 269–307.

[3] J. Massó Torrents, *Obres poetiques de Jordi de Sant Jordi*, Barcelona, 1902.

But Italy and antiquity were then penetrating the rest of Spain from every side.[3] Micer Francisco Imperial, a Genoese established in Seville, caused Dante to be known and created a kind of school of Italian poetry among the poets of his day. Villena, Santillana, and later Juan de Mena, were to some extent disciples of the Italians. As for the ancient classics, they were first known through translations, which became numerous. More perhaps than through her writers, Italy's influence was exerted in Spain through her humanists and those who flocked to her from the Orient.[4] Pier Candido Decembrio, George of Trebizond, Bessarion and others maintained constant relations with Spanish princes or prelates. Several savants went themselves to Spain: such were Crisolora, Guiniforte Barzizza, Aurispa, and then Marineo, the two Geraldinis, and Pietro Martire d'Anghiera. At that time numerous works of classical antiquity, genuine or apocryphal, were passing into Castilian or Catalan through the intermediate stage of Italian. Santillana, as Herrera said, enriched his compatriots with foreign spoils. All this acquaintance with the classics was, to be sure, quite insufficient and mostly second hand. Only at the beginning of the following century did it become more intensive and extensive.

But already in Spain, as in Italy and France, the study of the classics was becoming a passion, and produced a marvelous revolution in letters, art and ideas. The general characteristics of the movement were everywhere alike; there is no need to describe them here. We need only indicate in brief the principal changes it brought about in Spanish literature.

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[1] Amadeu (Amédée) Pagès, *Les obres d'Auzias March*, Barcelona, 1912. Id., *Auzias March et ses prédécesseurs*, Paris, 1911.

[2] Ed. Massó Torrents, Barcelona, 1910 (*Bibliot. Hispan.*, XIX).

[3] B. Sanvisenti, *I primi influssi di Dante, del Petrarca e del Boccaccio sulla lett. spagnuola*, Milano, 1902. C. B. Bourland, *Boccaccio and the Decameron in Castilian and Catalan literature*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XII, 1905, 1–232. A. Farinelli, *Note sulla fortuna del Petrarca in Spagna nel quattrocento* (*Giornale storico*, XLIV, 1904, 297 ff.). Id., *Dante in Ispagna* (in *Dante*, etc., Torino, 1922, 31–195). B. Croce, *La Spagna nella vita italiana*, Bari, 1917. Agustín G. de Amezúa, *Fases y caracteres de la influencia del Dante en España*, 1922.

[4] M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Humanistas esp. del siglo XVI* (in *Rev. de Madrid*, V, 1883, 89–111). A. Rubió y Lluch, *Joan I, humanista*, Barcelona, 1919.

First of all, the former models are laid aside. Guidance is no longer sought from French or Jews or Arabs. Italy or the Ancient World must furnish it henceforth. The old technique appears archaic or vulgar; it is abandoned. The old epic and the *mester de clerecía*, despite the latter's claims to erudition, are supplanted by poems "*al itálico modo.*" The *cuaderna vía* is quickly deserted for the hendecasyllable used by Imperial and Santillana, and by the *verso de arte mayor*. The national octosyllable is in general left to plebeian singers. "*Ínfimos son aquellos,*" said Santillana, "in the lowest rank are those poets who, without order, rule or count, make those *romances* and *cantares* which delight the folk of low and servile station." [1] Profound changes are about to take place in prose diction, and still more in poetic diction, where the subtleties of art find a more natural place.

As literature becomes more artistic and refined, more a fruit of study, it grows less intelligible to the average person. The secrets of the new art are accessible only to its initiates, a privileged élite of the cultured, chiefly noble amateurs and those who live upon their bounty. Having no roots thrust deeply into the lower strata of society, literature acquires a certain narrow and studied artificiality. This quality appears particularly in the many *cancioneros* which represent the poetic production of various groups.

Prose, naturally, somewhat escapes these risks. Above all, history, thanks, doubtless, to its classic models, becomes more personal and artistic than the medieval chronicles; and nevertheless it misses the latters' naïve charm. The novel appears frequently weighted with metaphysical subtleties, yet in unlike branches it produced two remarkable works, the *Amadís* and the *Celestina.* The drama makes a hesitating appearance at the very end of this period.

The immorality which we pointed out as shocking enough during the preceding reigns, grew worse under Juan II and Enrique IV.

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[1] *Proemio e carta al condestable de Portugal.* See below, p. 107.

The sorry condition of the nation and the looseness of the clergy gave it every chance. Sometimes the cries of the populace broke into the courtiers' poetic concert. But while the poverty of the many increased, as the Cortes pointed out eloquently but vainly, the few throve in luxury. That was the era of splendid costumes, fiestas, tourneys, *pasos honrosos,* and magnificent ceremonies. Therefore the arts and industries of luxury were those which most flourished, in the teeth of edicts aimed to check such ruinous prodigality. The madness of chivalry already turned many heads. Soon it found in the novel both stimulant and corrective.

The Catholic Kings did what they could to tighten the reins of lax living, and led with their own example. The reform of the clergy, which Cisneros and other prelates attempted, was more apparent than real, if we may trust contemporary satire, especially that of dramatic authors. At least the effort gave that society, by turns hypocritical and cynical, a deportment and exterior dignity it had lacked before. Unworthy priests and regulars were forced to quit the church; it is said that a thousand monks fled to Barbary in 1496 rather than submit to the reform. This severity calmed and directed the ebullient ardor which had previously spent itself in sterile agitation. Thus partly purified, its energy was to serve for the heroic enterprises which amazed and sometimes alarmed the world.

The Arts

Gothic was beginning to be abandoned. At least it was losing in purity and simplicity as it gained in elegance and splendor. By that time it deserved the name *flamboyant* sometimes given to it. Its vigor writhed and shot out into capricious foliation covering every free surface. This led on naturally to the style called *plateresque* because it rivals in delicacy the finely-drawn ornamentation of the worker in silver (*plata*). This was the characteristic style of the Renaissance, a mixture of Gothic and classic. It employed alike the medieval ogive, the Italian round arch and the *mudéjar* horseshoe, for harmonious purity of line mattered less than profusion of ornament. With all its defects, it was a dainty and ingenious art, which produced many masterworks. Late Gothic gave us the Cathedral of Seville (1402–1506), the New Cathedral of Salamanca (begun in 1509), that of Segovia (1525–1577), certain parts of those of Burgos (towers of the façade, Capilla del Condestable, upper cloister) and Granada, the cloister of Fresdelval, the Cartuja de Miraflores near Burgos, San Juan de los Reyes at Toledo, the *Lonja* (Silk Exchange) at Valencia, etc.

Renaissance methods are more in evidence at San Pablo and San Gregorio in Valladolid, and the palace of the Duque del Infantado in Guadalajara (1461). We are at the threshold of a period of creative art in Spain which continued throughout the sixteenth century, producing numberless masterpieces: the decorative elements of churches and palaces, marvelous choir-stalls, woodcarvings, stained glass, statues and tombs, tapestry and embroidered vestments, work of the goldsmith, whether for church or home, processional crosses and reliquaries.

Among architects, the most eminent were Juan de Colonia (Johann of Cologne) and his sons Simon and Diego; Martín and Garci Fernández, Guillermo Sagreras, Juan Guas, etc. Sculptors of note were Gil de Siloe, Enrique de Egas, Juan Morlanes, etc.; painters, Antonio del Rincón, Juan Sánchez de Castro, Alejo Fernández and Juan Fernández Alemán, Juan de Flandes, Luis de Dalmau, Juan de Borgoña, Fernando Gallegos, Pedro Berruguete, Santos Cruz, etc. Flemish and Italian influences were much in evidence; many of the names just listed are those of men of foreign birth. Encina the poet, Peñalosa and Anchieta were the best known musicians.

Contemporary Literatures

In the neighboring nations which maintained intellectual relations with Spain during the period we are about to study, the outstanding writers are the following:

France.—POETRY. Alain Chartier (1385?–1440). Charles d'Orléans (1391–1465). François Villon (1431–after 1463). Jean Marot (1463?–1523?).

DRAMA.—Mysteries: *La Passion* (of Gréban, 1450?; of J. Michel, 1486?). *Farce de Pathelin* (ca. 1464). Gringoire (*Jeu du Prince des Sots*, 1512).

NOVEL AND STORY.—*Le Roman de Troïlus*, ca. 1400. *Les Cent Nouvelles nouvelles*, 1462. La Salle (*Petit Jehan de Saintré*, 1456).

OTHER PROSE WORKS.—Gerson (*Sermons*, 1392–1414). Alain Chartier (*Quadriloge invectif*, 1422; *Livre de l'Espérance*, 1428; *Le Curial*, after 1438). Commynes (1445?–1511). Erasmus (1465?–

1536), though born in the Netherlands, may be added to the preceding (*Adagia*, 1500).

Italy.—Poetry. Artistic epic: Pulci (*Morgante maggiore*, 1466?–1483). Boiardo (*Orlando innamorato*, 1494). Lyric: Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449–1492). Angelo Poliziano (*Orfeo*, 1471; *Stanze per la Giostra*, 1475).

Drama.—*Sacre rappresentazioni* (*Mysteries*).

Prose.—Andrea da Barberino (*I Reali di Francia*, a novel based on the French *chansons de geste*). Savonarola (1452–1498, *Sermons*). Masuccio, (*Novellino*, 1460–1470). Sannazaro (*L'Arcadia*, 1504).

This period will be divided into two chapters, the first taking up the reign of Juan II, the second those of Enrique IV and the Catholic Kings. Each chapter will treat first prose, then poetry. Yet if one considers only the spirit of the literature, there is no appreciable difference between, for example, the reign of Juan II and that of Enrique IV; and many writers belong to both. In like manner, several (as Pérez de Guzmán and Rodríguez de la Cámara) have as much claim to be reckoned among poets as among prose-writers.

Not till the close of the century, in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, does literature acquire some originality. At that time prose, which had been stifled beneath the outpourings of verse, recovered its proper importance. The language took on firmness and polish, and was codified in dictionaries and grammars. The publication of the Latin-Spanish dictionary (1492), the grammar (*Gramática sobre la lengua castellana*, 1492),[1] and the little treatise on spelling (*Reglas de ortographía*, 1517) of the great teacher and philologist **Antonio de Nebrija** (or **Lebrija**) (1441?–1522) is very significant. These efforts initiated a long series of studies on the language[2] which continued throughout the sixteenth century, and aided in fixing the Castilian tongue. At the same time, the field of literature expanded. Neglected genres like the drama came back into fashion. The sum total of intellectual production was enriched and its advance was notable. The Golden Age was at hand.

[1] Facsimile reproduction of the first edition by E. Walberg, Halle, 1909. Ed. I. González Llubera, London, 1926. *Reglas de ortographía*, reprinted by B. Escudero de Juana, in *Contribución al estudio del romance esp.*, 1923.—On Nebrija, see P. Lemus y Rubio, *El maestro Elio Antonio de Lebrixa*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXII, 1910, 459–508; XXIX, 1913, 13–120. H. Keniston, *Notes on the "De liberis educandis" of A. de L.*, in *Homen. Menéndez Pidal*, III, 127–141.

[2] For an enumeration of these works, with extracts, see Conde de la Viñaza, *Bibliot. histórica de la filología castellana*, 1893.

CHAPTER I

REIGN OF JUAN II

PART FIRST: POETRY

2. The Cancioneros and Courtly Verse[1]

Just as the Galician lyric is revealed to us mainly through the Vatican and Colocci-Brancuti collections (cf. p. 52), so nearly all the poetry of the 15th century is contained in anthologies called *Cancioneros*, in which various compositions, nearly all lyrical in nature, were brought together without any system except the collector's caprice. It is by means of these collections that we know most of the poets of that century and the beginning of the next. Although several are much later then the reign of Juan II, yet, since they all contain similar works and form a natural sequence, there is no serious objection to grouping them together here. Some of these old collections are devoted to the poetic works of a single writer; so the *Cancioneros* of Frey Îñigo de Mendoza (ca. 1480), Juan del Encina (1496), Fray Ambrosio Montesino (1508), Pedro Manuel de Urrea (1513), and later of Jorge de Montemayor (1554 and 1558). The works of some others, originally published in scattered form, have been recently collected, and often under the same title; for example, the *Cancioneros* of Gómez Manrique (1885), Montoro (1900), Álvarez Gato (1901), Fernando de la Torre (1907), and the *Obras* of Juan Rodríguez de la Cámara (1884). The following are the most important of the early collections:

a. *Cancionero de Baena.*[2] The compiler, Juan Alfonso de Baena, dedicated it to Juan II, about 1445. It contains 583 pieces by 55 poets, and a number of anonymous poems. It is of prime importance for the study of the lyric, especially that of the mid-century.

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[1] The extant texts of the lyric poets of the 15th century can be found most easily in vols. 19 and 22 of the *Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, 1912 and 1915: *Cancionero castellano del siglo XV, ordenado por R. Foulché-Delbosc.* The first volume contains 310 pieces by seven authors, among them Juan de Mena, Álvarez Gato, Santillana, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán; the second volume includes 890 poems by forty authors, of whom the best known are Gómez Manrique, Jorge Manrique, Álvarez de Villasandino, Rodrigo Cota, Stúñiga.

On this period see Comte de Puymaigre, *La Cour littéraire de D. Juan II*, 2 vols., Paris, 1873. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poet. lír.*, V, prólogo.

[2] MS. at Paris. Ed. Eug. de Ochoa and P. J. Pidal, Madrid, 1851. Ed. Fr. Michel, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1860. Facsimile of MS., with foreword by H. R. Lang, N. Y., 1926.

b. *Cancionero de Stúñiga,*[1] compiled probably at Naples after the death of Alfonso V (1458), received its inappropriate name from the fact that the first two poems in it chanced to be by Lope de Stúñiga, a descendant of Carlos II, King of Navarre. It represents chiefly Aragonese poets of the court of Alfonso *el Magnánimo,* and so complements the work of Baena.

c. *Cancionero of the British Museum,*[2] formed after 1471. It holds 355 pieces by 78 poets, from Juan II to Ferdinand and Isabella.

d. Many poems included in the foregoing collections occur also in others, such as the *Cancionero Oñate-Castañeda* (15th century),[3] the *Cancionero* of Ramón de Llaviá, Saragossa, 1490, the *Cancionero de Herberay des Essarts,*[4] the *Cancionero de Yxar*[5] and the *Cancionero de Palacio* or *musical,*[6] so important for music as well as text.

e. The famous *Cancionero general* of Hernando del Castillo,[7] of 1511. It contains no less than 1033 pieces, most of which date from the reign of the Catholic Kings. Frequent later editions (1514, 1517, 1520,[8] 1527, 1535, down to the revised issues of Antwerp, 1557 and 1573) increased the number of poems considerably. The last section of the *Cancionero,* that of *Obras de burlas,* gave rise in 1519 to the scandalous *Cancionero de obras de burlas provocantes a risa,*[9] which holds the lewdest compositions of that time. The *Cancionero llamado Guirlanda esmaltada* of Juan Fernández de Constantina,[10] undated, is a shorter compilation, probably made soon after Castillo's work and based on it.

f. *Cancioneiro geral* of García de Resende, Lisbon, 1516.[11] It contains, besides Portuguese poems of 257 Portuguese, those of more than 60 poets writing in Castilian. Twenty-nine of the latter were Spaniards (Mena, Manrique, Montoro, etc.), the others Portuguese (Infante D. Pedro de Portugal, Duke of Coimbra, his son the Constable D. Pedro, João de Meneses, Alvaro de Brito Pestana, Duarte de Brito, D. João Manuel, grandson of King D. Duarte, Resende himself).

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[1] Ed. Fuensanta del Valle and Sancho Rayón, 1872 (*Col. de libros raros o curiosos,* IV).

[2] Ed. H. A. Rennert, Erlangen, 1889 (*Rom. Forsch.,* X).

[3] *Rev. de Archivos,* IV, 1900, 321–338, 390–403, 516–535.

[4] Gallardo, *Ensayo,* I, no. 484; not complete.

[5] Gallardo, *Ensayo,* I, no. 486; not complete.

[6] Ed. Asenjo Barbieri, 1890.

[7] Ed. Sociedad de Biblióf. esp., 2 vols., 1882 (*Biblióf. Esp.,* XXI). It includes in appendix the additions from the eds. of 1527, 1540 and 1557.

[8] Facsimile reproduction by Archer M. Huntington, N. Y., 1904.

[9] Ed. Usoz y Río, London, 1841.

[10] Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, 1914 (*Biblióf. Madril.,* XI).

[11] Ed. Kausler, 3 vols., Stuttgart, 1846–52. Facsimile A. M. Huntington, N. Y., 1904. Ed. Gonçalvez Guimarãis, 5 vols., Coimbra, 1910–1917.

The mere enumeration of these collections shows how poets teemed in the 15th century. The *Cancionero general* alone represents more than 200; Amador de los Ríos counts 218 between 1406 and 1454. This list could be lengthened, if names known from other sources were added to it. But quality does not match quantity; most of these versifiers do not deserve ever to leave the oblivion to which they have justly been consigned. Their art is almost exclusively courtly, academic and artificial. The leading figures are either momentary dabblers, or cultured nobles like Villena, Santillana, D. Pedro de Portugal, the Manriques, etc., or, lastly, protégés and favorites of these nobles, men some of them who had risen from low station, but who, upon passing into an aristocratic household or society, completely lost any freshness and power inherent in the people. With such authors, verse assumes a very special quality. It is elegant and refined, or tries to be. Naturalness, sincerity and variety are denied it. Exception can be made only for a few writers who by chance struck a note of truth, or for a few artists of less conventional inspiration who pursued a higher ideal of art. Everywhere else we find nothing but class verse or clique verse. Its roots do not strike into the national soil, and its life could be only of a day. Threefold influences are apparent: 1, that of the troubadours, who, at the outset, lent these poets their usual meters, forms and inspirations, as one may see in the contemporary treatises (Villena's *Arte de trobar*, Santillana's *Prohemio e Carta*, Pero Guillén de Segovia's *Gaya* or *Silva copiosísima de consonantes para alivio de trovadores*, a rhyme-dictionary on the order of those of the Catalans Jacme March and Aversó); 2, that of Italy, which steadily increased, as has been said, at the expense of the French connection, thanks to closer acquaintance with Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio; 3, that of classical antiquity, whose masterpieces multiplied rapidly in manuscripts and, in the last decades of the century, in printed books. The mingling of these elements gives a superficial aspect of life and variety tothat body of poetry, but they could not supply its great deficiencies of originality and spontaneity.

Before enumerating some of the typical *Cancionero*-poets, we must devote closer attention to three writers who deserve it; one, Villena, because he opened the period and prepared its ground; the other two, Santillana and Mena, because they stand head and shoulders above the rest.

3. Villena [1]

Enrique de Aragón, wrongly called *Marquis* of Villena (1384–1434?), was a descendant of the royal line of Aragon, and grandson of Enrique II of Castile. Only in date is he first of the three men. We possess not one Castilian poem by him, and his authentic works, which treat some very queer themes, have today scarcely any value except as documents. They are: *El libro de aojamiento* (*Book of the Evil Eye*); *Tractado de la lepra* (*Treatise of the Plague*); *Consolatoria a Juan Fernández de Valera*; *Exposición del versículo 4º del salmo VIII; Epístola a Suero de Quiñones; El arte cisoria* or *Tractado del arte de cortar del cuchillo* (1423), a cook-book;[2] *Los doze trabajos de Hércules* (1417), the first version of which was in Catalan. Perhaps one should add the *Libro de la guerra*,[3] 1420, recently published, although its style seems to differ somewhat from that of the authentic works.

All these writings attest the author's naïve credulity, his undigested erudition and his lack of talent. Very typical of his times is this prince of royal blood, passionately devoted to letters and sciences, such as they were then understood to be; a great lover of books of every sort, he translated Cicero's *New Rhetoric* (*to Herennius*), Vergil's *Aeneid*, and Dante's *Divina Commedia*.[4] He was one of the first to introduce the technique of the Provençal metrists and the methods of the Toulousan *Gaya Ciencia*, in his *Arte de trobar*.[5] Of this mediocre but very useful compilation we possess only an important fragment. It was written in 1423, as a sort of afterclap of the then nearly defunct *Consistorio* founded at Barcelona in 1393, in imitation of the Floral Games of Provence. Villena was so learned, so disturbing in his universal curiosity that he was suspected of sorcery; the most fantastic adventures were attributed to him and his library was carefully burned after his death.[1] In some ways he was a pioneer, but not a gifted one.

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[1] See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.*, V, pp. xxvii–l. E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Don Enrique de Villena, su vida y obras*, 1896.

Tres tratados (*de la consolación, del aojamiento, de la lepra*), ed. J. Soler, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XLI, 1917, 110–214, acc. to MS. 6599 of Bibl. Nac., Madrid. The *Epístola* is printed by Cotarelo, *Apéndice II*.

[2] Ed. F. B. Navarro, Madrid-Barcelona, 1879.

[3] Ed. Lucas de Torre, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXXVIII, 1916, 497–531.

[4] See n. 2, p. 95.

[5] Ed. G. Mayans y Siscar, *Orígenes de la lengua*, ed. 1873, pp. 269 ff. Ed. (reprint) Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.*, V, 3–17. Crit. ed. Sánchez Cantón, *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, VI, 1919, 158–180; also Madrid, 1923.

4. Santillana

Another writer still more representative of this period, who had at least the makings of a great poet, was Íñigo López de Mendoza (1398–1458),[2] created, in 1445, the first Marquis of Santillana. He belonged to a family that produced many soldiers and statesmen, and famous writers in even greater number (López de Ayala, Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, the Manriques, the Garcilaso de la Vegas, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, etc.). During the reigns of Juan II and Enrique IV he played the important part to which birth and talents entitled him. He was often counted among the opponents of the powerful favorite, Álvaro de Luna. Politics, however, did not exhaust his energy, and he left numerous writings. Nearly all are based upon contemporary events, which they discuss from a moral and political point of view.

He wrote far more poetry than prose, and his verse offers a great variety of metrical combinations which prove him thoroughly acquainted with both national and Provençal versification.

La Comedieta de Ponza (its *Prohemio* is dated 1444) is written in stanzas of *arte mayor*. It is a sort of threnody or solemn lamentation on a defeat which Alfonso V's fleet suffered at the hands of the Genoese, August 5, 1435, near the island of Ponza. The form is quasi-dramatic. Santillana and Boccaccio are among the speakers, but Dante, even more than the author of the *Fall of Princes*, gave the poet title, general inspiration and some details of this elegy. The *Diálogo de Bías contra Fortuna*, written in 1448 and printed in 1582, is a stoic declamation, grave and noble in tone, whose doctrine reappears in the *Favor de Hércules contra Fortuna* and the *Doctrinal de Privados* (*Doctrine for Favorites*). The old adversary of Don Álvaro de Luna chose the moment after the latter's fall and tragic execution (1453) to philosophize on the inconstancy of fortune. There are lofty moral thoughts also in *La defunsión de Don Enrique de Villena* (1434), who had been the author's friend, correspondent and in a way his master; in the *Preguntas a Juan de Mena*,[1] the *Coplas a Gómez Manrique*, the *Pregunta de Nobles*, the *Coplas a Don Alfonso rey de Portugal*, and the *Planto* (*Llanto*) *de la Reina Doña Margarida*. The historical compendium of *Las edades del mundo*, wrongly attributed to Santillana, is by Pablo de Santa María (p. 129).

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[1] On Villena as magician, the schools of magic at Toledo and Salamanca, and, in general, on magic in Spain, see Samuel M. Waxman, *Chapters on Magic*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXXVIII, 1916, 325–463.

[2] *Obras*, ed. J. Amador de los Ríos, 1852. Poems, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Canc. cast. del siglo XV*, I, 1912, 449–575. *Canciones y decires*, ed. V. García de Diego, 1913 (*Clásicos cast.*, v. 18). *Serranillas y decires*, Bibl. Corona, 1915.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, V, pp. lxxviii–cxliv. M. Pérez y Curis, *El Marqués de Santillana, el poeta, el pensador y el hombre*, Montevideo, 1916. B. Sanvisenti, *I primi influssi*, etc., 127–196.

The metaphysics of love furnish a favorite topic for courtly verse. Santillana contributed his proper share in the *Querella de amor*, based on the sad adventures of Macías *el Enamorado*, in *El triunphete de amor*, and especially in the *Infierno de los enamorados*. The last attests once more the constantly growing influence of Dante, and became in turn the model of many other such compositions; as the *Sepulcro de amor* of one Guevara and another *Infierno de amor* of Garci Sánchez de Badajoz. Many other poems, especially the *Decires amorosos*, may be set in the same category. A special niche must be made for his forty-two sonnets in hendecasyllables, after the Italian manner (*Sonetos fechos al itálico modo*),[2] not for their own sake, since they are really mediocre, despite Herrera's praise, but because they mark an epoch in the history of Spanish poetry, or better, Spanish versification. They are, in fact, generally supposed to be the first Italianate sonnets ever written in Spain, though the fact has been disputed; and like priority is claimed for Santillana's hendecasyllables according to the Italian formula, which till then had not been rigidly applied.

A work of greater intrinsic interest, recalling that of Sem Tob in its moral and didactic scope, is the *Centiloquio* or *Proverbios*, offered to Prince Enrique, son of Juan II, and first printed about 1490. One hundred and one *coplas de pie quebrado* contain one hundred precepts for right living; they were partly explained in glosses by the author himself, and later a commentary upon them was written by Pero Díaz de Toledo, who composed on his own account a *Diálogo e razonamiento en la muerte del Marqués de Santillana*, and *Proverbios de Séneca* (1482). Yet, despite his learning and wisdom, the only poems of Santillana which are still read are those which proceed, more or less directly, from popular inspiration: his *canciones*, *decires*, *serranillas*, and *vaquieras*, like the famous *Vaquera de la Finojosa.* These have come down to us through the centuries bearing all the freshness of the Galician and Provençal springs from which they flow. They are free from any taint of erudite research or courtly affectation.

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[1] This was one of the earliest of those moral and didactic collections of *Preguntas* and *Respuestas* which shortly became very common and sometimes very popular.

[2] A. Vegue y Goldoni, *Los sonetos 'al itálico modo' de Don Íñigo López de Mendoza: estudio crítico y nueva edición de los mismos*, 1911. P. Henríquez Ureña, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, VI, 1919, p. 142. According to these scholars, the Provençal hendecasyllable produced in Spain the Catalan hendecasyllable (Auzias March) and the Galician-Portuguese hendecasyllable (Vatican *Cancionero*). Santillana almost attained the classical Italian type, but it was not reproduced with perfection until the days of Boscán and especially Garcilaso.

Among the Marquis's prose works, the first in interest is his *Prohemio e Carta al Condestable de Portugal,*[1] written in 1448 or 1449, to serve as preface and letter accompanying a *cancionero* sent to the prince Don Pedro de Portugal. This document is of high value to us as literary history, for the study of the methods (*galas y primores*) of the *Gai Saber*, and for information about contemporary writers. It shows us that Santillana possessed extensive information, that he had read widely in Provençal, Italian and French, and that his library was as well stocked as Villena's, although the ancient classics were scarcely accessible to him except in translation.[2] His poem in honor of the Catalan troubadour Mosen Jordi de Sant Jordi (*Coronaçión de Mossén Jordi*) bears witness to his close acquaintance with the "Limousin" school. He has been credited with a collection of popular proverbs (*Refranes que dizen las viejas tras el huego;*[3] it has no connection whatever with the *Proverbios*). Santillana was more a lover of knowledge than a genuine scholar, but if this *refranero* is really his, the grand seigneur displayed an alert intelligence when with such pains he gleaned a few humble flowers of popular wisdom. The collection is one of the oldest examples of proverb-literature in Spanish. He could scarcely imagine that many readers would find greater pleasure in turning its pages than in plowing through his pedantic *Lamentación en prophecía de la segunda destruyción de España*, or his letter to Alonso de Cartagena *Sobre el oficio de cavallería*, or that to his son concerning the usefulness of translations.

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[1] Ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, V, 18–29. Ed. L. Sorrento, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LV, 1922, 1–49. Ed. Prestage and Pastor, Oxford, 1927.

[2] See Mario Schiff, *La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane*, 1905 (*Bibl. de l'Ecole des Hautes Études*, fasc. 153). M. Schiff has been able to reconstruct the library almost complete.

[3] Ed. Urban Cronan, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXV, 1911, 134–219.

5. Juan de Mena

Juan de Mena (1411–1456) [1] was the real leader of the choir of poets of this period. He was an Andalusian of Cordova, and critics have sometimes sought in the mysterious influence of the soil an explanation for certain qualities, or rather certain weaknesses of this compatriot of Seneca, Lucan, Herrera and Góngora: his grandiloquence and glittering metaphors, the ambitious affectation of his thought, the polished labyrinth of his style. It is true that one feels in Mena an ambition to emulate classic models, such as they were then understood to be, and he did succeed in making himself one of the first artistic stylists of Spanish literature and one of the first examples of a "man of letters." But he owed more to the Italians than to the classics. He had had the advantage of studying them directly in their own land when he was young. A vain desire to rival Dante is too often manifest in his works.

These are not numerous, but they display a care for form which had been rare before him. His best and most famous work is called sometimes *Las Trezientas* (i.e. *The Three Hundred Stanzas*), though the author's title was *El Laberinto de Fortuna* (1444?; printed 1489). The popular title is inexact, for the poem contains but 297 authentic strophes. Those added later, at the request, tradition has it, of Juan II, to bring their number up to that of the days in the year, are almost certainly not Mena's. The *Labyrinth* is a sort of "legend of the ages," a Dantesque allegorical vision of the drama of history. The *Vates* or Seer makes a miraculous journey through the three cycles (*ruedas*) of the Present, the Past and the Future: in each cycle are seven circles, those of the planets which govern human destiny. In the course of the journey many persons are met, who furnish pegs for more or less eloquent reflections. Some of the episodes (as, the death of Lorenzo Dávalos, and the heroic constancy of the Conde de Niebla, who lost his life at Gibraltar in the attempt to save his comrades) are reckoned among the finest pages of Spanish poetry. In truth, the real merit of the *Trezientas* is that the poet rises at times above the dead level of courtier art and touches loftier concepts. He sings great men and generous deeds with a truly epic intonation, and summons degenerate spirits to the olden virtues and the traditional crusade against the infidels.

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[1] Poems, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Canc. cast. del siglo XV*, I, 1912, 120–221. *El Laberinto de Fortuna*, ed. Foulché-Delbosc, Mâcon, 1904.—See id., *Étude sur le 'Laberinto' de Juan de Mena*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, IX, 1902, 75–138 (contains also bibliography of Mena). Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.*, V, pp. cxlv–ccvi. B. Sanvisenti, *I primi influssi de Dante, del Petrarca e del Boccaccio sulla lett. spagnuola*, Milano, 1902, 81–125. C. R. Post, *The Sources of J. de M.* in *Romanic Review*, III, 1912, 223–279.

Mena's second important poem is the *Coronación dirigida al Marqués de Santillana*, called *Las Cincuenta* (sc. *estrofas*), a brilliant allegorical tribute to the Marquis in 51 stanzas of ten lines each. It is the first of the *Journeys to Parnassus* which later became so numerous. Allegory, so often abused in this century, served Mena again in his unfinished moral poem on the *Seven Mortal Sins*, in double *redondillas*. The subject was a stale commonplace not to be rejuvenated by his too obvious exertions. The long argument in it between Reason and the Sins harks back to the medieval *Debates*. These three poems and a few fragments or fugitive pieces, like the *Razonamiento que faze Johan de Mena con la Muerte*,[1] constitute Mena's entire poetic production.

His influence upon his contemporaries was great, but was it beneficent? Their admiration and the power he wielded can be explained in part, certainly, by his many qualities: the brilliance of his lines and their genuine beauty when he brought them off; his meticulous striving for good form, which here and there produced unexpected results; the very obscurity of thought and expression, for the reader feels that it is intentional and is driven to search out hidden beauties; the technical skill of this erudite imitator of Latins and Italians; the supremacy with which he handled the difficult *arte mayor*,[2] in which he remained the master; and doubtless also

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[1] *Rev. Hisp.*, IX, 1906, 252–254.

[2] The origin and technique of the *arte mayor* have been much discussed. The commonest type of its line is a 12-syllable divided into two hemistichs having each a main stress on syllable 5, and a secondary stress on 2:

O dúro accidénte,—dolór inhumáno

But there are many equivalents for this type. Often the first hemistich, even when ending in a paroxytone, has but 5 syllables, with secondary stress on 1, as if the his favor at court, for even genius is somewhat dependent on circumstance. In any case, men as learned as Hernán Núñez *el Comendador griego* (*Glosa*, 1499), and Francisco Sánchez (edition, 1582) were proud to elucidate the arcana of his works. Mena himself had taken the like useful precaution, by supplying a commentary to the *Coronación.*

Their panegyrics leave us cold. We are more inclined to deplore as unfortunate the influence of this subtle distiller of essences, for he led the poetry and literature of his country in a path of final disaster. Mena is the true precursor of Góngora, whose merits and defects he foreshadows alike. He strained the resources of the language, warped its syntax and tortured its vocabulary, without greatly enriching it. He was a kind of abortive Ronsard. In spite of fine passages, the flashes which pierce the clouds, his poetry is almost unreadable today. As for his prose, judging by the little that remains (fragments of a commentary on the *Coronación* and a very free translation of the pseudo-Homer), there is only one word for it: it is detestable.

6. Other Lyric Poets

Among the secondary poets, known to us chiefly by Baena's collection, we shall mention only the following, bearing in mind that the first four belong to the 14th century.

1. **Pero González de Mendoza** (d. 1385). The extant poems of this great noble are insignificant, but it would be interesting to know the nature of his "cantares çénicos, plautinos e terencianos," which are alluded to by his grandson Santillana (*Proemio* § XVI).

2. **Pero Ferrús** or better **Ferrandes,** belongs to the reign of Enrique III. He displayed a rather extensive acquaintance with

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first syllable were missing. The line may, indeed, vary from 9 to 13 syllables in length. It was, in short, not a line of counted syllables, like most of those used in Spanish poetry, but a rhythmic line, based upon a ternary (anapestic) rhythm, with two stresses in each hemistich. It had been used before Mena by some poets, in particular by Ayala in his *Deytado sobre el Cisma de Occidente*, in the *Danza de la Muerte* and the *Revelación de un ermitaño.* By the middle of the 16th century the fashion for it had passed. In the 19th century it has been sporadically revived. The most penetrating analysis of the *arte mayor* line is R. Foulché-Delbosc's, in the cited *Étude;* this part translated into Spanish by A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Juan de Mena y el "Arte Mayor,"* Madrid, 1903. Also F. Hanssen, *El Arte Mayor de J. de M.*, in *Anales de la Univ. de Santiago de Chile*, CXVIII, 1906, 179–200. Hills and Morley, *Modern Sp. Lyrics*, N. Y., 1913, pp. lxxv–lxxix. Morel-Fatio's *L'arte mayor et l'hendécasyllable*, in *Romania*, XXIII, 1894, is mistaken in its deductions.

the ancient novel, including three books of the *Amadís*, in his *Cantiga para su amiga* and his *Decir* to the Chancellor Ayala. The funeral oration which he placed in the mouth of Enrique III is well turned.

3. **Garci Ferrández de Jerena,** of whose *cantigas* and *decires* Baena included twelve, flourished between 1365 and 1400. His poems are by no means so interesting as his life, which was full of extraordinary adventures. He married a *juglara* (Moorish singer) whom he believed to be rich. Disillusioned by his mistake, he turned hermit, then became a Mohammedan at Granada, where he married a sister of his first wife and returned to Castile to die.

4. The **Archdeacon of Toro** (Gonzalo Rodríguez; 6 pieces in Baena) also belongs in the earlier period, as he wrote between 1379 and 1390. Some of his verse is in the Galician dialect of the older fashion.

5. **Pero Vélez de Guevara,** nephew of Pedro López de Ayala and uncle of Santillana, died about 1420.

6. The Galician **Macías,** called *el Enamorado,*[1] is, like Jerena, less famous for his verse than for his amorous adventures, which somewhat resembled those of his compatriots Rodríguez de la Cámara and the old poet Joham Soarez de Pavha. According to Hernán Núñez, he was a squire of D. Enrique de Villena, and was killed by a gentleman whose wife he courted. As such a figure he appears in Santillana's *Infierno de los enamorados,*[2] in the *Cuestión de amor*, and, four centuries after his death, in Larra's *El Doncel de Don Enrique el Doliente.* So he became a real hero of romance. Some have thought he died about 1430, others thirty years sooner. In the latter case he could not have been in Villena's service.

7. **Francisco Imperial,**[3] a Genoese by birth, lived at Seville in the first years of the 15th century. In 1405 he sang of the birth of Juan II. Santillana admired him for the knowledge of antiquity and contemporary literatures displayed in his verse. He has a special importance because he contributed notably toward disseminating in Spain a knowledge of Dante and other Italians, so

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[1] *Poesías*, ed. H. A. Rennert, in *Macías, o Namorado*, Philadelphia, 1900. *Cancioneiro Gallego-Castelhano*, ed. Lang, N. Y.-London, 1902.—See also Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, IV, pp. lvii–lxii.

[2] Santillana also said of him: "aquel grand enamorado Maçías del qual non se fallan si non quatro cançiones" (*Prohemio*, § XV). But Baena included five.

[3] See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, IV, pp. lxvii–lxxiii. B. Sanvisenti, *I primi influssi*, etc., 33–79.

that in his day he played a part somewhat like that of the Venetian Navagiero for Boscán. By the side of the Galician school, which had reigned in the recent past, and the Provençal school, which strongly affected Villena and Santillana, Imperial came to found the Italian-Andalusian school, which gathered in nearly all the poets who followed. His chief work is the *Desyr de las siete Virtudes,* in hendecasyllables, a mediocre imitation of Dante.

8. **Ferrán Sánchez Talavera,** Commander of Calatrava, lived in the first third of the 15th century. Among the 16 poems in Baena, one may note the *Requesta contra el amor;* it anticipates in theme Cota's *Diálogo entre el amor y un viejo* (cf. p. 126).

9. **Alfonso Álvarez de Villasandino** (province of Burgos), a resident of Illescas (near Madrid), was born about the middle of the 14th century, and died toward 1424. He was a poet of overflowing spirits, satirical and often coarse, who enjoyed a great reputation in his day. Baena admired him, collected 192 of his poems[1] and proclaimed him "monarch of all the poets and troubadours who ever lived in all Spain up to the present day." This contemporary judgment has not been confirmed by posterity.

10. It would be unjust to forget **Juan Alfonso de Baena,** who certainly did not forget himself, since he put 78 of his own poems in his anthology. He was probably a converted Jew who became the *escrivano* of Juan II. The collector in him is more deserving of gratitude than the poet. His best composition is the long *Decir* dedicated to Juan II (1443?), not in the *Cancionero.*[2] It is a political exhortation drawing its lesson from the history of Alfonso VIII.

11. **Ruy Páez de Ribera,** a Sevillan poet of Juan II's minority, was certainly one of the best of the *cancionero* by reason of his vigorous expression and the noble elevation of his spirit. He united Dante's fictions to the allegories dear to the Middle Ages. He complained often of poverty, so that one can scarcely suppose he belonged to the celebrated Andalusian Ribera family.

12. Another Sevillan, **Gonçalo Martínez de Medina,** would equally repay study. He wrote early in the 15th century, and is not to be confused with his weaker brother Diego, who is also

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[1] *Canc. cast. del siglo XV,* II, 312–439.—See E. Buceta, *Ensayo de interpretación de la poesía de V., numero 199 del "Cancionero de Baena,"* in *Rev. Filol. Esp.,* XV, 1928, 354–374. Id., *Fecha probable de una poesía de V. y de la muerte del poeta, ibid.,* XVI, 1929, 51–58.

[2] Ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.,* II, 215–262.

represented in Baena. Gonçalo's *decires* on the death of the queen Doña Catalina, on the death of Diego López and Juan de Velasco, and on the rise to power of Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, treat, not without inspiration, the theme already touched by Sánchez Talavera and others, and which Jorge Manrique was to develop with the utmost brilliancy: "*commo este mundo es muy falleçedero, e dura poco e para en pena.*" Nor did the evils of Spain find Martínez indifferent; he judged them in forceful verse.

13. **Ferrán Manuel de Lando,** a Sevillan hidalgo, grandson of a comrade of Duguesclin, was no longer young when Juan II reached the throne. Baena gives thirty-one of his poems, and they justify Santillana's remarks about him: "He more than any other imitated Micer Francisco Imperial; he wrote good songs in praise of Our Lady; he wrote likewise several invectives against Alonso Álvarez" (de Villasandino).

14. **Fernando de la Torre** (of the family of Alfonso de la Torre, author of the *Visión deleitable*) was born in the diocese of Burgos about 1416 and died after 1468, having lived and fought in Italy and France. His poems appear in various *Cancioneros*, especially in that of Stúñiga (but not in that of Baena). They were published in one volume in 1907.[1] His different letters (often with the answers), *coplas*, songs and *letrillas* give a very fair notion of life, manners and courtly verse of that day.

7. Poetry at the Court of Alfonso V [2]

In 1443 the Aragonese dynasty replaced that of Anjou in Naples. Alfonso V rivaled the princes of Florence, Ferrara and Mantua as a patron of letters and art. He drew to Naples a court of scholars and poets no less brilliant than that of Juan II. Aragonese and Catalan troubadours mingled there with humanists like Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pius II), Niccolò Tedeschi, Filelfo and Valla. Yet none of the versifiers who formed this court and contributed to the *Cancionero de Stúñiga* attained real fame, nor was this literary côterie distinguished by any originality of matter or form. The latter remained exclusively Castilian. So we need merely name the leading representatives of the group. It contained a great noble like

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[1] *Cancionero y obras en prosa de F. de la Torre*, ed. A. Paz y Melia, Dresden, 1907 (*Gesellschaft f. rom. Lit.*, v. 16).

[2] See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.*, V, pp. cclxiii–cccvi.

Lope de Stúñiga himself, a bitter enemy of Álvaro de Luna, and by his side a wandering minstrel like **Juan Poeta** (**Juan de Valladolid**), whose strange adventures greatly amused his contemporaries. Some of Stúñiga's vigorous or graceful pieces have left more than a passing memory. The best poet of the group, however, was **Carvajal** (or **Carvajales**), whose 45 poems can all be read with pleasure. They include some charming *serranillas.* The Catalan Mosén **Pedro Torrellas,** the famous enemy of women, contributed *Coplas de las calidades de las donas* (*Coplas de maldezir de las mugeres*) which were to raise a storm and arouse many a defender of the fair sex. We may add the names of **Juan de Tapia, Juan de Andújar, Fernando de la Torre,** mentioned above, **Suero de Ribera, Juan de Villalpando, Juan de Dueñas** and many others. Other *Cancionero* poets, of the reign of Enrique IV, will be discussed below (p. 122).

Second Part: Prose

Prose did not develop so fully as poetry under Juan II, but there are important names in history, the novel and moral philosophy.

8. Chronicles

Despite its title, **Pedro de Corral's** *Crónica del Rey D. Rodrigo con la destruyción de España*, or *Crónica Sarracina* (ca. 1430, 1st edition, Seville, 1511) can hardly be rated an historical work, it is so crammed with myth. For his diffuse compilation the author used Arabic narratives, especially the chronicle known as that of El Moro Rasis (p. 70). He enjoys no authority as a historian, but his work was widely read, it furnished much material for ballads, and was reworked in 1592 by the Granada *morisco* Miguel de Luna.

Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, señor de Batres (1378?–1460?), better deserves the title of historian. He was López de Ayala's nephew and Santillana's uncle. His verse [1] (for he was a poet also) has considerable importance. In the *Proverbios* (102 octosyllabic quatrains) and the various poems on *Vicios e virtudes* and *Loores divinos*, his aim was exclusively moral and didactic. The best poem is perhaps a long panegyric on Spain's illustrious men, *Loores de*

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[1] Foulché-Delbosc, *Canc. cast. del siglo XV*, I, 575–759. For the bibliography, see id., *Étude bibliographique sur F. P. de G.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XVI, 1907, 26–55. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, V, pp. l–lxxviii.

los claros varones de España,[1] of interest both for the metrical skill displayed and for the theme. It is nothing less than a complete history of Spain from Numancia to Benedict XIII and Gil de Albornoz. The poet proceeds without much regard to sequence, by jumps, as he says:

> A mi conuiene ir saltando,
> Non junto nin sucesive.

In poetry Pérez de Guzmán was an admirer of Imperial. In philosophy and ethics he was a disciple and correspondent of the learned bishop of Burgos, Alonso de Cartagena, who had addressed to him a treatise on prayer (*Oracional*).

In prose he shone far more brilliantly than in verse. It is true that the attribution to him of the *Crónica de don Juan II* was a mistake, but his little collection of biographies of his contemporaries, *Generaciones e Semblanzas,*[2] is one of the most distinguished works in Spanish historical literature. He says he borrowed the idea from "Guido de Colupna" (delle Colonne). His own classic forms the third part of a long compilation (*La mar de historias,* written about 1450, first ed. 1512) probably imitated from the *Mare Historiarum* of Giovanni Colonna (14th century). The first two parts, which treat respectively pagan and Christian rulers down to 1240 (chs. 1–63), and saints and scholars (chs. 64–126), have no possible interest except of style, and have been forgotten.[3] The *Generaciones* contain thirty-four portraits of contemporaries. The artist varies his manner with skill, and sets his subjects before us with a few precise and colorful strokes. The character and acts, the physical aspect of each one is caught from life by an observer in the best position to see and know. He was not an optimist. All the notables of the courts of Enrique III and Juan II pass in review before us; Henry himself, his brother the Infante Don Fernando de Antequera, the Constable Ruy López Dávalos and Lorenzo Suárez de Figueroa, Maestre de Santiago; López de Ayala and Villena, Archbishop Rojas and Queen Catalina de

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[1] Ed. in the *Canc. cast.*, also in Gallardo, *Ensayo*, no. 3444, and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, I, 198–271. The poem has 409 double *redondillas* (*ababbccb* or *abbaacca*).

[2] Ed. Rosell, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXVIII. Ed. J. Domínguez Bordona, 1924 (vol. 61 of *Clás. cast.*).

[3] Text from first ed., R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXVIII, 1913, 442–622.

Lancaster. It would be an exaggeration to liken Pérez de Guzmán to Saint-Simon and Tacitus; he had the aristocratic pride of the former, but not his verve. As to the latter, the Spaniard possessed neither his depth nor his power of foreshortening. But it is something that he brings to mind the names of such great literary painters.

In this genre of the historical portrait Pérez de Guzmán had had scarcely any predecessor save Gil de Zamora (*Liber illustrium personarum*, end of 13th century), but the fashion now came in. In the last decades of the 15th century the Bachelor **Alonso de Toledo** was composing upon a similar plan his *Espejo de las historias*, a vast museum of illustrious men "from Adam to John XXII." Pérez de Guzmán's worthiest imitator, however, was beyond question Hernando del Pulgar with the *Claros Varones* (p. 131).

9. Other Historical Works

Pérez de Guzmán was not the sole historian of his time. **Alvar García de Santa María** began the *Crónica de Don Juan II*,[1] which others finished;—in truthfulness and style one of the best of the chronicles. Its first editor, Galíndez de Carvajal (1517) declared that Pérez de Guzmán had a hand in it, upon what basis is not known. The anonymous *Corónica de Don Álvaro de Luna* could not fail to hold the reader by the mere dramatic interest of the events, and the telling of them, still warm and vibrant with contemporary passion, is not unworthy of the theme. It was not printed till 1546, at Milan. **Álvaro de Luna** (1385?–1453) is himself known for his imitation of Boccaccio, *Libro de las claras e virtuosas mugeres* (1446).[2]

To these general histories one may add narratives of special events. The *Historia del gran Tamerlán*[3] is an account of a trip to Samarcand made by **Ruy González de Clavijo** (d. 1412) by order of Enrique III, from 1403 to 1406; the account was published in 1582 by Argote de Molina. An Andalusian, **Pero Tafur** (1410?–1484?), described his travels through most of the known world, from 1435 to 1439, in the *Andanças e viajes*. *El*[1] *Victorial*, or *The Book of Victory* (an obscure title which has been generally replaced by that of *Crónica del Conde de Buelna, D. Pero Niño*)[2] is a spirited account of that noble's deeds, by an admiring companion, **Gutierre Díez de Games. Pedro Fernández de Velasco,** Conde de Haro, recounted *El Seguro de Tordesillas* (1439), a strange compact in which he played a chief part. Finally, the curious story of Suero de Quiñones' *Paso honroso* (*Passage at Arms*) was told by an eyewitness, **Rodríguez de Lena,** and abridged by Juan de Pineda in 1588.[3] The hero, a chivalrous young knight, held the bridge of Órbigo against all comers for a month (July–August, 1439). When we consider that this feat was only one of many such exploits (Juan de Merlo, Gonzalo de Guzmán, Juan de Torres, J. de Polanco, Mosén Pero Vázquez de Saavedra, Gutierre Quixada, Mosén Diego de Valera, etc.), we realize that the age of chivalric literature is at hand.

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[1] Ed. in *Col. de docs. inéditos*, XCIX and C. Ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXVIII.

[2] Ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, 1891 (*Biblióf. Esp.*, vol. 28). Ed. Manuel Castillo, Toledo, 1909.

[3] Ed. Llaguno y Amírola, 1782.

No one believes any more in the authenticity of the *Centón epistolario*,[4] a collection of one hundred and five letters supposed to have been addressed to leading men of that time, between 1425 and 1454, by an imaginary bachelor **Fernán Gómez de Cibdareal,** physician to Juan II. It is now known that the alleged princeps of Burgos, 1499, is a forgery, and that the responsible author of the pleasant hoax was most probably a Spanish ambassador to Venice, **Vera y Zúñiga,** Conde de la Roca (1583?–1658). The date of writing would then be about 1630. The fact that critics like Amador de los Ríos believed in the genuineness of the *Centón* shows how clever the forger was. The letters themselves are full of interest and charm, and honor their author's talent.

10. The Novel

Novelists were not common in the reign of Juan II. The most celebrated was **Juan Rodríguez de la Cámara,** or **del Padrón** since he was born at El Padrón in Galicia. Tradition makes him a page of Juan II; he took service with Cardinal Juan de Cervantes, whom he perhaps accompanied to the Council of Bâle (1431–1449), and died a Franciscan friar toward 1450. His life was crossed by a hopeless love for some unknown noble lady, and on its romantic side recalls that of his friend Macías. Lyrics once famous sprang from that passion. If he really wrote the charming ballads of *Conde Arnaldos*, *Rosaflorida* and *La Infantina de Francia*, his reputation would be assured, but it is hard to prove that he did not adapt them from popular poems.[1]

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[1] First ed. 1874, 2 vols., by M. Jiménez de la Espada (*Libros raros o curiosos*, vol. 8). Engl. transl. by Malcolm Letts, N. Y., 1927.

[2] Ed. Llaguno y Amírola, 1782. French transl. Circourt and Puymaigre, 1867 (more complete text than the Spanish).

[3] Facsimile A. M. Huntington, N. Y., 1902.

[4] Ed. E. de Ochoa, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XIII.

Juan Rodríguez's name is saved from oblivion by the sentimental novel, *El siervo libre de amor* (1439–40?), [2] based in part on Boccaccio's *Fiammetta*. Widely read and much imitated, it mingles in some confusion veiled allusions to his own life with chivalric episodes like that of Ardanlier and Liessa. The hero passes through all the stages of a love at first reciprocal and later unfortunate, to reach at last forgetfulness. Allegories, moralizing and the casuistry of love are injected into the story. The action changes place frequently; the Galician scenes are described with a fidelity of detail unknown before then, and this feeling for nature foreshadows Montemayor's *Diana*.

Juan Rodríguez also translated, it appears, Ovid's *Heroides* under the strange title of *Bursario* (*Book for the Pocket*). His *Triunfo de las Donas* joins him to the company of those who, like Álvaro de Luna himself (*Libro de las claras e virtuosas mugeres*) and Diego de Valera (*Defensa de virtuosas mugeres*), defended the cause of women against Boccaccio and the Archpriest of Talavera. His *Cadira del honor* is a eulogy of the system of hereditary nobility.

11. In spite of Rodríguez's merits, his prose is more fluent than clear, and the most remarkable prose-writer of the reign of Juan II was the bachelor **Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, Archpriest of Talavera** (1398–d. after 1466). He was probably a native of Toledo and a graduate of Salamanca; he lived for a time in Aragon (1420–1430?), Valencia, Tortosa and Catalonia. In this last province he doubtless became acquainted with the *Libre de les Dones* of Fray

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[1] *Lieder des Juan Rodríguez del Padrón*, ed. H. A. Rennert, in *Zeitschrift f. rom. Philologie*, XVII, 1893, 544–558. Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, XI, 10 and XII, 541–542.

[2] *Obras*, ed. Paz y Melia, 1884 (*Biblióf. Esp.*, vol. 22).—See P. J. Pidal, *Vida del trovador J. R. del P.*, in *Estudios lit.* 1890, II, 7–37. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, V, pp. ccvii–ccxxxv. P. Atanasio López, *La lit. crítico-histórica y el trovador J. R. del P.*, Santiago, 1918.

Francesch Eximeniç,[1] which inspired his chief work. There also he may have chanced upon Boccaccio and his *Corbaccio*. Later he became chaplain of Juan II and holder of a benefice at the cathedral of Toledo. He was still alive in 1466. The exact date of his death is not known.

His famous book was finished by 1438 and the first known edition (perhaps not the first) is of Seville, 1498.[2] The author called it *Arcipreste de Talavera que fabla de los vicios de las malas mugeres e complexiones de los hombres*, but it is usually known as the *Corbacho* (a name borrowed by its editors from the *Corbaccio* of Boccaccio) or *Reprobación del amor mundano.*

It is a satirical treatise; the first two parts are directed against women's vices, and the last two describe the different types and characters of men. In subject-matter, therefore, it much resembles the many works written in this century on such inexhaustible themes. Martínez had read widely, and borrowed the elements of his satire on every side, but to them he added abundant material drawn from his own personal experience, which was still more wide.

"He of Talavera was as good an Archpriest in prose as he of Hita was in verse." This witty remark of Tomás Sánchez can be understood in all possible senses. The analogies between the two writers (so far as we know their lives) and between the two books are obvious at a glance: there is the same exuberant richness of language, the same fertility of imagination, satirical vigor and popular savor in the turn of phrase. If "the intensity of poetic conception, the power to create characters and scenes, the constant flow of happy details, the breadth of the picture and the variety and complexity of elements and literary themes are much greater in Juan Ruiz," [3] Martínez's rich Castilian prose, rid of metrical shackles, races on in perfect freedom. At the risk of seeming diffuse and redundant he draws on every resource of the language with a lavishness never before known. He pours forth all the picturesque variety of the popular vocabulary, all the idioms, proverbs and *refranes* known to the alleys of Salamanca and the plains of Toledo. A very natural comparison has often been drawn between the *Corbacho* and the *Celestina.* Beyond question the latter owes much to the former both in matter and form. Critics have noted many borrowings of detail. Between these two master-works there is no difference save that which exists between the sketches of an artist of genius who has carried only a few of them as far as he could, and a finished picture in which every part has been skilfully considered and placed.

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[1] Translated into Castilian in the 15th century, and so published in 1542. On Eximeniç (d. 1409?) see Massó y Torrents, *Les Obres de Fra F. E., Bibliografía*, in *Annuari* of the Institut d'Estudis catalans, III, 1909–1910, 588–692. J. H. Probst, *F. E., ses idées politiques et sociales* (*Rev. Hisp.*, XXXIX, 1917, 1–82).

The *Spill o Libre de les Dones* of Jaume Roig was written about the middle of the 15th cent., but not printed till 1531.

[2] Defective MS. of El Escorial, 1466. Ed. Pérez Pastor, 1901 (*Biblióf. Esp.*, vol. 35).—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, I, 1905, pp. cx–cxx. A. Steiger, *Contribución al estudio del vocabulario del Corbacho*, in *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, IX, 1922 and X, 1923.

[3] Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. cxi.

The *Corbacho* eclipsed Alfonso Martínez's other writings. He compiled a history of Spain of no great originality, *Atalaya de las corônicas* (1443–55)[1] which extends from Wallia to the death of Juan II, and wrote lives of Saint Isidore and Saint Ildefonso (1444). But the *Corbacho* is glory enough for him.

12. Moral philosophy is represented with distinction by the bachelor **Alfonso de la Torre,** author of the *Visión delectable de la Philosophía e de las otras sçiençias* (ca. 1440; first edition about 1480).[2] The nature and plan of this encyclopedia can better be understood when one knows that it was compiled at the request of Juan de Beamonte, Prior of Navarre, for the instruction of the Prince Don Carlos de Viana (1421–1461), son of Juan II, King of Aragon and Navarre. This ill-fated prince, as has been seen, was one of the most cultured men of his time. While a captive at Monroy (1452–54) he had written a *Crónica de los Reyes de Navarra,* some moral treatises, and verse now lost. He was a friend of Auzias March. The *Visión* is a summary of the undigested mass of medieval knowledge, relieved occasionally by certain new and bold ideas, the bearing of which the author himself probably did not well grasp. The presentation is in allegorical form, through the lips of personified abstractions, Reason, Wisdom, Nature, etc. The work is remembered only for a few pages, better written than most such summaries.

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[1] Georges Cirot, *Note sur "l'Atalaya" de l'Archiprêtre de Talavera,* in *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal,* I, 1925, 355–369; and *Notes complémentaires,* in *Bull. Hisp.,* XXVIII, 1926, 140–154.

[2] Ed. Adolfo de Castro, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XXXVI.—See J. P. W. Crawford in *Romanic Review,* IV, 1913, 58–75; and in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass. Am.,* XXVIII, 1913, 188–212.

Lofty speculation, which dealt, to be sure, mainly with theology, was still expressed through the medium of Latin. For that reason an important part of Spanish thought lies outside our sphere, or belongs there only indirectly, by the influence it exerted on the vulgar literature. Among the theologians of the time **Alfonso de Madrigal,** Bishop of Ávila, called *El Tostado* (d. 1455) was the most fertile. His fertility, in fact, became proverbial; the 1615 edition of his works contains 24 folio volumes. Castilian claimed the lesser part of his activity.

At about this time **Raimundo de Sabunde** (d. 1436), probably a native of Barcelona, was teaching in the University of Toulouse. Though he wrote nothing in Castilian, he is worth a mention for the high esteem in which he was held by Montaigne, who translated his chief work (*Theologia naturalis sive Liber creaturarum*, 1436), regarding it as "*basti d'un espaignol baragouiné en terminaisons latines*," but yet "*trop riche et trop beau pour un auteur duquel le nom soit si peu cogneu.*"

CHAPTER II

REIGNS OF ENRIQUE IV AND OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA (1454–1516)

FIRST PART: POETRY

1. The Poets of the "Cancioneros"

Courtly poetry in this period was only a continuation of that in the preceding, and it has the same characteristics. In the *Cancioneros* aristocratic names stand beside those of poets risen from the lowest social strata. But, literarily speaking, they all belong to the same circle. They employed the same methods and developed alike the customary themes of courtly verse; and, as before, the smooth veneer conceals at times a body of coarse cynicism. No novelty appeared in form or in the richly varied versification. There is, indeed, a difference between the subtleties, often intolerable, of these writers, and the inextricable technical complexities of the last Provençal troubadours. The latter represented nothing but hopeless decadence. Among the former were some who aspired in a way to renew their art. A few nobly inspired poets rose above the level of mediocrity which measured most of those versifiers.

The following enumeration of the leading names is, so far as may be, chronological. It merely continues the list of their predecessors (pp. 110–113), for several belonged to both periods.

15. **Antón de Montoro** (1404?–1477?), a converted Jew, was a tailor (second-hand clothes-dealer?) in Cordova (*el ropero de Córdoba*). His collected poems [1] reveal a fertile, bold and often cynical spirit. He was merciless to his enemies and those rivals who dared dispute with him the favor of the great, as Juan de Valladolid, Juvera, Diego *tañedor* (the player), Juan Muñiz, etc. He has been wrongly accused of contributing two scandalous pieces to the *Cancionero de obras de burlas*.[2] His picaresque, low-

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[1] *Cancionero*, ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, 1900.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.*, VI, pp. xx–xxxviii. R. Ramírez de Arellano, in *Rev. de Archivos*, IV, 1900, 723–735.

[2] Cf. E. Buceta, *A. de M. y el 'Cancionero de obras de burlas,'* in *Mod. Philology*, XVII, 1920, 651–658.

lived muse bravely found voice to protest against the pillage and massacre which fell upon the Jews of Carmona, Jaén and all Andalusia in 1473.

16. **Gómez Manrique,** lord of Villazopeque and Belbimbre (1412?–1490?) is the perfect antithesis of Montoro. Aristocrat of aristocrats, he played an important part in politics and war under Juan II and Enrique IV. His 108 poems [1] include many pieces in the current taste, but others display loftier inspiration. Such is the *Planto de las virtudes e poesía*, an allegory honoring his uncle Santillana, on the order of the latter's own *Coronación de Mosén Jordi;* such the noble moral lessons taught in the *Coplas para el contador Diego Arias de Ávila*, counseling prudence of conduct, in the *Exclamación e querella de la gobernación*, and in the *Regimiento de Príncipes.* The impassioned lament on the death of Garcilaso de la Vega is not inferior to the finest passages of Juan de Mena. Gómez Manrique was certainly one of the most accomplished poets of his time. Menéndez y Pelayo gives him a rank below none but Santillana and Mena.

His dramatic compositions deserve special mention. He wrote a Christmas *Representación*, short dialogued *Lamentaciones* for Holy Week, and two topical *Momos.* The last take the form of a birth- or birthday-celebration at which gifts and blessings are conferred by fairies. As some, if not all, of these little writings for the stage were actually performed, they give Gómez Manrique the notable position of being the first Spanish dramatic author whose name is known.

17. **Pero Guillén de Segovia** (1413–1474?),[2] a native of Seville, was a protégé of Álvaro de Luna and the Archbishop Carrillo. A rival and imitator of Santillana, Mena and Gómez Manrique, he put the Psalms into verse, wrote a rhymed *Discurso de los doce estados del mundo*, and various satirical and amorous poems, and composed the first rhyme-dictionary in Castilian (*La Gaya de Segovia*).

18. The Constable **Don Pedro de Portugal** (1429–1466) was son of that Infante Don Pedro "*el qual anduvo las cuatro* (later *las siete*)

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[1] *Cancionero*, ed. Paz y Melia, 1885, 2 vols. Ed. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Canc. cast. del siglo XV*, II, 4–154.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lir.*, VI, pp. lv–ciii.

[2] *Siete salmos* in *Canc. general* of Hernando del Castillo.—See O. J. Tallgren, *Estudios sobre la Gaya de Segovia*, Helsinki, 1907. H. R. Lang, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XVI, 1907, 12–25, and XIX, 1908, 51–81.

partidas del mundo," whose travel-narratives have remained popular. He was elected King of Aragon in 1464, and died in 1466. He left lyric poems (in the *Cancioneiro de Resende*), *Coplas del contempto del mundo*, the *Tragedia de la insigne Reyna doña Ysabel*[1] in mingled verse and prose, and, in the same mixture, a moral and philosophical work, *Satyra de felice e infelice vida,*[2] in which he bewailed his misadventures in love.

19. **Juan Álvarez Gato** (1430?–1496?) came of a good Madrid family. The collection of his 97 poems has been preserved.[3] Some are *de amores*, the others *espirituales* and *contemplativas*, so that, as the author says, the whole book is composed of "mire and gold" (*de lodo y de oro*). Among the love-lyrics, there are delightful pieces, full of elegant ease and simplicity which suffice to assure him a distinguished position.

20. First place, however, belongs without question to **Jorge Manrique** (1440?–1479),[4] Comendador de Montizón, nephew of Gómez Manrique and son of Rodrigo Manrique (Count of Paredes and Maestre de Santiago). It is true that most of his work would not cause him to stand out from the other versifiers of the time, but in an hour of inspiration, strongly swayed by deep feeling, he gave eternal form to the profound melancholy which overcame him, upon his father's death, at the thought of the instability of human things. His famous *Coplas* have caused all his other work to be forgotten; they remain one of the finished monuments of the language. They have been imitated by Camoens, commented upon by Montemayor and Gregorio Silvestre, glossed by Alonso de Cervantes, Francisco de Guzmán, Rodrigo de Valdepeñas and Luis Pérez, translated into many languages and notably into English by Longfellow; even set to music. This poetry has in no way grown old, because the sentiments it expresses belong to time itself, and because the simplicity of its diction places it above the ravages of years. Nothing could be simpler, indeed, or, if you will, more com-

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[1] Ed. C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, I, 637–732.

[2] Ed. Paz y Melia, in *Opúsculos lits. de los siglos XIV a XVI*, 1892, 47–101 (*Biblióf. esp.*, vol. 29).

[3] *Cancionero inédito*, ed. Cotarelo, 1901. Ed. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Canc. cast. del siglo XV*, I, 222–269. *Obras completas*, ed. Jenaro Artiles, 1928 (*Clásicos olvidados*, vol. IV).—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.*, VI, pp. xxxix–liv. C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, in *Rev. Lusitana*, VIII, 1902, 241–244.

[4] *Cancionero*, ed. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Canc. cast. del siglo XV*, II, 228–256. Ed. A. Cortina, 1929 (*Clás. cast.* v. 94).—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.*, VI, pp. civ–cli. J. Nieto, *Estudio biográfico de J. M.*, etc., 1902.

monplace, than the basic ideas of the *Coplas:* that human happiness is fragile, that death conquers all, respecting neither wealth nor merit nor greatness; that virtue alone can defy fate and time, for the memory of it endures forever in the hearts of men. These axioms, repeated hundreds of times before Manrique in every literature, sacred and profane, frequently uttered by the poet's contemporaries and his own uncle, never found a more perfect mould, a more impressive accent or more direct application to persons and events, for that age, so fertile in disasters and revolutions, could well supply illustrious examples of fortune's whirl. The frequent allusions to events of the poet's time, far from clouding the general thought, give it relief and life. The classical Quintana considered the meter of the *Coplas*[1] "tiresome, inharmonious, apt to occasion epigrams and *conceptismo.*" Menéndez y Pelayo, however, found it "admirably adapted to the sentiment," and I agree. It produces unexpected effects; the *quebrado* comes in like a funereal refrain, a knell which accentuates the regular rhythm of the lament. But each reader must judge for himself:

Nuestras vidas son los ríos
que van a dar en la mar
    que es el morir:
allí van los señoríos
derechos a se acabar
    y consumir;
allí los ríos caudales,
allí los otros, medianos
    y más chicos,
allegados, son yguales
los que biuen por sus manos
    y los ricos.

Our lives are rivers, gliding free
To that unfathomed, boundless sea,
The silent grave!
Thither all earthly pomp and boast
Roll, to be swallowed up and lost
In one dark wave.
Thither the mighty torrents stray,
Thither the brook pursues its way,

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[1] The strophe is of twelve lines of 8 and 4 syllables in the order ABcABc:DEfDEf. The short lines are called *quebrados*, hence the strophe of this type, combining 8's and 4's, is called *copla de pie quebrado*. Longfellow preserved the like alternation of long and short lines, but slightly altered the rhyme-scheme: AAbCCb:DDeFFe.

And tinkling rill.
They all are equal. Side by side
The poor man and the son of pride
Lie calm and still.

21. **Pedro de Cartagena** [1] (not to be confused with Alonso de Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos; probably some gentleman of the court of Ferdinand and Isabella), indited fluent and pleasing verse about his amours, his lady Oriana and Queen Isabella. He died during the siege of Granada.

22. A lyric poet like Cartagena, and still more unhappy as a lover, was **Garci Sánchez** called **de Badajoz,** though born at Écija (1460?–1526?).[2] Several of his light pieces were celebrated (*Sueño*, the *villancico Lo que queda es lo seguro*, the *romance Caminando por mis males*, the *Lamentaciones de amores*, etc.), and two or three really deserved to be. He had the strange caprice of adapting the Book of Job to purposes of love (*Las liciones de Job apropiadas a sus passiones de amor*). In the *Infierno de amor* he exhibited the torments of the most famous unhappy lovers; he might well have placed himself in the band, but did not. According to contemporary tradition Garci Sánchez died raving mad, *loco en cadenas*, if indeed the phrase is to be taken literally, but it may have been merely metaphorical.

23. **Rodrigo Cota,** called *El Viejo* or *de Maguaque*,[3] was a converted Jew who was still alive at the conquest of Granada. He was despised by Montoro because he made common cause with the Christians against his former coreligionists. Various works in prose and verse have been attributed to him without foundation, but the *Diálogo entre el amor y un viejo* is certainly by him, and it is, both in form and subject, one of the most graceful and perfect compositions of that age. It appeared in the *Cancionero general* of Castillo, and alone is enough to place Cota's name close to that of Jorge Manrique.

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[1] Poems in *Canc. cast. del siglo XV*, II, 509–535.—See H. A. Rennert, *The Poet Cartagena of the 'Cancionero general,'* in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, IX, 1894, 20–30.

[2] Poems in *Canc. cast. del siglo XV*, II, 624–654. *Lamentaciones de amores* also in *Rev. Hisp.*, XLV, 1919, 29–33.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.*, VI, pp. cccvi–cccxxi. C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, in *Revista crítica*, II, 1897, 114–133. E. Cotarelo, *Estudios de hist. lit.*, 1901, 33–52.

[3] Poems in *Canc. cast. del siglo XV*, II, 580–591.—See Foulché-Delbosc, *Une poésie inédite de R. C.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, I, 1894, 69–72. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.*, VI, pp. ccclxxvi–ccclxxxiv. A. Miola, in *Miscellanea Caix-Canello*, Firenze, 1886, 175–189.

24. **Tapia,** not the same as the Juan de Tapia of the *Cancionero de Stúñiga,* has left more than 50 amorous ditties.[1] He seems to have written also in Italian, like several of his contemporaries.

25. The clever *coplas* of **Puerto Carrero** included in the *Cancionero general* (no. 794) [2] form a scene of daily life, a little genre picture which is more dramatic than lyric.

26. **Pedro Manuel Jiménez de Urrea** (1486?–1535?) is the most worthy of mention among those poets under the crown of Aragon who wrote in Castilian. His *Cancionero* was printed in 1513.[3] It contains many mediocre imitations, and also compositions quite worthy of being rescued from oblivion. In some he narrates with a frankness unusual at the time, his youthful love-affairs with a fair Moorish maiden called *la Moragas,* and with dames of Saragossa. Later he addressed familiar verse to his wife, María de Sessé, and his mother, the Countess of Aranda. He composed graceful *villancicos* and *romances* in the popular style. Lastly he adapted the first act of the *Celestina* to the stage, in two metrical scenes, with the title of *Égloga.* The *Celestina* interested him, for in 1514 he issued a prose imitation called *La penitencia de amor;* it is at the same time a continuation of the *Cárcel de amor* and the *Cuestión de amor,* favorites of the hour. The *Penitencia* closes with lyrical pieces.

27. Pious verse is abundantly represented. **Juan de Padilla** *el Cartuxano* (the Carthusian) (1468–1522?)[4] wrote a *Retablo de la vida de Cristo* (1516) and imitated the *Divina Commedia* and Mena's *Laberinto* in his curious *Los doze triunphos de los doze apóstoles* (1521), a long and ambitious effort. Both are in *arte mayor.* The *Cancionero* of Fray **Íñigo de Mendoza** was printed about 1482.[5] Its chief poem is the *Vita Christi,* in double *quintillas,* a fragment of a long unfinished piece. In it is embedded a sort of Christmas play. His verses in honor of Queen Isabella and Fernando fix the period in which he wrote. The poetic works of Fray **Ambrosio Montesino**

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[1] *Canc. cast. del siglo XV*, II, 440–466.

[2] *Canc. cast. del siglo XV*, II, 674–687. The *coplas* are here no. 1097.

[3] Modern ed. in *Biblioteca de escritores aragoneses*, II, Zaragoza, 1878. *Penitencia de amor*, ed. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Biblioteca hispánica*, X, Barcelona, 1902.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.*, VII, pp. ccliii–cclxxx. Id., *Orígenes de la novela*, III, pp. clx–clxvii. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *La penitencia de amor*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, IX, 1902, 200–215.

[4] *Canc. cast. del siglo XV*, I, 288–449.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.*, VI, pp. ccxxxix–cclxiii. B. Sanvisenti, *I primi influssi*, etc., 224–239.

[5] *Canc. cast. del siglo XV*, I, 1–120.

did not appear till 1508.[1] A Franciscan like Mendoza, he made a prose translation of the *Vita Christi* by the Carthusian, Ludolph of Saxony. His poetry is devoted wholly to pious themes intended to edify the court and his protectress the Queen. He attacked the vices of his day with energy, but the most interesting element of his *Cancionero* is the frequent echo of popular songs to be heard in his *romances* and *coplas.* He and other poets under the Catholic Kings give proof that the *romance*, scorned by Santillana, was rising rapidly in the esteem of the cultured.

2. Satirical and Political Verse.—The "Coplas"

There was ample room for political satire in times like those of Juan II and Enrique IV. Despite traditional loyalty to the rulers, anonymous poets sharpened their arrows against all the mighty, whether princes or favorites. Under Juan II the famous *Coplas de ¡Ay Panadera!* [2] circulated, with their popular refrain of the baker's wife; hence the title. It is a burlesque narrative of the battle of Olmedo (1445), which shows how tired the people were of war:

¡ Hayamos paz algún rato!

At some time during Enrique IV's last years, not earlier than 1465 or later than 1473, the *Coplas del Provincial* [3] were written. The 149 quatrains contain a coarsely scandalous invective in which nearly all the lords and ladies of the period appear under their real names. They are represented as monks or nuns of a convent, summoned before the Superior (*Provincial*) to be assigned penance for their sins. Scholars have tried in vain, so far, to discover the name of the author or authors of this curious, brazen pamphlet. It has been attributed to Acuña,[4] Cota, Montoro, Pulgar and Palencia.

The *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo* [5] have at least a real literary interest and a higher aim. They take the form of a dialogue between two shepherds, *Gil Arribato*, a manner of soothsayer or prophet, and

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[1] *Cancionero de diuersas obras de nueuo trobadas*, ed. Justo de Sancha, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXV.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lir.*, VI, pp. ccxvii–ccxxxv.

[2] Ed. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, I, cols. 613–617.—See M. Artigas, *Una nueva redacción*, etc., in *Homenaje a Bonilla*, I, 75–89.

[3] Ed. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Rev. Hisp.*, V, 1898, 255–266.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.*, VI, pp. iv–xii. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Notes sur 'Las Coplas del Provincial,'* in *Rev. Hisp.*, VI, 1899, 417–446.

[4] Diego de Acuña y Zúñiga, author of *Coplas del Provincial segundo.*

[5] Ed. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, I, cols. 823–854. Ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.*, III, 5–20.—See *ibid.*, VI, pp. xii–xix.

Mingo Revulgo, who personifies the people. Revulgo complains of the sad state of his existence: his sheep perish because they have been abandoned by herders and dogs (Justice, Fortitude, Prudence, Temperance). The wolves, male and female, (*lobos hinchados, lobas rabiosas*) are gradually devouring the flock. Arribato recommends patience: the men are not alone guilty; has not he, Revulgo, some share of responsibility for all the evils by reason of his own mistakes? It is an admirable satirical lament, both simple and ingenious, literary of phrase yet deeply emotional. The author is still unknown, but there is good reason to attribute it, as Mariana did, to Hernando del Pulgar (p. 131), who was the first to print a commentary upon it (about 1485). The chief objectives of the satire were, clearly, Enrique IV and his favorite Beltrán de la Cueva. It remained popular for years, and served several times as theme and model for the eternal, useless plaint of the oppressed. The strophes (32 in one version, 35 in another) are each composed of nine octosyllables, a *redondilla* plus a *quintilla*.

SECOND PART: PROSE

3. History and Didactic Works

History continued to flourish in the second half of the century. For a medium several writers returned to Latin, and doubtless it was the power of the Renaissance which caused the resumption of a mode almost abandoned since the *Crónica general* of Alfonso X. This is not the place to treat of these Latinists, whose list is closed brilliantly with Mariana; we can only mention Alfonso de Cartagena (*Regum Hispanorum Anacephalaeosis*),[1] Ruy Sánchez (*Historiae Hispanicae Partes IV*, 1470), Cardinal Juan de Margarit, once Bishop of Gerona (*Paralipomenon Hispaniae libri X*, 1481–84), and, later, Lucio Marineo (*De rebus Hispaniae memorabilibus*, 1530), and other historians whose works were in part collected in Schott's *Hispaniae illustratae* (4 vols., Francofurti, 1603–08). A complete list of historians in the vulgar tongue in the 15th century would be long, from Bishop Pablo de Santa María (before his conversion Selemoh Halevi) (1350–1435), author of the *Suma de Corónicas* and the poem *Las edades del mundo*, in 332 *arte mayor* stanzas,[2] down to Valera, Pulgar, Bernáldez, Enríquez del Castillo, and a few others who will suffice here to give an adequate notion of Castilian historiography.

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[1] Ed. Schott, *Hispaniae illustratae*, I (1603).

[2] Ed. Foulché-Delbosc, *Canc. cast. del siglo XV*, II, 155–188.

Mosén **Diego de Valera** (1412–1486?),[1] born at Cuenca, was a sort of "political adventurer crossed with a knight errant," "one of the strangest characters to be found in the picturesque and multicolored society of the 15th century." His romantic life cannot be recounted here: it was a succession of battles, challenges, duels, diplomatic missions, and adventures which did not stop him from writing numberless books, letters and memoirs. He was one of Álvaro de Luna's bitterest enemies. In literature he is best known for the *Chrónica de España* (1482), called *Crónica abreviada* or *Valeriana*, a general history as full of fiction as void of critical judgment. Valera wrote it, he says, at the request of Queen Isabella, whose *mayordomo* and adviser he was. The most interesting part relates to the author's own time; this complements the *Crónica de don Juan II*, in which Valera may have collaborated. The recently discovered *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* [2] adds an important item to his list. His *Memorial de diversas hazañas*,[3] a revised form of the Latin *Decadas* by Alonso de Palencia, narrates the events of Enrique IV's reign. His twenty-seven letters to different persons (*Epistolas enviadas en diversos tiempos e a diversas personas*) [4] are curiosities. Valera had no scruples against borrowing extensively from his forerunners and contemporaries. These works are written in a pure and fluent style, displayed in a dozen other moral or historical treatises.[5] His verse is unimportant.

The acts of King Enrique IV found another chronicler in the person of his chaplain **Diego Enríquez del Castillo** (1443–1504?). Though his affected declamation is sometimes out of place, the *Crónica de Enrique IV* [6] shows a real painter's talent. As an example, one may read the description of the King, a flat-nosed colossus with a lion's face and mane, enjoying nothing except melancholy songs. The book must be consulted with discretion, for it is very partial to Henry, but it furnishes rich details upon the time. So also does the *Relación de los fechos de Miguel Lucas de Iranzo Condestable de Castilla* (d. 1473), attributed to **Juan de Olid.**[1]

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[1] M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, V, pp. ccxxxvi–cclvi. G. Cirot, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XI, 1909, 425–442. L. de Torre y Franco-Romero, *Mosén D. de V.*, 1914 (*Bol. de la R. Acad. de la Historia*, LXIV).

[2] Ed. Juan de M. Carriazo, 1927.

[3] In *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXX.

[4] Ed. J. A. de Balenchana, *Con otros cinco tratados del mismo autor*, in *Biblióf. Esp.*, vol. 16, 1878.

[5] *Tratado de los rieptos e desafíos; Ceremonial de Príncipes; Providencia contra Fortuna; Doctrinal de Príncipes; Defensa de virtuosas mugeres*, etc.; the *Tratado de los linages de España* is of doubtful authenticity.

[6] Ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXX.

Hernando del or **de Pulgar** (1435?–after 1490) was the secretary and official chronicler of Ferdinand and Isabella. His *Claros varones de Castilla* [2] is a Spanish *De viris illustribus,* on the order of Fernán Pérez de Guzmán's *Generaciones y semblanzas.* Printed at Toledo in 1486, it contains biographies of the great figures of the court of Enrique IV, and is Pulgar's most popular work. Compared with Guzmán, these portraits lack relief; the style is level and over-discreet. Next to the *Claros varones* stand the 32 *Letras* [3] addressed, between 1468 and 1483, to the Queen, the King of Portugal, the Infante Don Enrique (the King's uncle), to his own physician, his daughter, etc. Another work of Pulgar, the *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos,*[4] is a monotonous panegyric besprinkled with discourses after the ancient model. It remained in manuscript till 1565, when it was printed at Valladolid. It had already appeared, 1545–1550, in a Latin translation by Nebrija.

He is not to be confused with **Hernán Pérez del Pulgar,** a warrior whose exploits at Granada brought him the cognomen *El de las hazañas;* he wrote the *Breve parte de las hazañas del Gran Capitán Gonzalo de Córdoba* [5] (1527), of no great distinction. Others devoted their pens to the same glorious period. **Andrés Bernáldez** (d. 1513), village priest at Los Palacios (near Seville), chaplain to the Archbishop D. Diego Deza and friend of Columbus, wrote a *Historia de los Reyes Católicos;*[6] and **Gonzalo Ayora,** born at Cordova toward the end of Enrique IV's reign, left a *Historia de la Reina Isabel,* interesting political letters, and various memoirs (e.g. on the city of Ávila, on the capture of Mers-el-Kebir, 1505).

Diego Rodríguez de Almella or **Almela** (1426?–1492?), Archpriest of Val de Santibáñez, was chaplain of Queen Isabella whom he accompanied to Granada in 1492. He wrote the *Valerio de las Hystorias escolásticas e de España,*[1] finished in 1472 and first printed in 1487. It is a didactic treatise planned in the manner of Valerius Maximus's *De dictis factisque memorabilibus;* doctrine is supported by examples taken from the Chronicles. The mixture of preaching and history proved pleasing, and gained for the imitation some of the popularity of the model: the *Valerio* went through many editions. Almella composed other historical works: *Copilación de las batallas campales* (1487), an account of famous battles; and a still unpublished *Compendio historial* (1491).

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[1] Ed. (Gayangos?), in *Memorial histórico español,* vol. VIII, 1855.

[2] Ed. Llaguno y Amírola, 1775. Ed. J. Domínguez Bordona, 1923 (*Clásicos cast.,* vol. 49).

[3] Ed. Eug. de Ochoa, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XIII.

[4] Ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* LXX.

[5] Ed. Martínez de la Rosa, 1834. Ed. A. Rodríguez Villa, in *Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* X, 1908.

[6] Ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* LXX. Ed. Gabriel and Ruiz de Apodaca, *Sociedad de Biblióf. Andaluces,* 2 vols., Sevilla, 1870.

Alfonso Fernández de Palencia (1423–1492), a native of Osuna, was, like Ayora, familiar with the Italian humanists. He stands as a representative of history, science and moral philosophy.[2] As scholar, he compiled the first Latin-Spanish dictionary, *Universal vocabulario en latín y en romance* (1490), translated Plutarch's *Lives* (1491) and Josephus (1492). As historian and moralist, he began with some dissertations of lesser import, by way of prelude, as he himself puts it, to loftier performance. Among such early essays, written first in Latin and then translated by the author into Castilian, one may name the *Batalla campal de los perros contra los lobos* (1456?); the title and general theme may have inspired the author of *Mingo Revulgo*, but in itself it is merely a series of edifying meditations on life regarded as a perpetual struggle. It contains, however, many topical allusions. The *Tratado de la perfeçión del triunfo militar* (1459) is a manual, cast in story form, for the use of the perfect Spanish captain, and at the same time a humorous, colorful guidebook to various foreign lands familiar to the writer. In matter and style this pleasant work is one of the best of its day.

But the task for which these essays were only a preparation was "*la historial composición de los hechos de España.*" Palencia was not able to carry his thought to complete fulfilment. The unfinished *Gesta hispaniensia ex annalibus suorum dierum* or *Décadas* relate the doings of his contemporaries (1440–1477) with a noble frankness which becomes brutal vigor at times. Written in Latin, they have been rendered into Castilian by Sr. Paz y Melia under the title *Crónica de Enrique IV*. Another *Crónica castellana* (*de Enrique IV*), once called Palencia's, has been proven an anonymous and bad translation of the *Gesta*. It gave Valera material for his *Memorial de diversas hazañas*. Palencia also wrote an account of the Granadine wars (1480–1489), which was interrupted by his death.

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[1] See G. Cirot, in *Les histoires générales d'Espagne entre Alphonse X et Philippe II* (1284–1556), Bordeaux, 1904, 16–18, 53–54.

[2] *Dos Tratados* (*Batalla campal* and *Perfeçión*), ed. A. M. Fabié, 1876 (*Libros de antaño*, V). *Crónica de Enrique* IV (in Sp. transl. by A. Paz y Melia), 4 vols., 1904–1908. *Guerra de Granada* (Sp. transl. by Paz y Melia), 1909.—See G. Cirot, *Les Décades*, etc., in *Bull. Hisp.*, XI, 1909, 425–442. A. Paz y Melia, *El cronista A. de P.*, 1914.

In the history of Spanish humanism Palencia deserves a special niche, which he might share with **Juan de Lucena** (d. 1506). The latter wrote in 1463 a Ciceronian dialogue, the *Tratado de vita beata.*[1] The interlocutors are illustrious contemporaries, Mena, Santillana and Alonso de Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos, one of the teachers whom that generation heard most willingly. They discuss the ancient theme: In what does true happiness consist? Does it exist on earth? The answer is no: happiness is reserved, in the next world, for those who have deserved it in this. The dialogue was dedicated to Juan II, and directly imitated from the *De felicitate vitae* of the Italian Bartolommeo Fazio. In it one feels that Lucena sought true classic elegance and nobility.

It is proper to place in this period, as the last of the historical series, the *Chrónica del Cid Ruy Diaz Campeador*, or *Crónica particular del Cid.*[2] It is merely a fragment of the so-called *Crónica de Castilla*, which in turn derived from the *Crónica de 1344*, or second *Crónica general*. It was printed at Burgos, 1512, by **Juan de Velorado,** Abbot of San Pedro de Cardeña.

4. The Novel

Some noteworthy fiction was produced during this period. Two works hold a sure place among the most important writings in Castilian: the *Amadís* and the *Celestina.*

Just before them appeared the *Cárcel de amor* (1492) of the bachelor **Diego de San Pedro.**[3] He was for many years administrator of the town of Peñafiel and other Castilian villages in the name of D. Pedro Girón. The year before (1491) he had published the *Tratado de amores de Arnalte y Lucenda,* "dedicated to the ladies of Queen Isabel, who will find in it amorous letters and discourses of much beauty and courtesy," as well as a poetic eulogy of their illustrious mistress. There is no doubt that the ladies did indeed find pleasure, if not profit, in this agreeable piece, as well as in an undated *Sermón.* They assuredly found still more in the *Cárcel de amor* (*Love's Prison*), a vague expansive novel in which the author disguised his own memories and personal confessions as the amours of Leriano and Laureola, and threw in, without much plan, love-letters, fabulous adventures, a eulogy of women and allegories in Dante's manner. The romantic suicide of the hero is a fit culmination. This famous book went through thirty editions in Spain, and more than twenty in foreign languages.

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[1] Printed in 1483. Ed. Paz y Melia, in *Opúsculos lit. de los siglos XIV a XVI*, 1892 (*Soc. Biblióf. Esp.* 29).

[2] Ed. V. A. Huber, Stuttgart, 1853. Facsimile by A. M. Huntington, N. Y., 1903.

[3] *Cárcel de amor*, ed. Foulché-Delbosc, Barcelona, 1904 (*Bibl. Hispanica*, XV). Ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, in *Orígenes de la novela*, II, 1907. *Sermón*, ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, *ibid. Arnalte y Lucenda*, ed. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXV, 1911, 220–282.—See Menéndezy Pelayo, *Orígenes*, I, 1905, pp. cccxv–cccxxvi. A. Giannini, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XLVI, 1919, 547–568. E. Cotarelo, *Nuevos y curiosos datos biográficos de . . . D. de S. P.*, in *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, XIV, 1927, 305–326. The *Arnalte y Lucenda* was translated into English in 1575 by Claude Hollyband; the *Cárcel de amor* about 1540 by Lord Berners. Neither version, it appears, was made directly from the Spanish.

It also gave rise to several imitations, one at least of which is worthy of the model. I mean the *Cuestión de amor,* [1] a novel in mingled prose and verse (1513?). It was composed between 1508 and 1512 in the Kingdom of Naples, where the scene is laid. The *Cuestión* is a *roman à clef* and Benedetto Croce has discovered the real names of all the characters save the author, who still, under the pseudonym of Vasquirán, resists every effort to unmask him. He may be one Vázquez, author of a *Dechado de amor* (1510?), which much resembles the *Cuestión.* As for the "problem for lovers," the solution of which is sought in the novel, it recalls the one discussed by the shepherds Salicio and Nemoroso in Garcilaso's first eclogue.

Of Diego de San Pedro it remains only to say that in his old age he repented of having given so many Ovidian lessons, and expressed his contrition in sincere verse, the *Desprecio de la Fortuna* (*Cancionero general,* no. 263).

During the 16th century sentimental literature brought forth many another work popular then, but forgotten today. Some, like the two just cited, were translated and imitated abroad. Gustave Reynier, in *Le Roman sentimental avant l'Astrée* (1908) has shown how much this type of literary composition can teach us about the ideas, manners and psychology of court society in the Renaissance. Spain, chivalrous and passionate, dearly loved such romantic tales. Even the Romances of Chivalry, which were soon to captivate the imagination of the whole people, left room for works like the *Cárcel* and the *Cuestión de amor.*

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[1] Ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes,* II.—See *ibid.,* I, pp. cccxxvi–cccxxxi. B. Croce, *La società galante italo-spagnuola,* etc., in *La Spagna nella vita italiana,* Bari, 1917, 149–171.

For example, many readers enjoyed two novels by **Juan de Flores,**[1] about whom we know nothing. They are the *Breve tractado de Grimalte y Gradissa,* a wildly incoherent continuation of Boccaccio's *Fiammetta,* and the more important *Historia de Grisel y Mirabella,* in which is argued a general thesis or *disputa:* whether, of two lovers, he or she is the more guilty. The misogynist Torrellas naturally defends the cause of the man; he is successful, and Mirabella is condemned to be burned. Her lover throws himself first into the flames, she dashes herself from a window, and the malicious Torrellas is torn in pieces by the angry ladies, as Orpheus by the Maenads. Both these novels were probably first printed in Lérida, about 1495. The second acquired the title of *Aurelio e Isabella,* in the Italian translation of 1521.

5. The "Amadís"

The most celebrated, if not the first published, of the Spanish Romances of Chivalry [2] was the *Amadís de Gaula,* prototype and model of all those *libros de caballería* which flooded Spain during the 16th century and up to the *Quijote.* [3] The *Amadís* is perhaps more important for the influence it exerted upon manners and imagination than for its literary merit. The version we possess seems to have been composed about the time of the conquest of Granada (1492), and the first extant edition is of 1508. The compiler of this text was a *regidor* of Medina del Campo named **Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo**; in the 1519 edition the name was erroneously corrected to **Garci Ordóñez de Montalvo**; still later, it appeared as **Garci Gutiérrez.** To be exact, Montalvo claimed for himself merely the honor of "correcting the ancient original, which was corrupt and composed in antique style;" he "took away many superfluous words and replaced them with others of more polished and elegant style." But these remarks of his apply only to the first three books, for the fourth is certainly an addition of his own, and the fifth, bearing the title *Las sergas de Esplandián*, is a distinct work (1510).

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[1] See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes,* I, pp. cccxxxii–cccxxxviii. E. W. Olmsted, *The Story of "Grisel and Mirabella,"* in *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal,* II, 369–373. The only modern reprints of these works are some rare photolithographic facsimiles; see Menéndez y Pelayo. It is strange that so few copies of Flores's novels have been preserved; it is said that the first exists in but one copy. Yet they were widely read: the first was rendered into French in 1535, the second served as a reading text for foreigners.

[2] The *Caballero Cifar* has been discussed, p. 75.

[3] Ed. Gayangos, 1857, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XL.—See E. Baret, *De l'Amadis de Gaule et de son influence sur les moeurs et la littérature au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle,* 2d ed., 1873. C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, in *Gröbers Grundriss,* II, 2, 216–226. Id., *Prefácio* to A. Lopes Vieira, *O Romance de Amadis,* Lisbon, 1922, 2d ed., 1926. Juan Valera, *Sobre el A. de G.,* in *Obras,* XXIV, 169–219. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela,* I, pp. cxcix–ccxlviii. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *La plus ancienne mention d'Amadis,* in *Rev. Hisp.,* XV, 1906, 815. Grace S. Williams, *The Amadis Question,* in *Rev. Hisp.,* XXI, 1909, 1–167 (with bibliography). H. Thomas, *The Romance of Amadis of Gaul,* London, 1912; reprinted in *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry,* Cambridge, 1920. W. J. Entwistle, *The Arthurian Legend in the Literatures of the Spanish Peninsula,* London, 1925, 213–224.

What were those *antiguos originales* of which Montalvo speaks? The question has been endlessly discussed. It is certain that the romance of *Amadís* was known in Spain as early as the middle of the 14th century, when it consisted of only three books,[1] and that it was famous in Portugal still earlier, at the beginning of the same century. A Portuguese, probably João Pires de Lobeira, a contemporary of King Dinis and later confused with another Lobeira (Vasco de), introduced certain important modifications in the episode of Briolanja (imitated from the French romance of Agravain), at the request of "*el señor infante don Alfonso de Portugal.*" This D. Affonso was probably a brother of King Dinis, and lived from 1263 or 1265 to 1312.[2] Lobeira introduced some verses into the text, for example the song *Leonoreta fin* (or *sin* [3]) *roseta*, which figures under his name in the *Canzoniere Colocci-Brancuti.* We cannot be sure of the origin or the language of the first form; we do not know if it was in Portuguese or Spanish. D'Herberay, who translated the first book into French in 1540, claimed the *Amadís* was originally taken from a French romance, now lost; what appears certain is that it owed much to the legends of the Breton cycle. Names, episodes borrowed from *Tristan*, *Lancelot of the Lake*,

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[1] Pero Ferrús; see above, p. 111; and the *Regimiento de los Príncipes*, before 1350.

[2] [M. Mérimée followed Menéndez y Pelayo, and thought the Infante in question was the Affonso who later ruled as King of Portugal (1325–1357). Present opinion, however, inclines toward the statement now in the text; see C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, in the *Grundriss*, p. 222, and Entwistle, *op. cit.*, p. 220.]

[3] The *Canz. Colocci-Brancuti* and the Venetian ed. of *Amadís* read *fin*, but the context seems to favor *sin roseta*.

Maugis, Renaud, Girart de Viane, inspiration, sentiments, the type of civilization mirrored in it, all prove that. Whatever be the facts in the early history of the *Amadís,* it became genuinely popular in Spain only after it had passed through the hands of Montalvo.

Its extraordinary popularity was due to several causes. In the first place, the refined and knightly society of the 15th and 16th centuries found precisely what it wished in the love-story of Amadís and Oriana, with its succession of marvelous adventures. The incomparable valor of the *Doncel del mar* and the immovable constancy of the fair Oriana bring their amours to a happy and victorious conclusion, despite the malice of enchanters, giants, dwarfs and dragons. In the *Amadís* everything is vague: geography and chronology remain confused and shadowy, and instead of characters, personalities and individuals, there are virtues and vices in human bodies. The whole reproduces with exactness, not any historical reality, but the ideal of those times; and it is synthesized in a few essential traits, rather than pursued into the detailed ramifications of human passion and character.

The first of these traits, incarnated especially in the person of Amadís, is superhuman courage, the fundamental attribute of the "Caballero." His valor is tested in a score of combats in which the novelist's imagination gives itself free rein. The social and instructional intent of the *Amadís,* considered as a manual of perfect knighthood, as a *doctrinal de príncipes y señores,* becomes more obvious in the last books. It was, in fact, a period when men were concerned with tracing the ideal portrait of the perfect chevalier and fixing the code of chivalric honor. This desire had brought forth Cartagena's *Doctrinal de los cavalleros* (1487); Palencia's *De la perfeçión del triunfo militar* (1459); Valera's *Tratado de los rieptos e desafíos;* the *Tractatus de duello,* of Diego del Castillo (1525); *El Passo honroso,* etc.

The second trait, love, was the supreme inspiration and sole moving force in all the acts of Amadís. This love nearly always rises to a plane of relative purity, fidelity, respect and poetic grace. It is a reflection of the immaculate purity of Parsifal and Galahad, or at least of the romantic loves of Lancelot, Tristan,[1] and the other knights of the Round Table.[1] The passion of Amadís borders on madness at times, as in the episode of Beltenebrós at the Peña Pobre. The most charming scenes of the novel flow from this spring of pure chivalry: thus, the instant love of Amadís when he first catches sight of Oriana; the characteristically Spanish *aubade*, the interview of the two lovers at the palace window, which recalls both the immortal balcony-scene of *Romeo and Juliet* and the heroic dialogues of Rodrigo and Jimena; the love-scene in the *floresta*, etc. All this is truly human; this is the side, and I fear the only side, by which the *Amadís* can still touch our hearts.

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[1] A fragment of the Spanish *Tristán,* of the 14th century, is in Bonilla's *Anales,* 1904, 25–28. The Vatican MS., *Cuento de Tristán de Leonís,* ca. 1400, ed. Northup, Chicago, 1928. Printed *Tristán de Leonís,* ed. 1528, repr. Bonilla, 1907 (*Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* vol. 6); ed. 1501, repr. Bonilla, 1912 (*Biblióf. Mad.,* vol. 6).

The third characteristic quality of Amadís, and this too is very Spanish, is his loyalty, his fidelity to his natural lord, King Lisuarte. The king is second only to his mistress; for him he breaks so many lances and overthrows so many giants. The perfect lover, the *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*, is also a model vassal.

In order to provide a contrast to Amadís, whose superhuman perfection would speedily become monotonous, the author has set beside him other men of different type. There is Galaor, more adventurous of heart, less chaste in passion, less insensible to the glances of the languorous damsels who roam so freely amid the groves; he might appear a first sketch for Don Juan. There are Agrajes, Florestán, Amadís's squire Gandalín, and Guilán *el Cuidador*, "the Dreamer," prototype of those lovers in a trance, *embebecidos*, whose lineage continues to the 17th century. And beside the exquisite Oriana we have Briolanja and the Infanta Elisena, to whose feet, in the rays of a complaisant moon, King Perion is led by the maid Darioleta, who seems to have escaped from the pages of the *Celestina*.

It has been said that there is nothing Spanish in the *Amadís*, since the scene is laid elsewhere, and the names, geography, traditions, landscapes, and the element of the supernatural all call up an image of a civilization different from the Spanish. And it is true, if one considers only the external features of the story. But at bottom, as M. Brunetière has justly observed, "no romance ever existed more romantic or more chivalrous, and consequently more Spanish." In truth, no imaginative work satisfied more fully the aspirations and the emotional and moral ideal of that period in that country. Had such not been the case, its success could not be explained. Nor did any work better satisfy the thirst for adventures, the yearning for fresh sights and exotic objects, the curiosity which drove navigators toward unknown shores, toward mysterious and fabulous regions. The wonderful discoveries of Columbus and his comrades stimulated this longing more than they satiated it. Archeläus the Enchanter and the Fairy Urganda, *la Desconocida*, conveyed the reader to the true land of wonders. This window opening on the kingdom of dreams where in the distance passion burned with a mystic flame, this was what fascinated not Spain alone, but the world's imagination in that dawning 16th century. Francis I, a prisoner in Madrid, solaced his regrets with *Amadís;* and *Amadís* delighted Saint Teresa and Ignacio de Loyola.

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[1] [There is, however, a realistic side to the love of Oriana and Amadís; cf. Léon de Monge, *Études morales et littéraires*, Brussels, 1887–89, II, 264.]

Montalvo's style, too, has real merit. He is not a master, certainly, and he has no great originality, but he wrote easily, and could command color at desire, and delicacy at need. That it was rather diffuse cannot be denied, nor that the same scene recurred too often, but readers of that day were not bored.

That is why posterity has confirmed the judgment of the priest and barber in *Don Quijote:* "the best of all the books of its kind." In the 16th century, Muret had expressed the same opinion in his own fashion:

Tant que le monde demourra,
Le los d'Amadis ne mourra.[1]

"As long as the world endures, the fame of Amadís will not die."

Montalvo undertook to exploit on his own account the rich mine he had discovered. In 1510 he published a sequel to the *Amadís*, with the pretentious title *Las sergas* (’έργος, deeds?)[2] *de Esplandián*, the son of Amadís. It is a long novel, likewise much read in its time, but those who enjoy the first work will find it monotonous and tiresome.

These two romances were not, be it observed, the earliest printed chivalric novels. They had been preceded by similar works in

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[1] Cf. Franck Delage, *Marc-Antoine de Muret, poète français*, Limoges, 1910, p. 13.

[2] Another etymology has been considered: *sergas* or *sargas*, "tapiz o lienzo donde figura la historia de un personaje." Cf. Lope de Vega, *San Isidro:* "Lo que cuelgan advertid, Para abrigo y para honor, Cuatro sargas de labor Con la historia de David," *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXVIII, 286b. Cf. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Sergas*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXIII, 1910, 591–593.

Catalonia and Valencia. One was *Curial y Guelfa*, a simple love-story; the language and heroes are Catalan, but its models were certainly French and Italian.[1] Much more important, *Tirant lo Blanch*, by Johanot Martorell, appeared in Catalan at Valencia in 1490, and in a Castilian translation, in 1511.[2] This work seems to have been written first in Portuguese by the Catalan author, and then the first three books rendered into Catalan by himself, the fourth book by Johan de Galba. It is a strange work, which Cervantes proclaimed to be a "*tesoro de contento y una mina de pasatiempos*." Early as it is, there are traits that seem to reveal a first parody of chivalry.[3] At any rate, this unusual romance acquires a very distinctive flavor from such episodes as the fight between Tirant and the dog, his duel with the Frenchman Villermes (both in their underwear), the somewhat dubious adventures of young Placer-de-mi-vida and aged Reposada, the acts of D. Kirieleison de Montalbán, and these burlesque names themselves.

6. The "Celestina"

The 15th century closes with the most authentic masterpiece written in Spanish prose up to that time. The *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*, soon known by the name of *La Celestina*, was printed in the last years of the century; the oldest known edition is of 1499.[4] The sixteen acts of which it first consisted were raised to twenty-one in 1502, and to twenty-two in 1526, by the insertion of new acts between acts 14 and 15. But the authenticity of these additions has been doubted; without sufficient cause, in my opinion, at least as regards those added in 1502 (15–19). The anonymous author declared, in a prologue, that he merely wrote a continuation of the first act, the writer of which, according to him, was believed by some to be Rodrigo Cota, by others, Juan de Mena. An acrostic, placed by the publisher Proaza in the 1501 edition, revealed the name of the author of Acts 2–16;[1] he was the bachelor Fernando de Rojas, born in Puebla de Montalván (*El bachjler Fernando de Roias acabo la comedia de Calysto y Melybea e fve nascjdo en la pvebla de Montalvan*).

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[1] Ed. Rubió y Lluch, Barcelona, 1901. On p. 124 of this edition, the author refers directly to French romances. See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes*, I, p. ccxlviii.

[2] Ed. M. Aguiló, 4 vols., Barc., n. d. Facsimile A. M. Huntington, N. Y., 1904. —See Lluis Nicolau d'Olwer *Sobre les fonts catalanes del T. lo B.*, in *Revista de Bibliografía Catalana*, V, 1907, 5–37. J. Givanel Mas, *Estudio crítico de T. lo B.*, in *Archivo de Invest. hist.*, 1911, vols. I and II. J. A. Vaeth, *T. lo B.*, N. Y., 1918. W. J. Entwistle, *Observaciones sobre la dedicatoria i primèra part del T. lo B.*, in *Rev. de Catalunya*, IV, 1927, 381–398.

[3] See J. Givanel Mas, *El T. lo B. i D. Quijote de la Mancha*, in *Quadernos d'estudi*, Barc., 1921–1922, nos. 52, 53.

[4] Reprinted by Foulché-Delbosc, in vol. XII of *Biblioteca Hispanica*, Barcelona, 1902. Ed. of 1501 reprinted by id., *ibid.*, vol. I, 1900. Facsimile of 1499 ed. by A. M. Huntington, N. Y., 1909. Ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, Vigo, Krapf, 1900, 2 vols. (text of 1514 ed.). Ed. J. Cejador y Frauca, 1913 (*Clás. cast.*, vols. 20, 23). English transl. by James Mabbe, 1631, reprints of London, 1894, 1908, 1923. French transl. with Introduction and Bibliography, by E. Martinenche, *La Célestine*, n. d. —See R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Observations sur la C.* in *Rev. Hisp.*, VII, 1900, 29–80, 510; and IX, 1902, 171–199. Bonilla y San Martín, *Antecedentes del tipo celestinesco en la lit. latina*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XV, 1906, 372–386. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes*, III, pp. i–clxx. R. E. House, *Present Status of the Problem of Authorship of the C.* in *Philological Quarterly*, II, 1923, 38–47. Id. with Mulroney and Probst, *ibid.*, III, 1924, 81–91. *Notas sobre la C.* in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, XI, 1924, 402–412. F. Castro

These facts have given rise to endless argument. Some, accepting the statement of the prologue, believe that the first act was really from another pen than the following ones. The names of Cota and Mena, mentioned by the 1502 and later editions, naturally suggest themselves, and that of Juan del Encina has been brought forward; but each of these hypotheses meets with very serious objections. Other critics find no essential difference in matter or form between the first act and the rest, and accordingly contend that one author wrote the whole. He then would be **Fernando de Rojas,** born at Puebla de Montalván (province of Toledo) about 1475, died after 1537. He was probably a converted Jew, and at one time acting *alcalde mayor* at Talavera.[2] That Rojas was at least one of the authors is rendered almost certain by a legal deposition made in 1525–26, in connection with a trial before the Inquisition, by a Jew Álvaro de Montalván, the father-in-law, he states, of the "*bachiller Rojas que compuso a Melibea.*" The bachelor Rojas had himself made a deposition in the same suit some years before. As to the prologue's formal statement concerning the author of the first act I favor the compromise of Amador de los Ríos: that Rojas continued what another (Cota?) had begun, but he so remodeled the beginning as to create unity of style. The motives which have been

Guisasola, *Observaciones sobre las fuentes literarias de la C.*, 1924. Ruth Davis, *New Data on the Authorship of Act I of the " Com. de Calixto y Melibea,"* Iowa City, 1928.

[1] I.e. 2–14, and 20–21, of the 1502 edition.

[2] [On Rojas' life see M. Serrano y Sanz, in *Rev. de Archivos*, VI, 1902, 245–299. J. Cejador, in *Rev. crítica hisp.-am.*, II, 1916, 85–86. F. del Valle Lersundi, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, XII, 1925, 385–396. In one respect testimony seems to conflict. One document indicates that he was a converted Jew, but those published most recently declare him *hidalgo* and of a line of *hidalgos*.]

imagined in order to explain why Rojas denied having done the first act are not very convincing.

The attribution of the five inserted acts (15–19) to a different author is based wholly upon literary appreciation, and it is hard for any two persons to agree upon that criterion. On the other hand, the *auto de Traso*, added in 1526 between the former acts 18 and 19, is unanimously rejected by critics. Its late appearance and intrinsic considerations leave no doubt that it is not authentic. It is attributed to one *Sanabria*.

Such erudite discussions in no way diminish the merit of the book. This merit consists less in plot than in characters, in profound psychological analysis of emotions, in the faithful expression of truly human passions, and lastly, in superiority of form.

In spite of the title *Comedia*, later *Tragicomedia*, and the consistent use of dialogue, the *Celestina* is not an acting drama, but a series of scenes. Under pretext of warning the young against the dangerous results of guilty love and bad company, the author relates the growing passion of a youth and maid, Calisto and Melibea. The scene is probably laid in Toledo.[1] After many vicissitudes of their love, opposed by Melibea's parents but inflamed by self-seeking servants, Calisto is killed by a fall as he starts to pursue men posted to attack him. Melibea, learning of her lover's death, casts herself from a tower to destruction. About the two swarm many lesser figures: in the foreground the go-between Celestina; then vicious valets, bullies, shameless wenches, frequenters of low houses, bourgeois, a throng of creatures now comic, now tragic; charming or horrible.

Among these live and picturesque creations Celestina is the most amazingly real and vivid; she has become a definitive and universal type. The rest are pallid at her side. Taken all together, they portray to perfection the dregs and vices of the same society whose noble aspirations and knightly ideals were revealed in the *Amadís*. Low life is painted with a crudity which bespeaks a living model studied in the open air, not in any weak studio-light. Thus the *Celestina* comes to be the earliest of the picaresque novels.[2]

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[1] ["Probably in Salamanca," is M. Mérimée's statement, and Seville has also been suggested. But see M. Herrero García, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, XI, 1924, 406 ff.]

[2] On the character of Celestina, and the ethics of the book, see the controversy between "Azorín" (J. Martínez Ruiz) (*Los valores literarios*, 1913, 87–116) and D. Julio Cejador, one of the editors of the *Celestina* (*El Imparcial*, Nov. 15–22, 1913). "Azorín" contrasts the aged go-between, a universal type, with the *Beguina* or *Pelegrina* of Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor*, no. XLII. Cf. Bonilla, *Antecedentes*.

It is no optimistic conception of human nature that the author holds. On the contrary, he delights chiefly in its weakness and ugliness. But no one before him understood so well the sweep and poetry of passion; no one has recorded with greater power the fatality which drives the fairest creatures and beings toward ruin and death. Fate is indeed the most guilty of all the actors in this story, commonplace at bottom. Because of the universality and exactness of its psychology the *Celestina* has remained infinitely more alive than the *Amadís*, for the latter's chivalry died at the knife of ridicule.

The originality of the *Celestina's* author lies in his power of expression and in his philosophy of passion. Intrigue and characters he drew from many sources. To Juan Ruiz he owed much, especially Celestina herself, a new version of Trotaconventos; he borrowed from the Archpriest of Talavera, the *Pamphilus*,[1] Ovid, and many others whose names he did not hide. A detailed list of his debts would be lengthy, but he remained original withal. His language and style are as beautiful as any in the entire range of Spanish letters, and we would not except Cervantes himself, if the *Celestina* had the measure, taste and truly classic elegance of the *Quijote*, and if grammar and vocabulary had at that time acquired the precision and fixity which a long sequence of good writers were to confer upon it. The author's fiery impetuosity rushes forth in eloquent abundance, as in Juan Ruiz, but unfettered by meter; he recalls Martínez de Toledo, but displays superior brilliancy and force.

The *Celestina* achieved immediate and complete success. Its influence on drama and novel was great.[2] Continuations in prose and verse appeared very soon. Commentaries, imitations, adaptations to the stage, translations into the great European tongues, testify to its vitality. The *Celestina* is one of the most precious gifts ever made by Spain to the world's literature.

7. Drama

In spite of a few timid attempts which are earlier, the Spanish drama really began with **Juan del Encina**[3] (1468?–1529?), whose

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H. Petriconi, *Trotaconventos, Celestina, Gerarda;* in *Die neueren Sprachen,* XXXII, 1924, 232–39. In *La voluntad,* Barcelona, 1902, p. 199, "Azorín" draws a brilliant parallel between Hita and Rojas, to the former's advantage.

[1] See above, p. 79, n. 3.

[2] Cf. Gustave Reynier, *Les origines du roman réaliste,* Paris, 1912, 282–314.

[3] *Teatro completo,* ed. Cañete and Asenjo Barbieri, 1893. *Aucto del repelón,* ed.

literary activity corresponded closely to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. He was born probably in the village of La Encina,[1] and educated in Salamanca. From 1492 till about 1500 he was in the service of the Duke of Alba, and wrote some verse published in 1496 together with eight dramatic pieces. He left Spain for Rome, where he became *familiar de Su Santidad* Pope Alexander VI. His residence was there till 1523, except for trips to Spain in order to perform duties as archdeacon and canon at Malaga, positions he had obtained in 1509, when he was not yet a priest. In 1519 he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, was ordained, and said his first mass. He recounted his journey in an *arte mayor* poem, the *Tribagia, o vía sacra de Hierusalem.* Early in that year (1519) he had exchanged his archdeaconate at Malaga for the priorate of the church at León. He fulfilled his duties there from 1526 to 1529. He died before January 10, 1530. Not much is known of these latter years.

Encina's *Cancionero* of 1496 contains, besides eight dramatic pieces, an imitation of Vergil's *Eclogues, Las Bucólicas,* with many contemporary allusions; lyric verse which includes mediocre religious compositions; allegorical poems (*El triunfo de amor, El testamento de amores, La confesión de amores, La justa de amores*), and a heroic poem (*El triunfo de Fama,* in celebration of the conquest of Granada: more interesting than the amorous verse); and some jocular pieces or nonsense rhymes, among others the famous *Disparates trovados,* which became proverbial. The *Tragedia a la muerte del Príncipe Don Juan,* son of Ferdinand and Isabella, did not appear till the later editions,[2] since that much-mourned young prince died in 1497. This poem contains 78 *coplas de arte mayor.*

A. Álvarez de la Villa, Paris [1910]. *Égloga interlocutoria*, ed. U. Cronan, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXXVI, 1916, 475–488. *Cancionero*, facsimile of princeps, ed. R. Acad. Esp., 1928.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.*, VII, pp. i–c. R. Mitjana, *Sobre J. del E. músico y poeta*, Málaga, 1895. Id., *Nuevos documentos*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, I, 1914, 275–288. R. E. House, in the *Romanic Review*, VII, 1916, 458–469. C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, V, 1918, 337–366. E. Díaz-Jiménez *J. del E. en León*, 1909. R. Espinaso Maeso, *Nuevos datos biográficos*, in *Bol. R. Acad. Hist.*, VIII, 1921, 640–656. J. P. W. Crawford, ch. II of *The Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, Phila., 1922 (with analytical bibliography). P. Mazzei, *Contributo allo studio delle fonti ital. del teatro di J. del E. e Torres Naharro*, Lucca, 1922.

[1] See E. Giménez Caballero, *Hipótesis a un problema de J. del E.*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, XIV, 1927, 59–69.

[2] It was first printed in a *pliego suelto* (broadside), without place or date, about 1497. See Gallardo, *Ensayo*, no. 2068.

The really vital portion of his work consists of his *villancicos* and pastoral poetry, which possess a naïve savor of the soil, and his dramatic compositions. The latter bear varying titles: *representaciones, autos, farsas,* but most commonly *églogas,* a name derived from Vergil. Their subject-matter is usually religious: *Representación de la Pasión, de la Resurreción,* three Christmas *églogas.* The characters are copied from the life of the people. They speak a rustic dialect, a variety of the Salamancan patois or *charruno.* It remained as a convention of the later drama, and is called *sayagués* (of *Sayago,* between Zamora and Salamanca).[1] The scenes of daily life are as vivid as possible. The *Auto del repelón* (*Brawl-scene*) shows a clash between shepherds and Salamanca students. The Carnival *égloga* (*de Antruejo*) is as lively; and so are the two in which Pascuala, Mingo and the squire Gil appear, and those of Bras and Juanillo, of *El Escudero que se tornó pastor,* and of *Los Pastores que se tornaron palaciegos.* It is remarkable that in spite of their popular subjects and language, these pieces were almost all performed in palaces and in the homes of great nobles, such as D. Fadrique Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba, Encina's master and protector.

The 1507 edition of the *Cancionero* added the *Égloga de las grandes lluvias* and *Representación del amor;* the 1509 edition, two more plays: the *Auto del repelón,* just mentioned, and the *Égloga de Fileno y Zambardo,* an imitation of the Second Eclogue of Antonio Tebaldeo (1463–1537).[2] This, with the *Égloga de Cristino y Febea,* and the *Égloga de Plácida y Vitoriano,*[3] date from Encina's stay in Italy and represent an effort to broaden and ennoble the drama. The influence of Italy upon the playwright is obvious. *Plácida y Vitoriano* is Encina's most ambitious effort; it is preceded by a prologue (*Introito*) and received praise from Juan de Valdés. This is generally supposed to be the composition by Encina which, as we know, was performed in Rome, on Jan. 6, 1513, before the Spanish Ambassador. So many proofs of creative power have deservedly brought Encina the title of "Father of the Spanish Drama." If he did not actually found Spain's theater, at least he enriched it, secularized it and released its bonds. After him, as will be seen, dramatic production never ceased.

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[1] The dialect was used before in the *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo.* Cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.,* VI, p. xv. Lamano y Beneite, *El dialecto vulgar salmantino,* Salamanca, 1915, p. 9 and ff.

[2] J. P. W. Crawford, *The Source of Juan del Encina's Égloga de F. y Z.* in *Rev. Hisp.,* XXXVIII, 1916, 218–231.

[3] Both these pieces are undated in the extant editions. On the date of *Plácida y Vitoriano,* and the question of its performance in Rome, see C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.,* V, 1918, pp. 360 ff.

Encina formulated his theory of poetry in a precious prose treatise, *Arte de la poesía castellana,*[1] included in the 1496 *Cancionero*. Though this work did not add greatly to the teachings of earlier metrists, especially the Provençal *preceptistas*, it profited by the more modern science of the author's master at Salamanca, the humanist Nebrija. Finally, Encina was a skilled musician. He wrote some of the music to his own verse, and examples of his airs have been preserved.[2]

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[1] Ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.*, V, 30–47.

[2] Asenjo Barbieri, *Cancionero musical de los siglos XV y XVI*, 1890. It contains 68 poems by Encina The *Cancionero de Uppsala* (1556), ed. R. Mitjana, Uppsala, 1909, also has verse by him.

THIRD PERIOD

THE GOLDEN AGE (*EL SIGLO DE ORO*)

1. Summary of History and Art

IMPORTANT DATES. *Hapsburg Dynasty.* Carlos Quinto (V), Emperor (Carlos I of Spain) (1516–1555).—Felipe II (1555–1598).—Felipe III (1598–1621).—Felipe IV (1621–1665).—Carlos II (1665–1700).

With the Hapsburgs the most brilliant period of literature began. This period was long and fertile, lasting more than a century, up to the first years of the reign of Carlos II. Its riches are so abundant that it will here be divided into three parts: I, the reign of Carlos Quinto; II, from the accession of Felipe II to the death of Lope de Vega (1635); III, from that year till the death of Calderón (1681). Such divisions are, of course, in no way rigid, but they correspond roughly to the beginning, the prime and the decline of what Spaniards call their Golden Age. This expression is vague, but it belongs most properly to the second of our divisions, the age of Cervantes and Lope de Vega.

That Spain, during nearly two centuries, exercised tremendous political power in Europe, is so well known that it is unnecessary to enter into details. Fully mistress of herself, enriched by the treasures of the New World, which she could well believe to be inexhaustible, she struggled no longer to reconquer her natural soil, or to consolidate her unity, but to attain universal domination both physical and intellectual. She sought by force to impose her religious and monarchic ideal upon the Old and New Worlds:

Un monarca, un imperio y una espada.[1]

In order to assert her hegemony, Spain was compelled first of all to fight France. Italy and Flanders were the customary fields in which these duellists swayed back and forth. Religious wars raged in the Low Countries and Germany; while on the Mediterranean shores, from Tunis to Lepanto, Spain hunted down her ancient enemy the infidel, and in the Atlantic English and Dutch disputed her supremacy. She attacked Protestantism in France, Germany and England. In this crusade against heresy, she found a potent ally in the Inquisition, which mercilessly trampled down every shoot of heterodoxy. To this double political and religious ideal the nation sacrificed its purest blood and all the democratic liberty it still retained (the *Comunidades* of Castile, the *Germanías* of the east coast); the effort to attain it acted as a powerful stimulant, but in the end exhausted the reservoir of energy stored during the preceding centuries. The genius of the Emperor began the tremendous task, and the patient skill of Philip II pursued it, but during the reign of Philip III failure became plain. Under the two following kings defeat approached with swift acceleration, and was soon complete.

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[1] Acuña's sonnet to the Emperor; *Oxford Book of Spanish Verse*, no. 76.

Portugal, united to Spain in 1580, escaped in 1640. In their turn the Low Countries broke away, by the treaties of Westphalia (1648). Spain still retained her possessions in Italy and America.

Fine Arts

For the arts also this period is, taken all together, the most brilliant in the history of Spain. The entire land became covered with buildings, statues, pictures and works of art which made of it one vast museum. Not only the kings, but most of the great nobles vied with one another in adorning their splendid palaces with precious art collections. Each church and monastery became a gallery. The Italian Renaissance, combined at first with the *mudéjar* and late-Gothic art, was the preponderant element, until Spanish artists, though for the most part trained in the Italian school, acquired originality and themselves became the masters.

Architecture [1] was still in high honor, though assuredly less to be admired for any originality or unity of style than for the inexhaustible richness of its decoration. For this reason the term *plateresque* (p. 98) is given to this architectural style. Remarkable examples may be seen in the cathedrals of Salamanca (begun in 1509), Segovia (1525–1577), Plasencia, Granada, Jaén, and Malaga; in the Convent of San Marcos at León, the Hospital de Santa Cruz at Toledo, etc. The chief architects were Diego de Siloe, Enrique and Antonio Egas, Juan de Vallejo, Juan Gil and Rodrigo Gil de Hontañón, Alonso de Covarrubias, Machuca, Riaño, etc. This decorative art strove to rival nature in exuberance, and when, later, in the capricious invention of fantastic monsters it became decadent, it was known as *monstruoso* or *grotesco* (from the Italian *grotta*, grotto, pebble-and-shell work). Toward the end of the century Juan de Herrera initiated a pseudo-Roman style, conforming to the ancient canons. The Escorial (1559–1584) and the cathedral at Valladolid are his great works; the bareness and coldness of these enormous masses of stone inspire the layman with more amazement than admiration.

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[1] Arthur Byne and Mildred Stapley, *Spanish Architecture of the Sixteenth Century; a General View of the Plateresque and Herrera Styles*, N. Y., 1917.

Sculpture [1] developed splendidly. The Burgundian Felipe Vigarní (Biguerny), Gil and Diego de Siloe, Ordóñez de Burgos, Francisco de Villalpando, the Italian Pompeio Leoni, Xamete, Juan de Badajoz, the two Aragonese Damián Forment (d. 1541) and Diego Morlanes, Juan de Talavera, Rodrigo and Martín de Haya are the most important representatives. *Wood-carving* is a characteristic Spanish variety of sculpture. By this we do not mean merely the retables, carved doors and choir-stalls, though they are as rich in Spain as anywhere in the world (Burgos, Toledo, Zamora, León, Seville, Astorga, San Benito at Valladolid, Barcelona, Palma, etc.), for their equivalents are found elsewhere. We allude to the wooden statues, painted and often embossed with gold (*estofado*). This was a particularly Spanish art. The finest examples are at Seville (the *Pasos*, or portable Passion-scenes) and in the Museum at Valladolid. The most celebrated sculptors in wood were Alonso Berruguete (1480?–1561),[2] Gaspar Becerra (1520–1570), the Frenchman Juan de Juni (de Joigny?) (d. 1586?), Miguel de Ancheta; and later, Gregorio Hernández (1566?–1636), Jerónimo Hernández (1586–1646), Martínez Montañés (d. 1649), probably the most famous, and finally Alonso Cano (1601–1667). Many of these sculptors were also painters.

The Arfe family (Enrique, Antonio, Juan de Arphe),[3] and the Becerrils (Alonso, Francisco, Cristóbal) distinguished themselves as **goldsmiths** for the church. The most noteworthy masterpieces in this branch of art belong to this period: the *custodias* or monstrances of Cordova (1518), Toledo (1524), Sahagún, Santiago (1544), Ávila (1571), Seville (1587), Valladolid (1590); and the crosses of San Isidoro at León, and of Cordova. The master **ironworkers** of this time also produced admirable results, balconies of great houses, window-lattices, especially the chapel grills (*rejas*) of the churches.[1] There are notable pieces at Burgos by Cristóbal-de Andino, at Granada by Bartolomé de Jaén, at Seville by Francisco de Salamanca, etc. Most of the important **painters** belong to the end of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th. A mere list of names must suffice here: Morales el Divino (d. 1586), Antonio Moro (Sir Anthony More), Sánchez Coello, Pantoja de la Cruz (1551–1610) (these three portrait-painters); Doménico Theotocópuli, *el Greco* (1548–1614), the most original of his time and much admired today, Juan de las Roelas (1560–1625), Francisco Herrera el Viejo (1576?–1656), the Valencians Ribalta (d. 1628) and Ribera (1591?–1656), the Extremaduran Zurbarán (1598–1661), the Andalusians Céspedes (1538–1608), author of a *Poema sobre la pintura,* Alonso Cano, and finally the two greatest glories of Spanish painting, Diego Velázquez y Silva (1599–1660), and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617–1682), both Sevillans.

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[1] Paul Lafond, *La sculpture espagnole*, Paris [1908]. M. Dieulafoy, *La statuaire polychrome en Espagne*, Paris, 1908.

[2] R. de Orueta, *B. y su obra*, 1917.

[3] F. Sánchez Cantón, *Los Arfes*, 1920.

In Spanish sixteenth century **music** three schools are usually distinguished: the Andalusian, the Castilian and the Catalan-Valencian. Their characteristics are not easily caught by the layman. The best known names are, for the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, Anchieta, Peñalosa, Contreras, Castillo and Encina; for the ensuing period, Cristóbal Morales (d. 1553), Antonio Cabezón (1510–1568), Comes (1518–1611), Guerrero (1528–1599), Salinas *el Divino* (1513–1590), Soto (1534?–1619), Victoria (1540?–1613?),[2] etc. Composers of profane music and of accompaniments wrote either for the ancient and aristocratic lute (*vihuela*), or, later, for the more popular guitar. Among the *vigüelistas* may be mentioned Luis Milán,[3] Valderrábano, Diego Pisador, Fuenllana, all of whom have left us treatises on their art; among the *guitarristas,* Juan Blas de Castro, Díaz Bessón, Juan de Torres and the two Palomares. Felipe Pedrell, Saldoni, Soriano Fuertes, Asenjo Barbieri, and Rafael Mitjana are the chief modern historians of Spanish music.

The **scientific** movement in the 16th century in Spain was remarkable, although its absolute value is likely to be exaggerated by Spaniards. In this direction also, the 16th century was the era of greatness. Scholars were at work in every branch of knowledge. A list of them together with their eulogy is to be found in Acisclo Fernández Vallín's *Cultura científica de España en el siglo XVI* (1893), and in *La ciencia española,* by Menéndez y Pelayo (3rd ed., 3 vols., 1887–1888; *Col. de escritores castellanos*).

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[1] Arthur Byne and Mildred Stapley, *Rejería of the Spanish Renaissance,* N. Y., 1914. Id. *Spanish Ironwork,* N. Y., 1915.

[2] F. Pedrell, *Tomás Luis de Victoria,* Valencia, 1918.

[3] J. B. Trend, *Luis Milan and the Vihuelistas,* Oxford, 1925.

FIRST PART

BEGINNING OF THE GOLDEN AGE

Reign of Carlos V (1516–1555)

2. General Character of Language and Literature in the Sixteenth Century

In the course of this century, the language steadily approached a definitive form. Castilian became the official language of the nation, at the expense of the dialects. "The concentration of political power, strongly favored by the centralizing interests of the monarchs, brought into Castile many elements of prosperity and culture. For the first time the civilization of the central plateau was superior to that of the coast lands. These accumulated factors came into full operation in the 16th and 17th centuries."[1] The political, religious and literary ideals of Castile were then imposed upon the rest of the nation.

Following the lead of Nebrija, numbers of grammarians endeavored, with more ardor than method, to formulate the rules of the language, which "*hasta nuestra edad anduvo suelta e fuera de regla*," in the words of Nebrija himself. The treatises of Valdés, Ambrosio de Morales, Argote de Molina, Mateo Alemán and Bernardo Aldrete furnish material with which to appraise the changes in vocabulary, syntax, construction and pronunciation during this time. Some of these changes were due to more accurate acquaintance with Greek and Latin (aided by the spread of printing), the popularity of Italian writers and disdain for medieval literature. The universal desire for political and linguistic unity was also a factor. It is impossible here to enter into philological details of the transformation, but anyone who cares to read three pages of the *Celestina* and then three pages of *Don Quijote* will at once perceive it clearly.

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[1] R. Altamira, *Hist. de España*, etc., II, 1902, 238.

With regard to the general character of literature at this time, it will suffice for the moment to point out the influences at work upon matter and form, and to enumerate the most representative writers of each type and tendency.

Among the determining forces, two especially stand out, *humanism* and *Italianism*. Humanism, which began in the previous century, now burst into full flower. Aside from Holy Writ, the classic world became the greatest educational power. All the *científicos* emulated Greeks and Latins, especially the latter. Seneca, Cicero, Martial, Valerius Maximus, Caesar, Ovid, Livy and Boëthius were those most revered. These models were not always the best, and sometimes their defects were exaggerated, while their good qualities were neglected.

The Universities were the most active centers of humanism. The most recently created, that of Alcalá de Henares (*Complutum*) excelled the rest: at the desire of Cardinal Cisneros, it undertook and carried through the publication of the *Polyglot Bible* (1502–1514, 1517, 6 folio vols.). [1] The Universities sent forth most of the scholars, philosophers and anti-scholastics who raised Spanish science to a level which it did not again equal in a long time. Luis Vives the Valencian (p. 282), though he spent most of his life in foreign parts (Paris, Louvain, Bruges, Oxford), and Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466?–1536), [2] his true master, wielded enormous influence. But they quickly became objects of suspicion. Before long the Indexes of the Inquisition were well filled with their names and those of their many disciples, open or secret. In short, these beginnings of independent thought and criticism were speedily stifled in the name of orthodoxy, plagued just then by Protestantism. From the Universities, too, it must be added, issued the most intolerant enemies of all innovation. Within their walls the Middle Ages fought off the Renascence.

The story of the earliest *Italian influence* has already been told. In the 16th century it grew apace. It is apparent in drama (Torres Naharro, Gil Vicente), lyric (Boscán, Garcilaso) and novel (Montemayor). Here once more, the writers most imitated were not the greatest (save Petrarch), but rather lesser men of a mannered type, such as Sannazaro, Castiglione, Bembo, Bernardo Tasso, Trissino, Poliziano. In this school Spaniards learned to mellow their style, round out their leanness and deck with brighter and more varied hues a dress which had been too uniform, too drab or too rustic. The Italian courts which they visited, lent them some share of their courtesy and refinement. Young people went to Naples, Bologna and Milan to learn fine manners. There they acquired instruction, amusement and often evil ways. Grand ladies and courtesans collaborated in their education.[1] They brought back a new ideal of beauty, and with it fashions of life, thought and speech that Spain had never known.

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[1] P. Mariano Revilla Rico, *La políglota de Alcalá*, in *Ciudad de Dios*, 1917.

[2] The *Colloquia* were rendered into Spanish in 1528, and the *Apophthegmata* in 1549 by Juan Jarava, and again in the same year by Fr. Thamara. See Bonilla y San Martín, *Erasmo en España*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XVII, 1907, 379–548. The *Coloquios* are reprinted in *Orígenes de la novela*, IV, 149–249.

But despite humanism and Italianism, the old character and the old national taste persisted to a degree. Classical erudition did not affect all minds, all classes or all genres alike, and Castilian pride brooked ill the superiority of Italy. A group of objectors and conservatives helped to save old-fashioned writers from oblivion; they reawakened the national spirit in literature and linked the Golden Age to the past. It was this group which, through the *romances*, provided a bridge from the old Chronicles to the future national *comedia*. Some of the cultured dramatists (*científicos*), like Cueva and Lope de Vega, let themselves be swept along, protesting all the while, by the national current; then they so swelled it that it broke all dikes. The like occurred in poetry. In Quevedo, Góngora and Lope, almost the only elements which escaped the catastrophe of Gongorism are those rooted in the national taste.

By the end of the turbulent 16th century, in which so many new ways were tried and new forms built up, the language was fixed, literary types and genres were clearly established and defined. Vocabulary, syntax, spelling did not afterward change except in minor points. Great writers multiplied, and they were such as Spain can present with pride to other nations. This was indeed the Golden Age of Spain's literature, as it was the culminating point of her history. After that, a gradual descent began. She has not since created anything new.

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[1] See Pietro Aretino's *Coloquio de las Damas*, translated in 1548 by "Fernan Xuarez, vezino y natural de Sevilla." *Orígenes de la novela*, IV, 250–277. B. Croce, *La Spagna nella vita ital.*, etc.

3. Contemporary Literatures

France. The 16th century is marked by certain outstanding events: the discovery of Italy, the Renaissance, the national struggle against the domination of the Austrian Dynasty, the Reformation. These great movements stirred up a whirlwind of passions and ideas which burst forth with unrestrained energy, then died down and were reconciled toward the end of the century. As we have seen, Spain, in common with France, underwent the double influence of Italy and classical antiquity. But Spain, within her own house at least, was spared religious wars and the crisis of the Reformation. She avoided these by closing her frontiers to intellectual commerce, or allowing only an export trade in ideas. Therefore she seemed not to be aware of the existence of great French writers, not alone propagandists or those of dubious orthodoxy, like Marot, Calvin, Rabelais and Montaigne, but even the pure artists who took no part in controversy, like Ronsard. Spain gave to France the Romances of Chivalry, *Amadís,* Guevara, Montemayor's *La Diana,* but she would not receive. She shut her door against France at the moment when the latter's great century was at hand.

POETRY.—Clément Marot, *Adolescence Clémentine* (1532), *Psaumes* (1542). Marguerite de Navarre, *Poésies* (1531–1547). Du Bellay, *Défense et illustration de la langue française* (1549). Ronsard, *Odes* (1550), *Hymnes* (1555). *Mystères* and *Farces.* Jodelle, *Cléopatre* (1552). La Pléiade.

PROSE.—Calvin, *Institution* (1536–1541), *Sermons.* La Boétie, *Contr'un* (ca. 1548–1550). Despériers, *Cymbalum mundi* (1537), *Joyeux Devis.* Rabelais, *Pantagruel* (1533), *Gargantua* (1535), 3e livre (1546), 4e livre (1552). Humanists and scholars: Budé (1467–1540), Turnèbe (d. 1565), Robert and Charles Estienne, Henri Estienne (1528–1598), Amyot (1513–1593). The cosmopolitan Erasmus (1466?–1536) must be named as the master of them all.

Italy. Although her glorious *Quattrocento* was past, Italy continued to inspire other countries. She still presented many illustrious names in poetry, history, didactic verse and especially in the fine arts. But in the second part of this period a certain exhaustion, ominous of decadence, is felt.

POETRY.—Ariosto (1474–1533); *Orlando Furioso* (1516–1532). Rucellai (1475–1525). Michelangelo (1475–1564). Trissino (1478–1550). Vittoria Colonna (1492–1547). Berni (1498?–1535). Bernardo Tasso (1493–1569). Aretino (1492–1556). Alamanni (1495–1556). Anibale Caro (1507–1566). Tansillo (1510–1568).

HISTORY.—Paolo Giovio (1483–1552). Guicciardini (1483–1540). Machiavelli (1469–1527); *The Prince* (1513); *Discorsi* (1515–1520); *Istorie fiorentini* (ca. 1527). Benedetto Varchi (1503–1565). Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571). Vasari (1511–1574).

NOVEL, STORY, DIDACTIC PROSE, ETC.—Sannazaro (d. 1530?); *L'Arcadia* (1502). Bembo (1470–1547). Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529); *Il Cortegiano* (1528). Bandello (1480?–1561). Firenzuola (1493–1546?). Giraldi Cinzio (1504–1573).

DRAMA.—Bernardo Dovizi (1470–1520); *La Calandria* (1513). Alamanni, Rucellai, Aretino, Giraldi, Machiavelli (*La Mandràgola,* 1520). Cecchi (1518–1587).

Portugal. Portugal must not be forgotten. The 16th century was for her the climax of her civilization. Besides, her literature as well as her history were so closely linked to that of Spain that the two sometimes fused, as happened during the archaic Galician-Portuguese period. Even in the sixteenth century, many Portuguese authors wrote in Castilian (Gil Vicente, Sá de Miranda, Montemayor, and the poets of the *Cancionero de Resende*). Luiz de Camoens (1524–1580) was the great national poet who celebrated in worthy manner the prowess and prodigious discoveries of his compatriots. The *Lusiads* appeared in 1572. It is important to recall that after the disaster at Alcacer Kebir (1578) Portugal was added to the Spanish crown (1580) and did not recover her independence till 1640.

At that time there was scarcely any genre in which Portugal could not show distinguished writers. Portuguese literature influenced Spanish in many branches: in the Romances of Chivalry (*Amadís, Palmerín*); in bucolic poetry and the pastoral novel (Bernardim Ribeiro, d. 1552? *Menina e moça, Eclogues*; Sá de Miranda, 1485?–1558, *Eclogues;* Montemayor or Montemôr 1520?–1561, *La Diana;* Antonio Ferreira, 1528–1569, *Poemas Lusitanos*); in the drama (Gil Vicente); and in the lyric (the poets of the *Cancioneiro de Resende*).

England. England had little of worth to offer during this period. Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* (Latin, 1516; English, 1551) was her most remarkable work. Its author was visited in England by his friend Luis Vives, and this event may possibly have been a factor in creating familiarity there with Spanish literature. Translations from the Spanish increased steadily in number. The first were the *Celestina* (anonymous adaptation, between 1524 and 1530), Guevara's *Reloj de príncipes* (translated by Lord Berners in 1534, via the French) and Diego de San Pedro's *Cárcel de amor* (by Lord Berners, about 1540). San Pedro's *Arnalte y Lucenda* was not translated till 1575, by C. Hollyband.[1]

Wyatt (1503–1542) and Surrey (1516?–1547) initiated Italianate poetry. In the drama, John Heywood's *Interludes* (1520–1540), and the comedy *Ralph Roister Doister* (1552? by N. Udal?) may be mentioned.

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[1] See J. G. Underhill, *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors*, N. Y., 1899. Other translations are listed there.

CHAPTER I

POETRY

4. The Italianate Lyric

The poetry of the previous period was in general too artificial in its inspiration and too complex in its outmoded forms to satisfy the new ideas and tastes. It was felt to lack the nobility, amplitude and perfection of the classics. Since Italy was the direct heir of Rome, since Italian poets were legion, and political events drew the two nations more and more closely together, Peninsular lyrists naturally looked in that direction for the latest fashion. The anecdote of Boscán's meeting the Venetian Navagiero at Granada in 1526 is always told as of much significance; but the Italianization of Castilian poetry, already begun, could not fail to occur and to thrive. Some partly justified protests were heard from those who clung to the old national ways. The struggle between the two schools is one of the interesting episodes of the age.

There is no question that the double imitation of classical and Italian models contributed notably to the formal perfection of the lyric. It furnished an ideal of beauty which had thitherto been scarcely glimpsed. Poetry, and literature in general, acquired, through daily familiarity with masterpieces, some of the qualities termed "classic." But did they not thereby lose something of their freshness and originality? Was not this the moment when literature and real life were divorced? or rather (for the separation started in the preceding era) did not the gap widen suddenly at this time? Is it not a fact that lyric poetry, in particular, became more aloof than before from the great problems and strong passions of that day, and, by choosing that path, lost itself in convention and artificiality, or followed the wild lead of unbridled imagination, unrestrained by contact with reality? "During the sixteenth and the following centuries the most tremendous problems of conscience were being fought out both in religious controversy and on the field of battle, yet poetry, indifferent to these profound upheavals, trifled away the time embroidering the old fables of mythology, and celebrating the marvelous deeds of imaginary heroes; it peopled plain and grove with satyrs, swains, nymphs and shepherdesses, and traced fantastic pictures in which heaven and earth, man and nature, appeared distorted. . . . Who could recognize in the verse of Hurtado de Mendoza a skilled diplomat and expert politician; or, in the dulcet stanzas of Garcilaso, a bold soldier of that iron age? "[1]

5. Boscán

Juan Boscán Almogáver (d. 1542) was the first systematically and deliberately to introduce the methods and forms of the Italian lyric into Spain; yet he was a Catalan, born in Barcelona, and therefore regarded by Castilians almost as a foreigner. His collected verse was published, with Garcilaso's, by his widow in 1543, a year after his death.[2] The contents and arrangement of this work are worthy of notice. The first book contains all the poems in the old Spanish manner, dating from before the author's literary conversion (*Coplas*, *Villancicos*, *Canciones*, allegory of the *Mar de amor*). The second and third books contain the verses *al itálico modo.* They are preceded by a prose prologue (*A la Duquesa de Soma*), which is a declaration of principles, the manifesto of the new school. Ninety-two sonnets and eleven *Canciones* [3] compose the second book. The third contains the long and tiresome *Historia de Leandro y Hero,* in unrhymed hendecasyllables (blank verse), an imitation from Bernardo Tasso; some elegiac *Capítulos,* the author's best work; two *Epístolas,* one of which is at least interesting from the name of the person addressed, D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza; and finally, an allegorical *Octava Rima,* imitated in part from Bembo (*Stanze per festa carnascialesca*).

Boscán was far from being a poet of genius; he was a man of taste who knew what he wished and achieved it. He succeeded in turning public taste definitively toward Italy; he introduced, or brought into vogue, five metrical combinations which became successful: the Tuscan *canzone*, the *octava rima*, *versos sueltos* (blank verse), *tercetos* and sonnet. He also fixed the type of the regularly accented hendecasyllable; previously it had fluctuated. Lastly, Boscán performed a notable service to prose by his translation [1] of *Il Cortegiano* (1528) by Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529). If not an exact rendering of the original, it is considered a model of pure and elegant Castilian.

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[1] G. Núñez de Arce, *Discurso sobre la poesía,* 1887 (in *Gritos del combate,* 1892, pp. 257 and 259).

[2] *Obras de Boscán,* ed. W. I. Knapp, 1875. *Poesías selectas,* ed. J. Rogerio Sánchez, in [Menéndez y Pelayo] *Antol. poetas lír.,* XIV. *Las Treinta,* ed. H. Keniston, N. Y., 1911.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.,* XIII, 1908, *Juan Boscán.* J. P. W. Crawford, *Notes on the Chronology of Boscán's Verse,* in *Modern Philology,* XXV, 1927, 29–36.

[3] [Ten, according to Menéndez y Pelayo, who does not accept one. *Op. cit.,* p. 266, note 1.]

6. Garcilaso de la Vega

The fourth book of Boscán's *Obras* contained the poems of his young and illustrious friend, **Garcilaso de la Vega** (1501?–1536), who belonged to a family equally famous in letters and in political history.[2] This charming poet, who died at 34, fascinated his contemporaries. War, politics and his personal tastes kept him long in Italy, mostly at Naples. He was there from the end of 1529 to 1530; then, after other service with the Emperor, suffered some months of exile (March to June, 1532) on an island in the Danube; he was in Naples from 1532 to 1536, taking part in 1535 in the expedition against Tunis, and being wounded at La Goleta. In Naples he became intimately acquainted with some of the most famous Italian writers of the day. He took part in the Emperor's campaign in Provence, and was wounded through his own foolhardiness at the siege of a tiny fortress, Le Muy, near Fréjus. This occurred on September 19, 1536; he died on October 13. This heroic and premature death has cast a veil of melancholy over the virile grace which still shines through all his poems. He wrote verse with equal ease in Spanish and Latin.[3] The influence of the Italians, and especially of the aged Sannazaro, Bernardo Tasso and the young Tansillo, is easy to detect in all his poems.[4]

Garcilaso's works [5] are not numerous. Aside from 8 negligible early *coplas* in Spanish measure, and three interesting Latin odes, they consist of 3 eclogues, 5 *canciones*, two elegies, one *epístola* and 38 sonnets. The First Eclogue, *Salicio y Nemoroso*, is regarded as his masterpiece. Dedicated to D. Pedro Álvarez de Toledo, viceroy of Naples from 1532 to 1553 (*Albano* of the eclogue), it is cast in stanzas of 14 lines, of eleven and seven syllables (ABCBAC: cddEEFeF). It relates the unhappy loves of the shepherds *Salicio* (Garcilaso himself), disdained by the fair Galatea, and *Nemoroso* (Boscán? Antonio de Fonseca?), who has lost his beloved *Elisa* (*Isabel* Freire de Fonseca?).[1] The Second Eclogue, in *tercetos*, offers some cases of *rima al mezzo* or Leonine verse, a device borrowed from Sannazaro; it is Garcilaso's most ambitious effort, but too obviously an effort. It is an elegy: the shepherd Albanio (Fernando, Duke of Alba) recounts his misfortune in love, and the author brings in a summarized history of the Alba family, thanks to some inappropriate supernatural mythology. Certain portions, especially Albanio's recital of his love to Salicio (Garcilaso) are excellent. The tutor Severo is probably Fray Severo Varini, a Dominican who was actually the Duke's tutor. The Third Eclogue, in *octava rima*, has as protagonists the shepherds Tirreno and Alcino. It is dedicated to "María," for whom, in the midst of battles, he wrote his pastoral,

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[1] *El Cortesano*, first ed. 1534. Ed. A. M. Fabié, in *Libros de antaño*, III, 1873. Ed. Calleja, 1920 (lacking *Libro II*).

[2] H. Keniston, *G. de la V., A Critical Study of his Life and Works*, N. Y., 1922.

[3] E. Mele, *Las poesías latinas de G. la V. y su permanencia en Italia*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXV, 1923, 108–148, 361–370; XXVI, 1924, 35–51.

[4] B. Croce, *Intorno al soggiorno di G. de la V. in Italia*, Napoli, 1894.

[5] *Obras*, ed. A. M. Huntington (facsimile of ed. of Lisbon, 1626), N. Y., 1903. *Works, a Critical Text with a Bibliography*, ed. H. Keniston, N. Y., 1925. *Obras*, ed. T. Navarro Tomás, 2nd ed., 1924 (*Clás. cast.*, vol. 3).

> "Tomando, ora la espada, ora la pluma."

The lady has been identified with various persons; Keniston plausibly suggests the name of Doña María Osorio Pimentel, wife of Garcilaso's patron, Don Pedro de Toledo. After the eclogues, the poet's finest verse is in his sonnets, some of which have become truly popular (*¡O dulces prendas, por mi mal halladas!*), and the charming Fifth Canción, or *Ode to the Flower of Gnido*,[2] which set the model for the Spanish *lira* (aBabB).

We of today are assuredly less sensitive to the beauties of Garcilaso's poetry than were his contemporaries. The languishing pastoral is too artificial for us, and is no longer held in esteem. We do not catch the numerous personal allusions, nor do we care to catch them. Imitation of a dozen sources no longer passes for a merit, but is regarded rather as a sign of weak inventiveness. Yet there is no denying the fact: this poet who died so young had an enormous influence on the language and on letters. As a classic his works received notes and commentary from a scholar like Francisco Sánchez (1574) and a poet like Herrera (1580), not to mention Tamayo de Vargas (1622).[1] His language is always cited as one of the purest forms of Castilian, and his delicate and harmonious art makes one forget that the theme, as always in the pastoral, is commonplace.

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[1] Some of the most authoritative critics (C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, Menéndez y Pelayo, Keniston) consider, however, that *Nemoroso* also represents Garcilaso.

[2] The *Seggio di Gnido* or *Nido* was one of the *barrios* (quarters) of Naples. In it was the home of Violante Sanseverino, whom Garcilaso addressed in order to favor the suit of his friend Mario Galeota.

7. Lyric poets were not so numerous in this period as in the preceding. Nearly all of them adopted the principles of the new school, so brilliantly initiated by Boscán and Garcilaso. Portugal welcomed it also. Thus, **Francisco de Sá de Miranda** (1485?–1558) wrote principally in Portuguese, yet many of his verses are in Castilian.[2] He traveled in Italy after 1521, and was already distinguished as the author of an Italianate pastoral, *Fabula do Mondego* (1528?) before he read the poems of Boscán and Garcilaso in manuscript (1534–35?). From that time he devoted his rare talent to the introduction of the new poetry into his own land, as they had done in theirs. His efforts were successful; the pastoral found ready soil in Portugal, and his personal talent proved well adapted to it. Among his five Spanish eclogues, impregnated with the spirit of Garcilaso, his sonnets and elegies, there are some poems which rank as models.

8. Chronologically, the name of **Diego Hurtado de Mendoza** (1503–1575)[3] comes next to hand. But though born soon after Garcilaso, Mendoza survived him many years. A scion of one of the noblest families in Spain, he began his studies at Granada where he was born. There he learned Arabic, but he graduated from the University of Salamanca. Evidently he did not waste his time as a student, for he knew Greek enough to comment upon Aristotle and translate his *Mecánica* (1545).[4] He gave up his first intention of entering the priesthood, served in the army in Italy, was sent to England as Envoy Extraordinary to arrange two royal marriages (in which he failed), spent the year 1538 in Flanders, and soon after was appointed Ambassador to Venice (1539–1547), then to Rome (1547–1554). He was governor of Siena, and the Emperor's representative at the Council of Trent; he compelled Pope Julius III to aid the Emperor in his ambitious policy. He was the foremost figure in Italy up to the time of his return to Spain in 1554. But under Philip II Mendoza was left inactive. The new king had no regard for his services; a quarrel in the palace between D. Diego and another noble (1568) caused both to be exiled from Madrid. Mendoza was not permitted to return till 1574. He served against the Moriscos (1568–71), and spent the years of exile at Granada, busy with literary labors. Before his death he gave proof that his prudence mastered resentment, for he left all his books and his many precious manuscripts to the library of El Escorial, just founded by the king. The nucleus of the Greek manuscript collection there came from Mendoza;[1] he likewise owned many Arabic scripts. We owe to him purification of the text of several classic authors, among them Josephus. He died at Madrid, in 1575.

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[1] A summary of the early commentaries may be found in Gallardo, *Ensayo*, nos. 2623, 4452, 4453 and 4454.

[2] *Poesías*, ed. C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, Halle, 1885.—See A. F. G. Bell, *Studies in Portuguese Literature*, Oxford, 1914, 81–113. C. Castello Branco, *S. de M.*, Porto, 1896. For other titles see A. F. G. Bell, *Portuguese Bibliography*, Oxford, 1922.

[3] *Obras poéticas*, ed. W. I. Knapp, 1877 (*Libros esp. raros o curiosos*, vol. 11). *Poesías*, ed. Ad. de Castro, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXII.

[4] Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Rev. Hisp.*, V, 1898, 367–405.

Mendoza's poems are the least part of his work. Most of them date from his youth, though a certain number appeared during his exile and retirement. They are of two distinct types, and exhibit clearly the two tendencies which then divided the minds of the cultured. The first is deliberately based upon the classics and Italians. One *Epístola* by him was included in the *Obras de Boscán.* Many other poems were composed during his stay in Italy, where he was in relation with the most famous poets, scholars, printers and collectors. In the variety of his intellectual interests and artistic tastes he realized very completely the ideal of the humanist. His tastes are well reflected in his sonnets and other poems in the classic manner (*Adonis, Hipómenes y Atalanta*) and in the Italian. His second style is as different as possible. Like Boscán's first book, it includes verses in the national measures (*redondillas, quintillas,* etc.), and these are very familiar in their tone; too familiar even, and cynical at times, if half the burlesque compositions which circulated in manuscript under his name are really his.[1] The authenticity of some of them is not in doubt, and they reveal a Mendoza very different not only from the grave statesman known to history, but also from the Pindarist and Petrarchist of his academic compositions.[2]

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[1] C. Graux, *Essai sur les origines du fond grec de l'Escurial,* Paris, 1880 (Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 46).

9. Hernando de Acuña (1520?–1580?) [3] was of Portuguese extraction, but wrote only in Spanish. Brave soldier, skilled diplomat, clever courtier, he was a poet, like Garcilaso, and, like him, lived long in Italy. The best portion of his poetic baggage is composed of lyrics in the Italian style. Yet he essayed more lofty flights. He drew directly from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* for *La contienda de Ayax Telamonio y de Ulises sobre las armas de Aquiles*, and he translated part of Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*. The Emperor had translated *Le chevalier délibéré* of Olivier de la Marche into Spanish, as his intimate, Van Male, informs us, and toward 1551 Acuña turned his version into double *quintillas* (*El caballero determinado*, 1553). We do not know what was the form of Carlos Quinto's rendering, but in the stanzas of Acuña, this panegyric of Philip the Handsome [4] obtained a success in Spain somewhat such as it had had in France. Acuña's *Varias poesías* were published in 1591 by his widow, Juana de Zúñiga.

10. Gutierre de Cetina, likewise much younger than Garcilaso and Mendoza, was born in Seville, toward 1520.[5] He traveled in Italy and won some favor from Hurtado de Mendoza. He returned to his native city for a time, and in 1546 sailed to Mexico, where he had relatives. In a street of Puebla de los Ángeles he was set upon and stabbed (1554). It is known that he was no longer alive in 1557.

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[1] *Poésies burlesques et satiriques inédites*, ed. A. Morel-Fatio, in *Jahrbuch für rom. und engl. Sprache und Lit.*, II, 1875, 63–80, 186–209. Cf. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Les oeuvres attribuées à Mendoza*, in *Revue Hisp.*, XXXII, 1914, 1–86.

[2] On the *Lazarillo de Tormes*, sometimes attributed to Mendoza, see below, p. 205; on the *Guerra de Granada*, p. 260.

[3] *Contienda de Ayax*, etc., in Sedano, *Parnaso esp.*, II, 1770, 21–51. *Varias poesías*, 1804.—See N. Alonso Cortés, *H. de A.*, Valladolid, 1913. J. P. W Crawford, *Notes on the Poetry of H. de A.*, in *Romanic Review*, VII, 1916, 314–327.

[4] [In the French original the hero of this dry allegory was Charles the Bold. Ticknor and Alonso Cortés infer that the Emperor's translation was in prose. Fitzmaurice-Kelly doubts that he had any hand in the work.]

[5] *Obras*, ed. J. Hazañas y La Rúa, 2 vols., Seville, 1895. *Poesías*, ed. Ad. de Castro, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXII.—See P. Savi-López, *Un petrarchista spagnuolo*, Trani, 1896. F. Rodríguez Marín, in *Nuevos datos para la biografía de cien escritores de los siglos XVI y XVII*, 1923, 105–182. A. M. Withers, *Sources of the Poetry of G. de C.*, Philadelphia, 1923. Lucas de Torre, *Algunas notas para la biografía de G. de C.*, in *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, XI, 1924, 388–407, 601–626.

His poems are mainly concerned with his love for Amaríllida or Dórida. There are five madrigals, among them Cetina's masterpiece, so often quoted and imitated: *Ojos claros, serenos;*[1] 244 sonnets, many of them addressed by name to more or less famous contemporaries; eleven *canciones;* seventeen *epístolas* which contain interesting biographical details, and an anacreontic, one of the first written in Spain. To these and other works in verse may be added two festive pieces in prose: the *Diálogo entre la cabeza y la gorra* and the *Paradoja en alabanza de los cuernos.* His dramatic works are lost.

11. Struggle between the Italian School and the National School

As has been pointed out, the triumph of the Italian school was not unresisted, and this resistance was natural and even legitimate. It is true that when the innovators came on the scene, lyric poetry was about to die of exhaustion, and urgently required new blood of form and content in its veins. The transfusion might save its life, but the operation was dangerous. There was a risk that Spanish poetry would lose all its remaining character and originality; that it might be compelled to assume emotions, ideas, aims and art forms which were foreign to it. That is, in fact, approximately what occurred. The poets who have just been discussed are as little Spanish as possible: they are quite as much Italian or Latin. Too often they lack originality; imitation is the very foundation of their poetics. "They all imitated, they all translated; with the mould we brought back the clay that stuck to it. Our Parnassus lost in originality all that it gained in decorative brilliance, amplitude of forms and rich variety of expression."[2] In truth it is as a rule very hard to detect any difference between the Italianate poems of one writer and another.

Yet if one considers the national system of metrics, one is convinced that it did not deserve to be irrevocably proscribed. The *coplas de arte menor* (lines of six and eight syllables), the varieties of meter brought from Provence and Galicia had become through long use truly Spanish. They lent themselves to every turn and whim of the imagination; the methods of the Italian lyric seem thin in comparison. The *arte mayor* certainly needed to be made more flexible and more regular, and yet, in the hands of a superior craftsman like Mena, it proved an instrument in no way inferior to the hendecasyllable. Above all, the older poetry, and by that I mean particularly the popular forms, had roots deep driven into the soil, and drew thence its racy sap. Now it happened that at that time, in the field of lyric verse, metrical forms were so intimately allied to subject-matter that the adoption of the former inevitably determined the nature of the latter.

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[1] J. Cejador, *El madrigal de Cetina,* in *Rev. Hisp.,* LVII, 1923, 108–114. A. F. G. Bell, *Cetina's Madrigal,* in *Mod. Lang. Rev.,* XX, 1925, 179–183.

[2] Rodríguez Marín, *Barahona de Soto,* 1903, p. 282.

So the anti-Petrarchists did not lack solid basis for their opposition. Unhappily they were unable to produce the man of genius who would have proved them right, not by argument or old authority but by present masterpieces. And the conservatives did not always perceive clearly what it was necessary to do. Thus the struggle ended soon in a sort of compromise. Ancient tradition and innovation simply mingled in rather haphazard, uncritical fashion.

The most determined and persevering adversary of the Italianates was **Cristóbal de Castillejo** (1490?–1550).[1] Born as early as 1490 or 1491, he did not reach his prime as a writer till after 1530. In early youth he entered a Carthusian monastery, but most of his life after 1518 was spent as secretary to the brother of Carlos V, Ferdinand, King of Bohemia, of the Romans and of Hungary. Vienna was his usual place of residence; there he suffered a serious illness in 1540–41, and there he died. He was buried in the Carthusian monastery at Wiener-Neustadt.

His poems, collected in three books, appeared in 1573, drastically censored by the Inquisition. They are among the most interesting of the period. Very varied motives inspired them. There are love-songs, *jeux d'esprit* (*The heavy drinker transformed into a mosquito*) and devout and moral treatises. The last sometimes display unexpected freedom (*Sermón de amores*, 1542?),[2] and sometimes a charming sprightliness (*Diálogo de la vida de corte; Diálogo entre el*

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[1] *Obras*, ed. R. Fernández, 1792, 2 vols. *Poesías*, ed. Ad. de Castro, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXII. *Obras*, 4 vols., ed. J. Domínguez Bordona, 1925–1928 (*Clásicos cast.*, vols. 72, 79, 88, 91). *Diálogo entre el autor y su pluma*, ed. E. Werner, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXXI, 1927, 555–585.—See C. L. Nicolay, *The Life and Works of C. de C.*, Philadelphia, 1910. J. Menéndez Pidal, *Datos para la biografía de C. de C.* in *Bol. Ac. Esp.*, II, 1915, 3–20. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Deux oeuvres de C. de C.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXXVI, 489–620. J. Domínguez Bordona, *Cuatro notas sobre C. de C.*, in *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, III, 545–549.

[2] Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXXVI, 1916, 509–595.

autor y su pluma, 1550; *Diálogo que habla de las condiciones de las mugeres*, 1544[1]). The last-named is a more weighty composition than the title might indicate.

Some of his poems are literary polemics. The most effective was the satire *Contra los que dejan los metros castellanos y siguen los italianos* (*Against those who abandon Castilian measures and follow the Italian*). If the miniature war which he undertook against the Petrarchists did not prevent their ultimate triumph, at least some of his darts penetrated their skins and stuck. Of Castillejo's comedy *Farsa de la Constanza* (1522) we possess only a few fragments preserved by Leandro Fernández de Moratín.[2]

Antonio de Villegas (d. before 1576?)[3] recalls the poets of the preceding era by certain traits of subtlety and refinement. He in his turn retold the eternal tales of Pyramus and Thisbe, of Ajax and Ulysses; his eighteen *Comparaciones* in *décimas* are ingenious, and his letter to Sesa displays facile elegance. They are all found in a collection entitled *Inventario de obras* (1565). This *Inventario* contains also an insignificant story in prose and verse (*Ausencia y soledad de amor*), and a famous novel, a masterpiece of its kind, which will soon be discussed (p. 201): *Historia del Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa.*

Two poets require but a mere mention. **Luis de Haro** was scolded by Castillejo as an Italianate; only four pieces by him are preserved, and they are in the old measures.[4] The Aragonese captain **Jerónimo Jiménez de Urrea** (1513–1574?) was some years older than his close friend Cetina. He did some imitations or translations (*El cavallero determinado*, 1555; *Orlando furioso*, 1550; *La Arcadia*, MS.), which his compatriots all made sport of, from Acuña to Cervantes. Another poem which still awaits a publisher is *El victorioso Carlos V;* and he wrote other verses in both manners.[5]

Gregorio Silvestre Rodríguez de Mesa (1520–1569?),[6] born in Lisbon of Spanish parents, was far more talented than the last three. A poet and musician like Encina, he spent nearly his whole life in Granada, where he died holding the post of chapel-master and organist. At first he wrote *rimas antiguas*, *Canciones* the *coplas* of which became famous; he glossed them himself, and probably set them to music also. He likewise wrote glosses to the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave María*. His poems on *Daphne*, and Pyramus and Thisbe are stale of theme; the *Residencia de amor* (*Accounting of Love*) is mannered. Yet at times he attained as great success in the old forms as any of his contemporaries (*glosa* of *La bella malmaridada*). Later he was converted to the Italian fashion, and composed excellent sonnets, octaves and tiercets. His *Obras*, in four books, with his life by Pedro de Cáceres y Espinosa, were published in 1582 at Granada, and in 1592 at Lisbon. The religious plays which he was under contract to write are not included, and are doubtless lost.

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[1] Ed. L. Pfandl, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LII, 1921, 361–429.—See id., *Der 'Diálogo de Mugeres' von 1544 und seine Bedeutung für die Castillejo-Forschung*, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, CXL, 1920, 72–83.

[2] See *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, II, 189, and *Rev. Hisp.*, XXXVI, 1916, 495–499.

[3] G. I. Dale, *The Date of A. de V.'s Death*, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXVI, 1921, 334–337.

[4] In the *Cancionero of* Nájera, 1554; reprinted by Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle*, Heilbronn, 1878, 525–528.

[5] On the prose works of Urrea, see below, p. 195 and p. 197.

[6] *Poesías*, ed. Ad. de Castro, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXII. Ed. Justo de Sancha, *ibid.*, XXXV. *Algunas poesías atribuidas a G. S.*, ed. M. L. Guzmán, in *Rev. Hisp.*,

Among the poets who hesitated between the two schools one may reckon **Jorge de Montemayor** (1520?–1561), whose famous *Diana* will be described below (p. 199). He published his verse at Antwerp in a special *cancionero* (*Obras*, 1554, enlarged in the *Segundo cancionero*, 1558), which contained *Obras de amores* and *Obras de devoción*. The first included *canciones*, glosses, *villancicos*, court poems, and, in the Italian style, many sonnets, epistles and eclogues. The devout works, placed on the Inquisition's Index of 1559, included a Christmas play in three scenes (*autos*), which was actually performed.[1] Montemayor as lyric poet must be studied also in the *Diana*, which is interspersed with excellent verse. It forms a new *Cancionero*, assuredly more read than that of 1554. The poems in short lines (*arte menor*) enjoyed much favor. He also translated from the Catalan the first part of the poems of Auzias March (1560).

12. Didactic Poetry

This period can show as examples of didactic verse only mediocre works, like the *Cuatrocientas respuestas* of **Luis de Escobar** (d.

XXXV, 439–475.—See D. García Peres, *Catálogo razonado*, etc., 1890, 518–532, H. A. Rennert, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIV, 1899, col. 457–465. F. Rodríguez Marín. *Barahona de Soto*, 1903, 32–35.

[1] Reprinted by Florence Whyte, in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n Am.*, XLIII, 1928, 953–989.

1552?),[1] answers to all sorts of questions set by Fadrique Enríquez, Almirante de Castilla, and other idle courtiers (two parts, 1545 and 1552); and the *Trescientas preguntas de cosas naturales . . . con sus respuestas* (1546) [2] of the physician **Alonso López de Corella.** Neither is there anything important to be noted at this time in epic poetry proper.

13. The "Romancero"

The time has come to speak of those poetic compositions, native to Spanish literature, which taken together constitute not only the Iliad of Spain, as Hugo said, but the most varied and lasting literary monument which she possesses, and the most curious manifestation of her public and private life: the *Romancero.*

A *romance* (ballad) is a short poem partly narrative, partly lyrical in nature, of fixed metrical form, which is as follows: lines of eight syllables, those of odd number being rhymeless, those of even number assonating, with one fixed accent on the seventh syllable. It has sometimes been said that the *romance* meter is the national meter par excellence. Strictly speaking, that is not true, for it is not the oldest form of verse, but it is relatively true, in the sense that the *romance* has been for centuries one of the commonest measures, and that it is today the most popular. Moreover, it is a type scarcely known in other countries. Most scholars today agree that the *romance* octosyllable is only the hemistich of the old epic line of sixteen syllables,[3] and this theory offers a valid explanation of the system which allows assonance only in the alternate or even lines (corresponding to the second hemistichs of the *cantar de gesta* line). So too, the persistence of one assonance throughout an entire poem corresponds to the unity of assonance within one epic *laisse.* Where the assonance changes, as occurs in some of the older *romances*, an amalgamation of two different *laisses* is indicated.

It should not be thought, however, that the *romances*, even those which are oldest and most strictly historical, are always derived directly from the *cantares.*[1] Of some it can be proved that their sources are certain late versions of *cantares*, but the great majority, even of the *viejos*, were composed artificially and deliberately, from the 15th century on, either on the basis of the *cantares* themselves, or, more often, from prose reworkings of these *cantares* imbedded in early histories (*crónicas*), of which they seem sometimes to be only detached fragments. Later on, other entirely fresh *romances* were composed after the model of the former; they were based on facts or incidents which impressed the imagination of the people, but they still belong to the anonymous period. Lastly, the most recent among those of the classic age were written by poets whose names are known. The *romance* still remains today the people's favorite form of narrative verse, because it is easy to write and because its meter is readily adaptable to the average thought of the people, and to the average musical phrase. It has never ceased to live and to be cultivated; *refranes* and *romances* are the two most rustic and most enduring products of Spanish soil. Not only do they continue to be written on new themes, but ancient ballads are being constantly recovered in all parts of the world, ballads which have survived, unknown to scholars, in the recesses of the plains of León, Castile and Catalonia, as well as on Mediterranean shores, at Salonica, Beirut, Oran, Tangier, wherever the exiled Jews carried them, and, finally, throughout the American colonies.[2]

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[1] Selections in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXV and XLII.

[2] It was merely a second condensed edition of the same author's *Secretos de philosophía y medicina* (1539).

[3] [Prof. H. R. Lang, however, believes the octosyllable older than the epics. See his *Notes on the Metre of the Poem of the Cid*, in *Romanic Review*, V, 1914, 1–30, 295–349; VIII, 1917, 241–278, 401–433; IX, 1918, 48–95. S. G. Morley, *Are the Spanish 'Romances' written in Quatrains?*, in *Romanic Review*, VII, 1916, 42–82.]

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[1] The question of the origin of the *romances* is one of the most difficult and most discussed in Spanish literature. Milá y Fontanals, Menéndez y Pelayo, and R. Menéndez Pidal believe them to be derived, more or less directly, from the primitive epic. Others, among them Restori, Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, Pio Rajna and Lang express doubts or interpose objections to a theory which they regard as too dogmatic. See a brief general survey in S. Griswold Morley, *Spanish Ballad Problems; The Native Historical Themes*, Berkeley, Calif., 1925. More detailed works: Milá y Fontanals, *De la poesía heroico-popular castellana*, Barcelona, 1874 (*Obras completas*, VII, 1896). Menéndez y Pelayo, *Tratado de los romances viejos* (*Antol. poetas lír.*, XI and XII). C. Michaëlis, *Romanzenstudien*, in *Zeitschrift für rom. Philol.*, XVI, 1902, 40–89, 397–421. Id., *Estudos sobre o Romanceiro peninsular*, in *Revista Lusitana*, II, 1890, 156–179, 193–240. Id., *same title*, in *Cultura esp.*, VII, 767–803; VIII, 1021–1057; IX, 93–132; X, 435–512; XI, 717–758; XIV, 434–483; XV, 697–732. R. Menéndez Pidal, *El romancero español*, N. Y., 1910. Id., *L'Épopée castillane à travers la littérature espagnole*, Paris, 1910. Id., *La leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, 1896. Id., *Notas para el romancero de Fernán González*, in *Homen. a Menéndez y Pelayo*, I, 1899, 429–507. Id., *Poesía popular y romancero*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, I, 1914, 357–377; II, 1915, 1–20; 105–136, 329–338; III, 1916, 233–289. Pio Rajna, *Rosaflorida*, in *Mélanges Picot*, Paris, 1913, II, 115–134. Id., *Osservazioni e dubbi concernenti la storia delle romanze spagnuole*, in *Romanic Review*, VI, 1915, 1–41. H. R. Lang, *op. cit.* R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Essai sur les origines du Romancero: Prélude*, Paris, 1912; and the reply of R. Menéndez Pidal, in *Rev. de libros*, II, 1914, 3–14.

[2] Collections of *romances* gathered from modern oral tradition number some

The birth of these ballads, the territory they cover, the formation of the innumerable variants which exist, the retrieval of the primitive poetic kernel by the elimination of adventitious elements: these are all problems which contemporary erudition is endeavoring to solve.[1]

The *romances* form an enormous body of poems, in which many types are found. Without entering too much into detail, and considering only those known in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, one may classify them in five categories:

1, *Romances viejos* (*Primitive Ballads*), popular, traditional, anonymous, chiefly historical, formed in the 15th century or earlier. These *romances,* more than any other class, deserve to be called *popular;* not that they are to be regarded as the mysterious collective work of the people, according to the discredited theories of Herder, Fauriel and the romantics, but because their unknown authors have expressed the thoughts and emotions of their fellows with inimitable directness and simplicity. They may also be called *traditional,* because the people, as they repeated them, constantly altered them, usually unintentionally, through faulty recollection, but sometimes perhaps by an instinct for improvement.[2]

2, *Romances juglarescos* (*Minstrel-Ballads*), of the 15th and early 16th centuries, longer and more personal, but still supported by tradition.

3, *Romances eruditos* (*Erudite Ballads*), after 1550, prosaic historical poems based on printed chronicles, by known authors.

4, *Romances artísticos* (*Artistic Ballads*), very personal, lyric rather than narrative, varied in theme, more polished in form, more

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forty titles. The most important: Juan Menéndez Pidal, *Colección de los viejos romances que cantan los asturianos,* 1885. Fed. Olmeda, *Folk-Lore de Castilla,* Sevilla, 1904. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Catálogo del romancero judío-esp.,* in *Cultura española,* I, 1906, 1045–1077; II, 1907, 161–199. Id., *Los romances tradicionales en América,* in *Cult. esp.,* I, 1906, 72–111. N. Alonso Cortés, *Romances populares de Castilla,* Valladolid, 1906. Id., *Romances tradicionales,* in *Rev. Hisp.,* L, 1920, 198–268. Dámaso Ledesma, *Folk-Lore o Cancionero salmantino,* 1907. Rodolfo Gil, *Romancero judeo-español,* 1911. J. Vicuña Cifuentes, *Romances populares y vulgares recogidos de la trad. oral chilena,* Santiago de Chile, 1912. A. M. Espinosa, *Romancero nuevo-mejicano,* in *Rev. Hisp.,* XXXIII, 1915, 1–115. Id., *Romances de Puerto Rico,* in *Rev. Hisp.,* XLIII, 1918, 1–56. Id., *Los romances tradicionales en California,* in *Homen. Menéndez Pidal,* I, 299–313. P. Henríquez Ureña and Bertram D, Wolfe, *Romances trads. en Mejico, ibid.,* II, 375–390. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.,* X, 1900, summarizes the collections made up to that date.

[1] A remarkable example of such a critical study is an article by R. Menéndez Pidal, *Sobre geografía folklórica,* in *Rev. Filol. Esp.,* VII, 1620,229–338; an investigation of the *Gerineldo* theme.

[2] Cf. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía popular y poesía tradicional en la literatura española,* Oxford, 1922.

regular in meter, vehicles for the free imagination of known authors (late 15th, 16th and 17th centuries; those of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella are called *romances trovadorescos*).

5, *Romances vulgares*, (*Blind Beggar Ballads*), of street origin, crude in subject and form, from about 1600 to the present time; these are not to be included in the classic *Romancero*.

This classification is adapted from those of Wolf and Hofmann (*Primavera y flor de romances*, 1856), Agustín Durán (*Romancero general*, 1849–51) and Milá y Fontanals. If one leaves out of account the *romances vulgares*, it corresponds to three periods of creation: traditional, erudite, artistic.

The *Romancero* which concerns us is, in principle, the aggregate of all extant *romances* up to the end of the 17th century. How was this vast collection formed?

1. In the period before the use of printing, and for some time after, no special collection of ballads like the *Cancioneros* is known. *Romances* were preserved and transmitted almost exclusively by oral tradition. A few are found inserted in the manuscript *Cancioneros*, or in the works of individual poets (*Cancionero de Stúñiga*, of the British Museum, of Encina, 1496, of Montesino, 1508, *Canc. general* of Castillo, 1511, of Constantina, etc.).

2. After 1500, *romances* began to be printed in *pliegos sueltos* or broadsides; they rapidly multiplied.[1]

3. About the middle of the 16th century the special collections of *romances* began, at first anonymous. Although a special section had been set apart for *romances* in the *Cancioneros generales*, it was at this time that they received official recognition, so to speak, as a separate literary genre. The eagerness with which they were collected proves their sudden popularity. These two facts are the reasons for studying the *Romancero* at this point instead of earlier. The following are the chief collections printed at this time:

a. *Cancionero de romances*, Antwerp, no date, Martín Nucio, called *Cancionero sin año* (1545–1550?).[2]

b. *Cancionero de romances*, Antwerp, Martín Nucio, 1550. Second edition, revised and enlarged, of (a). In this form it went through many subsequent editions, at least seven by 1626.

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[1] See F. J. Wolf, *Ueber eine Sammlung spanischer Romanzen in fliegenden Blättern*, etc., Wien, 1850. Durán, *Romancero general*, I, pp. lxvii–xcvi.

[2] Facsimile ed., R. Menéndez Pidal, 1914, with introduction.

c. *Primera Parte de la Silva de varios romances*, Saragossa, Esteban G. de Nágera, 1550.

d. *Segunda Parte* of the same, 1550. A variant edition of 1552 contains four more poems.

e. *Tercera Parte* of the same, 1551.

The *Silva de varios romances* was republished many times in one volume, the contents varying.

4. The anonymous collections were immediately followed by those of authors who themselves wrote most or all of the contents. Such were: Alonso de Fuentes, *Quarenta cantos*, Sevilla, 1550; Lorenzo de Sepúlveda, *Romances sacados de historias antiguas de la crónica de España*, Antwerp, 1551;[1] the second edition of 1566 contains additional *romances* composed by *un cauallero Cesario*, that is, a gentleman of the Emperor's court (Pero Mejía?); Juan de Timoneda, *Rosas de romances*, in four parts, Valencia, 1573;[2] Lucas Rodríguez, *Romancero historiado*, Alcalá, 1579; Pedro de Padilla, *Romancero*, Madrid, 1583.[3] These works contain most of the *romances eruditos*.

5. After 1585, volumes of *romances artísticos* were published, called *Flores de romances;* these were gathered together in the large *Romancero general en que se contienen todos los romances que andan impressos en las nueve partes de romanceros*, 1600,[4] (2nd ed., 1602, 3rd ed., 1604).

Segunda Parte del Romancero general, etc., by Miguel de Madrigal, Valladolid, 1605.

Primavera y flor de los mejores romances, by Pedro Arias Pérez, Madrid, 1621. *Segunda Parte*, by Francisco de Segura, Saragossa, 1629.

6. After 1600, special *romanceros* began to appear, devoted to poems about particular heroes or subjects. Thus: Damián López de Tortajada, *Floresta de varios romances de los doce Pares de Francia*, Valencia, no date (1611?); Juan Hidalgo, *Romances de germanía*, i.e. of thuggery, thieves' jargon), Barcelona, 1609; Francisco de Segura, *Romancero historiado . . . de Portugal*, Lisbon, 1610; Juan de Escobar, *Romancero . . . del Cid*, Alcalá, 1612; Francisco Metge, *Tesoro de . . . romances del Cid, con romances de los siete Infantes de Lara*, Barcelona, 1626.[5]

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[1] Facsimile ed.. A. M. Huntington, N. Y., 1903.

[2] Described and in part reprinted by F. J. Wolf, Leipzig, 1846; cf. below, p. 329.

[3] Ed. Fuensanta del Valle, *Soc. Biblióf. Esp.*, vol. 19, 1880.

[4] Facsimile ed. A. M. Huntington, 2 vols., N. Y., 1904.

[5] For the bibliography of the old *Romanceros*, see: Agustín Durán, *Romancero*

7. In the 19th century, interest in *romances* was resumed with erudite collections of literary scientists: Jakob Grimm, *Silva de romances viejos*, Vienna, 1815; G. B. Depping, *Sammlung . . .*, Leipzig, 1817; Agustín Durán, *Romancero general*, 1849–1851 (vols. X and XVI of *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, the most complete collection, with 1901 items); F. J. Wolf and C. Hofmann, *Primavera y flor de romances*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1856 (the best selection, with 198 items, limited to the oldest and most popular poems; reprinted with appendices by Menéndez y Pelayo as vols. VIII and IX of the *Antología*).[1]

If, having examined the origin and formation of the *Romancero*, we pass to a consideration of its subject-matter, we shall be struck at once by the variety of themes.

1. *History* furnishes topics for many of the old traditional *romances*, which seem like detached fragments of *cantares de gesta;* and all of the *eruditos* and many of the *juglarescos* are historical. 2. *Romances of Chivalry*, French, Italian or Spanish, appear versified and altered in many *romances*, mostly of the *juglaresco* and *artístico* classes. 3. *Folk-lore* and *isolated adventure* furnish some of the best old poems (*novelescos sueltos*). 4. The *Moors*, besides playing a large part in many old historical ballads which describe frontier warfare (*romances fronterizos*), are the much idealized protagonists of those fictional descriptions of life at Granada known as *romances moriscos*, of the late 16th century. 5. *Satire, love, piety, mythology, morals*, are all represented in the artistic *romances*, as well as the themes already mentioned. 6. *Lives of highwaymen, smugglers* and *jail-birds* are a specialty of the *romances vulgares*, which, however, embrace a great variety of the foregoing subjects.[2]

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general, II, 678–695. F. J. Wolf, *Ueber die Romanzen-poesie der Spanier*, in *Studien*, Berlin, 1859, 310–400. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.*, IX, 281–360.

[1] On *romance*-literature of the 19th century up to 1874, see Milá y Fontanals, *De la poesía heroico-popular*, pp. 1–106.

Modern selections for the general reader are S. Griswold Morley, *Spanish Ballads*, N. Y., 1911; A. G. Solalinde, *Cien romances escogidos*, n. d.; Guy Le Strange, *Spanish Ballads*, Cambridge, 1920; R. Menéndez Pidal, *Flor nueva de romances viejos*, 1928.

More or less popular surveys of the Spanish Ballad may be found in the Introductions to the small collections just named; in the *Introduction* by E. Mérimée to his translations, *Le Romancero espagnol*, Paris, n. d. See also J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, in *Chapters on Spanish Literature*, London, 1908, 77–119. J. D. M. Ford, in *Main Currents of Spanish Literature*, N. Y., 1919, 33–67.

[2] More detailed knowledge of *romance* themes may be had quickly by consulting Durán's *Tablas de las materias*, *Romancero general*, I, 581–582, and II, pp. v–vi.

Even such a brief enumeration reveals the fact that almost all the history, civilization and life of Spain has become concentrated in this enormous accumulation of poetic material. Spain itself has slowly crystallized in the pages of the *Romancero*. The crystals have not all the same brilliance nor the same purity, just as they have not the same age. The oldest began to form in some distant time, which scholars have tried to fix exactly. The primitive nucleus has been covered and veiled by successive layers, and this process still continues, although the creative epic period ceased in the 16th century. The *romances* today possess the same traditional forms, the same essential elements, as ever, though they seldom have an equal artistic value. The details set down on the preceding pages show sufficiently the multiple transformations which a given ballad may have undergone in the course of ages before it reached us. It was born perhaps from the stress of some powerful popular emotion, victory or defeat, deed of violence or valor, and given its first form by lips naturally eloquent, by some gifted imagination. It was taken up by the still virgin memory of the Cid's comrades, or other great chieftains of the *reconquista*, who carried it about with them and sowed it over the land. Then came the popular bards, minstrels, professional singers, who expanded the poem, and provided it with new motifs, adapted to the taste of their auditors.[1] There is no sign of pride in authorship. All popular literature is anonymous; the material which it moulds belongs to the common domain: *res nullius*. In the primitive ballads, as in the old epics, anonymity is the rule; when it disappears, artistic and erudite literature begins. Then these songs became fashionable. They were imitated, new words were written to the same tune; the outward appearance, the archaic language, were reproduced more or less happily. This was the period of scholarly interest. Then, in the heyday of the *siglo de oro* the same themes, old but not exhausted, were resumed, decked out in the fashion of the day, and bedizened with the spangles and embroidery of Gongorism. Loud colors tricked them out, and the *artistic* poets cared far less for preserving the verity and objective simplicity of these poems than for exhibiting the richness or mincing grace of their own imaginations. The people meanwhile, not comprehending the inventions of the *beaux esprits*, continued to sing in their own way, for their own delight. But, since the age of heroic emotion was past and men's stature had grown less, these awkward songs could not recover the naïve grandeur of the early days. They remain outside the bounds of "literature," and are disqualified by the scornful epithet of *vulgar*.

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[1] [The process of growth must of necessity remain somewhat in the realm of hypothesis. Menéndez Pidal has developed with great power the theory that the earliest poems were uniformly characterized by *length* and *abundant detail;* that oral transmission selected and reduced, leaving that rather mysterious semi-lyric ballad, which we characterize as traditional and popular. See his *Poesía popular y romancero*.]

The *Romancero*, taken as a whole, is one of three or four great original monuments of Spanish literature: it interests historian, lover of literature and scholar almost equally.

The historian: not that the *romances*, even the most primitive, are documents to be relied upon as fact. Those closest to historical truth contain a large proportion of legend and fancy. But the very way in which facts have been interpreted and distorted in the popular imagination, the picture of manners, beliefs and superstitions, the expression of sympathy or hatred, all this has a strong attraction for any historian who is not simply a lister of names. Examples abound (Bernardo del Carpio, Peter the Cruel, etc.). Let one suffice.

The ballads of the Cid represent him in very varied lights. At one moment he is a loyal subject, persecuted but respectful to the king. At another, he is a pure feudal lord, enduring with impatience the yoke of fealty, prompt to rebellion. Now he is a conqueror in the service of his master; again, a guerrilla chief, owning no faith or law, a willing ally of the Moslems. Once more, he appears as a courteous chevalier, a gallant troubadour, a paragon of knights. Which was the real Cid? Not one of these perhaps, but if one can fix the age of each of these ballads, one will have a striking indication of the fluctuation of public opinion, and of what attributes constituted its ideal at a given moment.

In this connection two facts must not be forgotten. The first is that the series of historical ballads embraces nearly the entire history of Spain down to modern times; the second is that the relation between chronicles and *romances* is close, whether history borrowed from ballads, or whether the latter should be regarded, in Corneille's phrase, as "in a way broken originals of the early histories." [1]

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[1] "Ces sortes de petits poèmes sont comme des originaux décousus de leurs anciennes histoires." *Avertissement sur la Tragédie du Cid.*

They interest the *lover of literature:* the *Romancero* is the richest series of ballads to be found anywhere, a truly national monument. It was created by the collaboration of all eras and all social classes; it reflects the color of each century and yet preserves the supple unity resulting from the juncture of opposites. Not all the *romances* are equally good, but each series has its masterpieces. The oldest reveal the simplicity, foreshortening and rugged contour of primitive painting. Renaissance grace gleams in the *romances moriscos* and *trovadorescos*, while those of the Golden Age wear a classic polish and correctness. Galician melancholy, Andalusian pleasantry, Castilian pride and the adventurous spirit of the Mediterranean contribute infinite shades of feeling. The ballad, apparently unyielding in form, is really very flexible. There are sketchy fragments, and easy expansive minstrelsies; the *romance* is now a simple lyrical outpouring, now a tale of chivalry or a lopped epic. It is capable of every tone.

Lastly, the *Romancero* interests the *scholar*. Enough has already been said to show how deeply it has been studied. The origin of the *romances*, their primitive form, their relation to other genres, their metrical transformations, the nature of the assonances, the explanation of the paragogic *e*'s,[1] the accompanying music, all these subjects offer unending matter for research. Each single *romance viejo* could lend itself to an extensive monograph. The relation between chronicles, *romances*, and lost epics has already tested the erudition of scholars.

The importance of the *Romancero* appears still greater if we bear in mind the influence it has had on other branches of Spanish literature, and the works it has inspired abroad. What history owes to it can be seen by reading Ocampo or Mariana, not to mention the *Crónica general.* Historians used the *romances* as Livy did the ancient legends, which were themselves, perhaps, remnants of lost lays. Story and novel worked this mine (Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada,* Alarcón's *El sombrero de tres picos,* Trueba's *Cuentos,* etc.). But above all the drama is indebted to the *Romancero.* Numberless *comedias* were founded on plots taken from it, and the poems are often quoted word for word. Juan de la Cueva, Lope de Vega, Guillén de Castro and Luis

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[1] *E*'s appended to oxytones to bring them in the same assonance with paroxytones; as *mar*(*e*) to assonate with *sale.*

Vélez de Guevara were the dramatists most fond of ballad subjects.[1]

A field too rich for present discussion is the influence of the *Romancero* outside of Spain, on the literatures of Germany, England and France.[2] In reality, no Spanish creation except *Don Quijote* has been made the subject of more investigation on the part of scholars; none has inspired so many imitations, direct or indirect, by writers of all lands; none can convey a higher opinion of the people which gave it birth.

14. The Popular Lyric

Certain classes of *romances* bear traits which bring them close to the art of the anonymous masses, yet it is scarcely in the *Romancero* that one finds true popular lyric poetry. It should rather be sought, as was indicated once before (p. 54), in *cantares*, *letrillas*, *villancicos*, *coplas* and dance songs, most of which have perished. The remnants of this fresh and original art have been casually preserved by certain poets whose origin or taste drew them close to the people; by the drama, so long as it remained the mirror of national customs; and by collections of music which, despite their courtly and refined character, often found inspiration in refrains, themes and *letras* handed down by tradition. Thanks to such unconscious vessels, the wild perfume of the rustic or familiar songs has not wholly evaporated. It can still be caught here and there, for example, amid the *tonos castellanos*, the *canciones* and *villancicos* of Juan Vázquez,[3] and in the collections of music made by Francisco Guerrero (*Canciones y villanescas espirituales*, 1589) and the "divine" Salinas (*De musica libri septem*, 1577). Humble and unpretentious as they are, these gleanings may be set beside the popular lyric as we know it in the 19th and 20th centuries, and together they give us one of the most fascinating aspects of Spanish poetry.[4]

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[1] See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. poetas lír.*, IX, 259–279.

[2] The most important English translations are those of J. G. Lockhart (*Ancient Spanish Ballads*, 1823), and James Y. Gibson (*The Cid Ballads and other poems . . .*, 2 vols., London, 1887). For other titles see S. G. Morley, *Spanish Ballads*, pp. xxxii–xxxv; and Erasmo Buceta, *Traducciones inglesas de romances . . .*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXII, 1924, 459–555, and LXVIII, 1926, 216–219.

[3] *Series de los más importantes documentos del archivo y biblioteca de . . . Medinaceli*, 1922, II, 139–159.

[4] See Julio Cejador, *La verdadera poesía castellana*, 5 vols., 1921–1924.

CHAPTER II

PROSE

1. National History[1]

The official historians (*cronistas*) of Charles V were the following, in chronological order: Fr. Antonio de Guevara, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, Pedro Mexía, Florián de Ocampo, Barnabé Busto, Juan Páez de Castro, Lorenzo de Padilla and Alonso de Santa Cruz. Of them some are worthy of special note in this place.

Florián de Ocampo (1499?–1558),[2] a pupil of Nebrija and later canon of Zamora, where he was born, performed a signal service by printing, in 1541, *Las quatro partes enteras de la Crônica de España*, of Alfonso X. Until rather recently Alfonso's Chronicle was known in no other way. Unfortunately he used a defective copy of a third-hand text (the *Tercera Crónica general*), the original remaining unknown to him. On his own account Ocampo undertook a general history of Spain, but he began it on so vast a scale that he could not carry it beyond the time of the Scipios (*Los quatro libros primeros de la Crónica general de España*, Zamora, 1543; a fifth book added in 1553). His ridiculous credulity and total lack of critical sense led him to accept wholesale the fables of such hoaxing predecessors as Annius of Viterbo; this and his heavy style palliate any regret that he failed to complete his work.

The learned humanist **Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda** (1490–1573)[3] composed a Latin history of Charles V in thirty books (*De Rebus gestis Caroli Quinti*). It was not printed till 1780.

Pedro Mexía or **Mejía** of Seville (1499?–1551)[4] was appointed imperial *cronista* in 1548. He had already published, in 1545, a *Historia imperial y cesárea, desde César hasta el Emperador Maximiliano.* Of his unfinished *Historia de Carlos Quinto* one book, the second, which treats of the *comunero* rebellion, was published in 1852; the other four, not until 1918. His other writings will be mentioned below (p. 194).

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[1] G. Cirot, *Les Histoires générales d'Espagne entre Alphonse X et Philippe II*, Bordeaux, 1904. A. Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie de Charles-Quint*, 1e Partie, Paris, 1913. This work treats of all the authors mentioned in this section.

[2] M. Bataillon, *Sur Florian Docampo*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXV, 1923, 33–58. E, Cotarelo, *Varias noticias nuevas acerca de F. de O.*, in *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, XIII, 1926, 259–268.

[3] A. F. G. Bell, *J. G. de S.*, London, 1925.

[4] *Relación de las Comunidades de Castilla*, ed. C. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXI. *Historia de Carlos Quinto*, ed. J. Deloffre, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XLIV, 1918, 1–556.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *El Magnífico Caballero P. M.*, in *Ilustración esp. y americana*, 1876, pp. 75, 78, 123, 126. R. Costes, *P. M., chroniste de Charles Quint*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXII, 1920, 1–36, 256–268, and XXIII, 1921, 95–110.

Juan Páez de Castro (d. 1570),[1] appointed *cronista* of the Emperor in 1555, deserves mention, though he left no work of great importance. He was a scholar and distinguished Hellenist, who translated the Odyssey, collected popular proverbs, and assembled historical documents which he never had occasion to use.

More valuable and more original than most of the foregoing works is the *Comentario de la guerra de Alemania . . . en el año de 1546 y 1547*,[2] published at Venice in 1548 by **Luis de Ávila y Zúñiga** (d. 1572). The author was intimate with the Emperor and was favored with information and advice from him. It will be recalled that the sovereign himself deemed it worth while to compose, in French, memoirs of his travels and expeditions. The original is, however, lost, and they are preserved only in a Portugüese translation.[3]

Many interesting details about Charles Fifth may be learned from the *Crónica del Emperador Carlos V* by his cosmographer **Alonso de Santa Cruz** (d. 1569?),[4] who wrote also a *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos,* still unpublished.

2. History of America

The conquests in America brought forth a long and interesting series of historical works,[5] of which only a few can be named.

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[1] See Juan Catalina García, *Biblioteca de escritores de la Provincia de Guadalajara,* 1899, 393–413.

[2] Ed. C. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXI.

[3] Ed. Morel-Fatio, with French translation and notes, *op. cit.*, 155–356.

[4] Ed. A. Blázquez and R. Beltrán, in the publications of the R. Acad. de la Hist., 1922–1925, 5 vols.—See B. Sánchez Alonso, *La "Crónica de los Reyes Católicos," de A. de S. C.*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, XVI, 1929, 35–50.

[5] *Historiadores primitivos de las Indias occidentales*, ed. A. González Barcia, 1749, 3 vols. *Docum. inéd. relativ. al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las posesiones esp. de América y Oceania*, 1864–1884, 42 vols. *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, ed. E. de Vedia, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXII and XXVI. *Col. de docs. inéd. relativ. al descubr., conquista y organ. de las antiguas posesiones esp. de ultramar.* 2a serie, 1885–1900, 13 vols. *Historiadores de Indias*, ed. Serrano y Sanz, in *Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XIII and XV, 1909. *Col. de libros y docs. referentes a la hist. de América*, 1904–1926, 20 vols., still in course of publication.

Bartolomé de las Casas or **Casaus** (1475?–1566) [1] is famous as the noble-hearted defender of the Indians, so cruelly maltreated and despoiled by their conquerors. His instructive and often eloquent pleas are at their best in the *Destruyción de las Indias* (1552) and the *Apologética Historia sumaria.* Las Casas was Bishop of Chiapa (Mexico). He wrote also a *Historia general de las Indias* covering the years from 1492 to 1520, and many *Tratados* or polemical pamphlets published in 1552 and 1553 at Seville, where he was born. The chief target of his polemic was Dr. Ginés de Sepúlveda.

Captain **Gonzalo Fernández** or **Hernández de Oviedo** (1478–1557),[2] official *cronista de Indias* and governor (*alcaide*) of the fortress of Santo Domingo, wrote a *Sumario de la Natural Historia de las Indias* (1526) and a *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (1535–1557), in two parts, the second treating chiefly of the Straits of Magellan. The latter work contains valuable information and curious details, but its literary value is slight.

Better reading are Oviedo's *Las Quinquagenas de la nobleza de España* and his still unpublished *Las Batallas y Quinquagenas.* These may be mentioned in this section because they are primarily historical, though the moral and didactic aim is sufficiently obvious. Written between 1545 and 1556, they contain a long, disconnected series of personal reminiscences, anecdotes and entertaining information about many contemporaries (especially captains), some of whom are famous, and they also throw light on the institutions and manners of the time.[3]

Francisco López de Gómara (1512–1557?) [4] is perhaps the most remarkable of all the general historians of the Indies. But to tell the truth, the *Primera y segunda parte de la Historia general de las Indias* (1552) is in many places diffuse and incoherent. The *Conquista de México y de la Nueva España*, which is appended to it, is more agreeably done. It is, in fact, nothing but a history of Hernán Cortés, whose secretary he was. Among the numerous translations of this work was one into English by Thomas Nicholas (London, 1578), and one into Aztec made about 1620 by Chimalpain Quauhtlehuanitzin (published 1826).

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[1] *Colección de obras*, ed. Llorente, Paris, 1822. *Historia de las Indias*, 1875–1876, 5 vols. (LXII to LXVI in *Docs. inéds. para la historia de España*). Id., ed. G. Reparaz, 3 vols., 1926–1927. *Apologética Historia sumaria*, ed. M. Serrano y Sanz, in *Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XIII.—See A. M. Fabié, in *Docs. inéds.*, LXX, 1879. F. A. MacNutt, *Bartholomew de las Casas*, N. Y., 1909. Marcel Brion, *B. de las C.*, Engl. trans. by C. B. Taylor, New York, 1928.

[2] *Sumario*, ed. E. de Vedia, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXII. *Historia general*, ed. Amador de los Ríos, 1851–1855, 4 vols. *Quinquagenas*, ed. V. de la Fuente, 1880, incomplete. —See A. Morel-Fatio, in *Rev. Historique*, XXI, 1883, 179–190.

[3] The title *Quinquagenas* comes from the plan of the work; each part is a *quincuagena*, that is, a group of fifty "stanzas" of fifty lines each. Each "stanza" is the theme for an extensive prose commentary.

[4] *Historia gen. de las Indias*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXII. Id., Madrid, Calpe, 1922. *Annals of the Emperor Charles V*, ed. R. B. Merriman, Oxford, 1912 (text and English translation).—See A. Morel-Fatio, in *Rev. Hist.*, CXII, 1913, 387–392.

Gómara was warmly attacked by another comrade of Cortés, namely that perfect type of *conquistador* **Bernal Díaz del Castillo** (1492–1581?).[1] His memoirs were not printed till 1632, by Fray Alonso Remón, with the title *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España.* The epithet *verdadera* was without question a shot in the direction of Gómara.

The illustrious name of **Hernán Cortés** (1485–1547) [2] lends great interest to his five *Cartas de relación.* In his old age, forgotten and in disgrace, the great conqueror liked to bring about him distinguished men, with whom he philosophized and displayed the breadth and solidity of his knowledge. The sort of discussions held in this small academy may be guessed from a series of dialogues printed without date at Toulouse, and later collected under the title *Diálogos muy sotiles y notables* (Zaragoza, 1567), by D. Pedro de Navarra, Bishop of Comminges. The speeches cover various moral topics, after the fashion of those days, and the dedication imparts information concerning Cortés' academy.

Another *cronista de Indias*, **Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas** (1549–1625), published, among other historical works, a *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos en las islas y tierra firme del mar Océano* (4 vols., 1601–1615). It is a storehouse of precious information, but part of it was unscrupulously pilfered from the writings of his predecessors. He wrote also histories of the reign of Philip II, of the rebellions (*movimientos*) in Aragon, and many more.

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[1] *Historia verd. de la conquista de la Nueva España*, ed. Genaro García, México, 2 vols., 1904–1905, from the autograph. Ed. E. de Vedia, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXVI. French transl. by J. M. de Hérédia, Paris, 4 vols., 1877–1887 (of great literary merit). English transl. by A. P. Maudslay, 3 vols., London, 1908–1912.—See R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *B. D. del C.*, London, 1915.

[2] *Cartas de relación*, ed. E. de Vedia, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXII. *Cartas y relaciones*, ed. Gayangos, Paris, 1866. *Escritos sueltos*, in *Bibl. histórica de la Iberia*, vol. XII, México, 1871.—See F. A. MacNutt, *Letters of Cortés*, N. Y., 1908 (with English transl.).

One of the authors from whom Herrera borrowed most was **Francisco Cervantes de Salazar,** *cronista* of the city of Mexico (1514?–1575).[1] Besides seven dialogues in Latin (1554), which he added to an edition of those of Luis Vives, he left in manuscript a *Crónica de Nueva España*, copious and well documented, but never completed.

Peru had its special historians. **Francisco de Jerez** (1504–1539), Pizarro's secretary, published the *Verdadera relación de la conquista del Perú* (1534).[2] **Agustín de Zárate** wrote the *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista de las provincias del Perú* (1555).[2] The Sevillan **Pedro de Cieza de León** (1518–1560) published a *Primera parte de la crónica del Perú* in 1553;[2] the *Segunda parte* and the *Tercer libro*, or *Guerra de Quito* remained long in manuscript.[3] **Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca** recounted his hairbreadth escapes in the *Naufragios* (1542) and *Comentarios* (1555).[4]

On the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, see below (p. 259).

3. Didactic Prose

Didactic writers abound in the first half of the 16th century. In this branch of letters, which is usually more esteemed than enjoyed, three names stand out as preëminent: Guevara and the brothers Valdés.

Antonio de Guevara (1480?–1545)[5] was born in the Asturias de Santillana (at Treceño?) of noble family. He joined the Franciscan order, was appointed preacher and chronicler to the Emperor (1521), was made Bishop of Guadix (province of Granada) in 1528 and of Mondoñedo (Lugo) in 1537. His works were nearly all immensely popular in Spain and abroad. They are the following:

1° *Relox de príncipes con el Libro de Marco Aurelio* (*Dial of*

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[1] *Crónica de Nueva España*, ed. M. Magallón, 1914. Id., ed. Fr. del Paso y Troncoso, 1914.

[2] Ed. Vedia, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXVI.

[3] *Segunda parte*, 1880. *Tercer libro*, 1877; and in *Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XV. Sir Clements R. Markham has translated nearly all of Cieza de León's histories for the Hakluyt Society, 1864, 1913, 1918, 1924.

[4] Both in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXII, ed. Vedia. Id., 2 vols., 1906. Id., Calpe, 1922. English transl. of the *Naufragios* by T. Buckingham Smith, Washington, 1851; reprinted, N. Y., 1871.

[5] René Costes, *A. de G.*, Bordeaux, 1925–1926, 2 vols. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Bibliographie espagnole de Fray A. de G.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXXIII, 1915, 301–384. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes*, I, ccclxv–ccclxxv. J. G. Underhill, *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors, passim.* A. Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie*, 22–41.

Princes, with the Book of Marcus Aurelius); originally two distinct works, united by the author himself.[1] Made known first through numerous unauthorized prints (1528–1529), it was published by Guevara in 1529. A French translation by Bertaut (from the spurious text) appeared in 1531, and the *Relox de príncipes* was quickly done into the principal languages of Europe. Lord Berners made an English version in 1534 and Sir Thomas North another in 1557.[2] This almost wholly fictitious tale is based upon an imaginary life of Marcus Aurelius. It was intended as an idealized portrayal of the perfect prince,—a favorite theme of moralists, especially in nations where the type itself is rare. Said prince, in order to be perfect, must be a good Christian (Book I),—which would not have been easy, in the case of Marcus Aurelius; a good husband and father (Book II),—yet the gallant letters which the Emperor is supposed to write to his various mistresses ill prepared him for that rôle; and lastly, a good administrator (Book III). It is in Book III, Chapters iii, iv and v, that the famous tale of *El villano del Danubio* first occurs. La Fontaine read it in a French translation and used it very effectively for a fable (*Le Paysan du Danube*, 1679) which readily consigned to oblivion the rambling verbosities of the conscienceless historian.

2° *Del menosprecio de la corte y alabanza de la aldea* (1539),[3] which the author regarded as his masterpiece, is one long antithesis; the very triteness of the theme must have been a delight to the skilled rhetorician, past master in the art of dressing out stale commonplaces in lofty style (*estilo alto*). Occasionally some autobiographical detail revives the reader's dying interest, and there are picturesque descriptions of life among the petty village hidalgos.

3° *La Década de Césares* (1539) contains biographies of ten Roman emperors, based upon Dion Cassius, Suetonius and Plutarch.

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[1] Selections in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXV; ed. Ad. de Castro. *Libro aureo de Marco Aurelio*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, from MS. at El Escorial, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXXVI, 1929, 1–319. The complete title of the first authorized edition was *Libro llamado relox de príncipes en el cual va encorporado el muy famoso libro de Marco Aurelio.* The earlier unauthorized editions bore the name *Libro áureo de Marco Aurelio.*

[2] *The Diall of Princes;* see ed. by K. N. Colvile, London, 1919. Both these versions were made from French translations, the first from the Bertaut text already mentioned, the second from a 1540 rendering of the genuine Spanish text.

[3] Ed. M. Martínez Burgos, 1915 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 29). An English translation, again via the French, appeared in 1548. Its author was Sir Francis Bryan; the title *A Dispraise of the Life of a Courtier and a Commendation of the Life of a Labouryng Man.*

4° In the same year appeared the first part, and in 1542 the second, of the *Epístolas familiares.*[1] Universal admiration conferred on them the name "The Golden Letters," but, wrote Montaigne, "those who called them *golden* judged them not at all as I do." Two books comprise eighty-five letters, covering a great variety of topics, but without any of the *familiar* abandon that one expects in an actual letter. Some, however, are very amusing: Book I, 50, *On doctors;* 51, *On relations of husband and wife,* "letra para los recien casados;" 56, *For the woman who marries an old man;* 57, *Guide of behavior for widowers;* II, 1, *Against the salutation: I kiss your hand;* 17, *To his niece, on the death of her pet dog;* etc. Others possess interest by reason of the name of the person to whom the letter was addressed (though often never sent): the Bishop of Zamora Antonio de Acuña, Doña María de Padilla, wife of the leader of the *comunidades,* etc.

5° *Aviso de privados y doctrina de cortesanos* (*Warning to Favorites and Guide for Courtiers*) (1539), another hackneyed theme which writers never wearied of turning over and over; at least it gave an opportunity of saying some plain truths and thrusting in a few shafts of satire. For us at any rate this *Guide* contains much instruction.

6° Various treatises, some ascetic (*Monte Calvario,* 1542), and some didactic (*Libro de los inventores del marear,* 1539, with curious details concerning galley life).[2]

An excellent but naïve humanist, **Pedro Rhúa (Rúa),** professor at Soria, took some of Guevara's historico-didactic fantasias at their face value. He easily demonstrated their inaccuracy, and corrected some of the numberless false statements in three rather pedantic critical letters (*Cartas de Rhúa,* Burgos, 1549).[3] Guevara made a brief, disdainful reply to the first two.

Guevara's works were tremendously popular in their day; the fact cannot be denied, however little justification we can see for it. He had plenty of wit, to be sure, but the real explanation lies in his position as one of the first to take due pains with details of style. Guevara, an artist, even a virtuoso, in matters of style, was the great professor of rhetoric to the younger generation of his day, as the Sieur de Balzac was in France a hundred years later. He had all the qualities and defects of a perfect rhetorician. He cared less for thought than words. He preferred trite subjects, because in them he could the better display his verbose ingenuity; his bland redundant eloquence fills every void with ease. Nothing could be more ridiculously pretentious than some of his moralizing disquisitions, like the long discussion between Faustina and Marcus Aurelius, "who has given her his heart and refuses her the key to his wardrobe." Guevara is a moralist whose casuistry is often dubious: "To rob soldiers to pay the Church" he says, "is permissible; but to rob the Church to pay soldiers is a crime worthy of excommunication."

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[1] Ed. Eug. de Ochoa, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XIII. The *Letters* were translated piecemeal into English, one in 1568 by Henry B.; *Familiar Epistles,* 1574, by Edward Hellowes; *Golden Epistles,* 1575, by Sir Geoffrey Fenton.

[2] English transl. by Edward Hellowes, 1578: *A Booke of the Invention of the Arte of Navigation.*

[3] Ed. Eug. de Ochoa, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XIII. Later the letters were given the title *Cartas censorias.*

Guevara's usual stylistic device somewhat resembles Seneca's: expansion by repetition with heaped-up antitheses and metaphors. But the Spaniard lost the concision of his model; he succeeded only in adding Cicero's weaknesses to Seneca's. Lavish of oratorical figures, he exhausted every known way of saying the same thing. It has been asserted that Guevara was partly responsible for English Euphuism, that John Lyly found inspiration in *Marco Aurelio* for his *Euphues* (1579). The fact may be contested,[1] but what appears undeniable is that Guevara was the real precursor of Spanish *cultismo*, and that his too veritable influence on prose was, all things considered, unfortunate; for his imitators mimicked far less the ingenious subtlety of his mind, his rich language and undeniable stylistic virtues than his lack of critical scruples and his unflagging quest for a brilliant phrase. In many ways Guevara occupies a position in Spain like that of Amyot in France: in date, subjects, choice of favorite model (Plutarch), and also in his importance for the history of the language and his influence upon other countries. But if Amyot, as Lanson says, made possible Montaigne, Guevara, "*hablistan y parabolano*" [2] prepared the way for *culteranismo*.

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[1] [Cf. Underhill, *op. cit.*, 366–369. His conclusion is that Guevara's influence was more indirect than direct.]

[2] ["Talkative and wordy"; the coinage is of Juan de Valdés. The antecedents of *culteranismo* reach back, to be sure, far beyond Guevara. The prose of Juan de Mena and Enrique de Villena exhibits similar traits.]

4. **Juan de Valdés** (born in Cuenca, d. 1541)[1] was almost the antithesis of Guevara. Not much is known of his life, and his literary activities have been almost inextricably entangled with those of his twin brother Alfonso. Juan served the Marqués de Villena at Escalona in 1524–25; he attended the University of Alcalá, went to Italy, and was in Rome in 1531–32; in the latter year he was appointed archivist at Naples in the stead of his brother Alfonso, who was dying at the moment he received the appointment. For an unknown reason the Neapolitans demurred, and in return for a compensation of a thousand ducats Juan resigned this position and returned to Rome (1533). But a year or so later he came back to Naples and remained there till his death. In that capital he became the center of a little group of illustrious and dear friends, among them Bernardino Ochino, Pietro Carnesecchi, and Giulia Gonzaga, widow of Vespasiano Colonna. This circle followed him in his religious and mystical beliefs, which resembled those of certain Protestant sects. He is one of the most attractive figures of Spanish heterodoxy.

As a writer, Juan de Valdés's principles were absolutely opposed to those of Guevara. "I write as I speak; my only care is to use words which signify precisely what I wish to say, and I say it as simply as possible; for in my opinion affectation befits no language." Unhappily his influence on the literature of his own time was almost null. He was absent from Spain all his active life, and his chief work remained unpublished for two centuries. Indeed, his purely literary writings are very few. Those on religious topics need receive hardly more than mention here. The *Diálogo de Doctrina Cristiana* (Alcalá, 1529, suppressed by the Inquisition) is so rare a book that it remained wholly unknown until its discovery and publication by M. M. Bataillon (Coimbra, 1925). Written probably in his University days, it is an Erasmian catechism, a discussion between the Archbishop of Granada, a priest Antronio, and the supposed writer Eusebio; it contains commentaries on the Credo, the Ten Commandments, etc. A *Commentary on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans* was published at Geneva in 1556; a *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, in Geneva, 1557. There is also a *Salterio traduzido*, an *Alfabeto cristiano* and other minor treatises. Some are preserved only in an Italian version; thus, the *Hundred and Ten Divine Considerations* were printed in Italian at Bâle in 1550, but only 39 are known in the original Spanish.

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[1] *Epístola de S. Pablo a los romanos i la 1ª a los corintios*, ed. Usoz y Río, 1856. *Le cento e dieci divine considerazioni de Giovanni Valdessio*, ed. E. Boehmer, Halle, 1860. *Ziento i diez consideraziones*, ed. Usoz y Río, London, 1863. *Trataditos*, ed. Boehmer, Bonn, 1880. *Diálogo de la lengua*, ed. Boehmer, in *Rom. Studien*, VI, Heft XXII, 1895. *Id.*, ed. Moreno Villa, Calleja, 1919 (Boehmer's text). *Id.*, ed. Janet H. Perry, London, 1927. *Id.*, ed. J. F. Montesinos, 1928 (*Clás. cast.*, vol. 86). *Diálogo de Doctrina Cristiana*, ed. M. Bataillon, Coimbra, 1925. *Commentary upon I Cor.*, English transl. by J. T. Betts, London, 1883.—See B. B. Wiffen, *Life and Writings of Juan Valdés otherwise Valdessio*, London, 1865. M. Carrasco, *Alfonso et Juan de Valdés, leur vie et leurs écrits religieux*, Geneva, 1880. Menéndez y Pelayo, in *Hist. de los heterodoxos esp.*, II, 1880, 149–206; III, 1882, 844–848. P. J. Pidal, in *Estudios lits.*, II, 1890, 113–142. E. Boehmer, in *Spanish Reformers*, London, 1874, I, 115–130. B. Croce, *Una data importante nella vita de J. de V.*, in *Archivio storico per le provincie napolitane*, XXVIII, 1903, 151–153. M. Bataillon, *Alonso de Valdés, auteur du 'Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón,'* in *Homen. Menéndez Pidal*, I, 1925, 403–415.

Juan de Valdés now appears as the author of but one strictly literary work, the *Diálogo de la lengua*.[1] Though a didactic and philological treatise, it is of the highest interest. It was unknown to his contemporaries, and was not published till 1737, by Mayans y Siscar, in his *Orígenes de la lengua española*. It was written at Naples in the last years of the author's life, about 1535, certainly before the death of Garcilaso (1536). It is a conversation between two Italians, Marcio and Coriolano, and two Spaniards, Captain Pacheco (sometimes called Torres) and Valdés himself. The subject of the discussion is the dignity and worthy use of the Spanish language. The author explains its origins, studies its vocabulary, cites many popular or proverbial expressions and briefly evaluates the principal literary works of Spain. Naturally, the historical and philological theories seem to us naïve, and Valdés's estimates of different authors might be contested. The minute lexicographical details, too, appear long and confused to most readers, however much they interest specialists. But in general his critiques are intelligent, his judgments sound, the framework of the dialogue is pleasing and the language crisp and well turned. That may not suffice to set the author beside Cervantes, for he has not the great man's smiling grace, nor his verve and lucky inspirations of detail. He was not, in short, one of humanity's geniuses; but it is no small compliment that as a master of dialogue he has been compared to the author of the *Quijote*.

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[1] The MS. bears no name of author, and the ascription to Juan de Valdés has been contested. Cf E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Cuestión literaria: ¿Quién fué el autor del "Diálogo de la lengua?"* 1920. Recently found external evidence settles the question beyond reasonable doubt; cf. *Bull. Hisp.*, XXXI, 1929, 166–167.

5. Alfonso de Valdés (d. 1532),[1] Juan's elder brother, has only very recently received the credit due him. He was the Emperor's secretary, and in charge of important affairs. As early as 1525, he corresponded with Erasmus, and was one of his most ardent followers. Employed much in the north, Alfonso died in Vienna, of the plague. The *Diálogo en que particularmente se tratan las cosas acaecidas en Roma el año de 1527* (called *Diálogo de Lactancio y un arcediano*) was published anonymously (1528?); it now appears that Alfonso was the author, and Juan revised it. The subject is the sack of Rome by the troops of Carlos V, an event regarded by the Erasmists as a divine punishment inflicted upon the Church for its wickedness. Valdés seized the occasion to pen a violent religious satire.

The *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón* was likewise an anonymous publication (1528). It has passed generally for a work of Juan de Valdés, though less probable authors have sometimes been sought for it. But very recently M. Bataillon has shown by documentary proof that Alfonso wrote this witty and clever imitation of Lucian. It contains a relation of events of the Franco-Spanish war, from 1521 to the challenge sent the Emperor in 1523 by the kings of France and England; some of the happenings at Rome in 1527 are included also. The spirit of the old *Dance of Death* pervades the satiric commentaries, when the author passes in review all the souls who descend to Hell, and takes the opportunity to tell each one plain truths. The tone is very free, the exposition skilful, the style simple, clear and without affectation; the language is beautifully correct. France's claims are attacked vigorously, with truly Spanish pride.

6. Proverbs. In the *Diálogo de la lengua* Juan de Valdés inserts no less than 177 proverbs (*refranes*) to illustrate his points, and he expressly speaks of possessing a *quaderno de refranes* collected by himself.[2] His interest was typical of the age. Many and important collections of proverbs date from the 16th century. After that of Santillana, already mentioned, the most important are: *Refranes glosados*, Burgos, 1509,[1] anonymous; *Cartas en refranes*, by Blasco de Garay (1541); *Libro de refranes*, of Pedro Vallés (1549),[2] with 4300 proverbs; *Dichos de los siete sabios de Grecia* (1549), by Hernán López de Yanguas (cf. below, p. 208); *Refranes glosados* of Sebastián de Horozco (1550),[3] with 3144 examples; the still unpublished *Recopilación de refranes*, etc., of the same compiler, containing, even in its incomplete manuscript (E–Z) 8311 proverbs; *Refranes o proverbios en romance*, of the *Comendador griego* Hernán Núñez (1555), one of the most important collections, with 8331 items; *La philosophía vulgar* (1568) of Juan de Mal-Lara (1525?–1571). In the *refranero*, said Valdés, the purest Castilian is to be found: "*se vee mucho bien la puridad de la lengua castellana.*" Most of the collections named went through many editions.[4]

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[1] *Dos diálogos* [*Mercurio y Carón* and *Lactancio*], ed. Usoz y Río, 1850. *Alfonsi Valdesii Litterae XL ineditae*, ed. F. Boehmer, in *Homen. Menéndez y Pelayo*, I, 385–412. *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón*, ed. Boehmer, in *Romanische Studien*, VI, 1881, Heft XIX. *Diálogo de las cosas ocurridas en Roma*, ed. J. F. Montesinos, 1928 (*Clás. cast.* vol. 89).—See E. Boehmer, *Spanish Reformers*, London, 1874, I, 65–115. M. Bataillon, *A. de V. auteur du Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón*, in *Homen. Menéndez Pidal*, I, 403–415.

[2] H. C. Berkowitz, *The Quaderno de refranes castellanos of Juan de Valdés*, in *Romanic Review*, XVI, 1925, 71–86.

7. Other Didactic Writers

Juan López de Vivero Palacios Rubios (1450?–1525?) really belongs to a slightly earlier period. He was a legal expert, and had written, at the beginning of the century, several Latin pamphlets on politics and history. As a writer in Spanish his place depends upon one essay on military courage, *Tractado del esfuerzo bélico heroico* (1524), written for the edification of his son.

Juan Sedeño has left *Dos coloquios de amores y otro de bienaventurança* (1536), a verse arrangement of the *Celestina* (1540) and a dictionary of 224 biographies (*Suma de varones ilustres*, 1551). Sedeño was a native of Arévalo and had fought in Italy; he is not the same as the Juan Sedeño who translated Tansillo and Torquato Tasso.

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[1] Facsimile reprint, Melchor García, 1923.

[2] Five hundred and fifty-five of the items in J. Haller, *Altspanische Sprichwörter*, Regensburg, 1883. Facsimile of the 1549 ed., Melchor García, 1917.

[3] Partial ed. Cotarelo y Mori, in *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, 1915–1917, vols. II, III, IV (from *A* to *Dicen*).

[4] For the bibliography of the early *refraneros* see: Conde de la Viñaza, *Biblioteca histórica de la filología española*, 1893, *Parte octava, Refranes*, pp. 1914–1996. J. M. Sbarbi, *Monografía sobre los refranes, adagios y proverbios castellanos*, 1891. M. García Moreno, *Catálogo paremiológico*, 1918. The most important modern reprints, besides Correas (p. 287), are: J. M. Sbarbi, *El refranero general español*, 1874–1878, 10 vols.; J. Haller, *Altspanische Sprichwörter*, Regensburg, 1883, 2 vols.; J. Cornu, *Zweihundert Altsp. Sprichwörter*, in *Festschrift zum viii. allgemeinen deutschen Neuphilologentage in Wien*, *Wien Leipzig*, 1898, pp. 195–207. Cf. also F. Rodríguez Marín, *Más de 21,000 refranes castellanos no contenidos en la copiosa colección del maestro Gonzalo Correas*, 1926. J.Cejador, *Refranero castellano*, 3 vols.,1928-29.

Dr. Francisco López de Villalobos (1473?–1549?)[1] was the physician of Ferdinand the Catholic and Charles V. When still a young man he had composed a *Sumario de la medicina* (1498) in ten-line *arte mayor* strophes. In 1543 he published a volume containing: 1°, *Libro intitulado Los problemas, que tractan de cuerpos naturales* (astronomy, cosmography, etc.) *y morales* (an ethical treatise, couched in picturesque and satirical style); 2°, *Dos diálogos de medicina;* 3°, the strangely titled *Tractado de las tres grandes,* namely *la gran parlería, la gran porfía, la gran risa* ('talkativeness,' 'obstinacy,' and 'laughter'). This lively set of moral considerations and the *Problemas* constitute Villalobos's chief title to fame. *Poesías,* a translation of Plautus's *Amphitryon* (1515), glosses on the first two books of Pliny's *Natural History* (1524), which precipitated a sharp argument with Hernán Núñez, and a collection of letters complete the list of his works. He was a most learned and most witty man.

Hernán Pérez de Oliva (1494?–1532?)[2] was one of the most completely rounded of Spanish humanists. Born at Cordova, he studied at the Universities of Salamanca, Alcalá de Henares, Paris and Rome. In 1524 he was back at Cordova. He returned to Salamanca to study and teach, and in 1529 was Rector of that University. He translated or imitated several works of the classic dramatists (Sophocles' *Electra,* Euripides' *Hecuba,* Plautus' *Amphitryon*)[3] and composed several dialogues and treatises, as the *Discurso de las potencias del alma y del buen uso dellas* (*The Faculties of the Soul and their Proper Use*). More important is the *Diálogo de la dignidad del hombre, donde por manera de disputa se trata de las grandezas y maravillas que ay en el hombre, y por el contrario de sus*

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[1] *Los Problemas; Tractado de las tres grandes; Canción; Anfitrión,* ed. Ad. de Castro, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XXXVI. *Algunas obras,* ed. A. M. Fabié, in *Soc. Biblióf. Esp.,* vol. 24.—See A. Paz y Melia, *Sales españolas,* 1902, II, 3–33. George Gaskoin, *The Medical Works of F. L. V.,* London, 1870.

[2] *Diálogo de la dignidad del hombre,* ed. Ad. de Castro, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* LXV. —See Menéndez y Pelayo, in *Ilustración esp. y americana,* XIX, 1875, 154–155, 174–175. P. Henríquez Ureña, in *Cuba contemporánea,* VI, 1914, 19–55. N. Alonso Cortés, in *Homen. Menéndez Pidal,* I, 779–783 (on date of death). R. Espinosa Maeso, *El maestro H. P. de O. en Salamanca,* in *Bol. Acad. Esp.,* XIII, 1926, 433–473. Wm. Atkinson, *H. P. de O. A Biographical and Critical Study,* in *Rev. Hisp.,* LXXI, 1927, 309–484.

[3] *Vengança de Agamenõ,* 1528, facsimile ed. Bonilla, in *Obras dramáticas del siglo XVI,* serie 1. *Venganza de Agamenón* and *Hécuba triste,* in Sedano, *Parnaso esp.,* VI. Karl von Reinhardstoettner, *Der Spanische Amphitrion des F. P. de O., Wortgetreuer Textabdruck,* München, 1886. *Teatro,* ed. Wm. Atkinson, in *Rev. Hisp.,* LXIX, 1927, 521–659.

trabajos y miserias (*Dialogue on the Dignity of Man, in which are Discussed the Wondrous Marvels there are in Man, and also his Trials and Miseries*). This work was published, with a continuation, by Francisco Cervantes de Salazar in 1546. His nephew, the learned Ambrosio de Morales edited Pérez de Oliva's *Obras con otras cosas* in 1586. The uncle has been thought the author of the work on Columbus in Italian published at Venice, 1571, under the name of the great admiral's son.

Pérez de Oliva was, despite his classical culture, one of the first to claim equal rights for the Spanish language as compared with Greek, Latin and Italian. In the *Dignidad del hombre* he boasts of using only his mother tongue.

Of the Maestro **Alejo Vanegas** (or **Venegas**) **del Busto** (1493?–after 1543) two works are to be noted: a sort of preparation for death, both Christian and Stoic in its inspiration, *Agonía del tránsito de la muerte con los avisos y consuelos que cerca della son provechosos* (1537);[1] and the *Diferencias de libros que hay en el universo* (1540), that is, a treatise on different systems of philosophy: predestination and free will, natural philosophy, reason, revelation. The announced second part never appeared.

Vanegas was intimate with **Alvar Gómez** of Ciudad Real (1488–1538), an excellent poet in Latin (*Thalichristia*, 1522; *Musa Paulina*, 1529). He wrote satires in *arte mayor* and *redondillas* against the seven cardinal sins, and made a verse translation of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, which was inserted in the 1561 edition of Montemayor's *Diana*.

Pedro Mejía, the Sevillan noble whose historical works have already been mentioned (p. 181), published in 1540 a series of dissertations, a sort of erudite miscellany called *Silua de varia lección*. It went through many editions; Montaigne knew it, and Marlowe took from it the plot of *Tamburlaine the Great* (1587, printed 1590). In 1547 Mejía added to it six *Coloquios o diálogos*[2] on various themes: medicine, meals, the sun, persistence, etc.

The protonotary **Luis Mejía** was the author of an *Apólogo de la ociosidad y del trabajo*, edited in 1546 by Cervantes de Salazar. Finally, the Dominican Fray **Francisco Mejía** issued the *Diálogo del soldado* (1555), which furnishes unexpected information concerning the ancient remains of Valencia, Saguntum and Barcelona. He himself lived at Játiva. This series may be closed with mention of the *Diálogo de la verdadera honra militar, que trata cómo se ha de conformar la honra con la conciencia* (1566); its author was **Jerónimo Jiménez de Urrea,** already mentioned (p. 169), the comrade in arms of Garcilaso, and the unwearying translator of Ariosto, Sannazaro and Olivier de la Marche.

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[1] Ed. Mir, in *Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XVI.

[2] Reprint 1928.

It may be added that this period and the following were exceedingly rich in didactic and technical works of every description. From the arts of war and navigation to medicine and the sciences, from hunting to games, from commerce and finance to the various trades, Spaniards were curious to learn and expound. But these Manuals, however full of interest, scarcely belong to the field of literature.

8. The Novel.—Romances of Chivalry [1]

The posterity of *Amadís* throve extraordinarily during the whole 16th century, and especially during the reign of Charles V. The merit of the prototype and, still more, the manners and tastes of the people favored this vogue of the Romances of Chivalry, which delighted all classes of society without distinction. Most of these novels fall into two families, that of *Amadís* and that of *Palmerín.*

In the *Amadís* series twelve parts are usually reckoned, including the four which comprise the original *Amadís de Gaula;* but opinion is not unanimous touching the novels which make up the twelve parts. The editor of *Amadís,* Montalvo, added *Las sergas de Esplandián* (1510), which has already been mentioned (p. 139). **Páez de Ribera** appended the *Florisando* (1510), nephew of Amadís. Then came the seventh part, *Lisuarte de Grecia* (1514) grandson of Amadís, by Feliciano de Silva;[2] the eighth, *Lisuarte y la muerte de Amadís* (1526), by Juan Díaz; and the ninth, *Amadís de Grecia, hijo de Lisuarte* (1530?), by Feliciano de Silva, who resuscitated the once-dead Amadís. The four parts of *Florisel de Niquea* (1532–1551), which, it appears, count as the tenth and eleventh of the

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[1] *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XL, *Libros de caballerías* (*Amadís, Esplandián*), with *Catálogo* by Gayangos. *Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, VI and XI, 1907–1908, ed. A. Bonilla y San Martín; in VI, *El baladro de Merlín, La demanda del Santo Grial, con los fechos de Lanzarote y de Galaz; Tristán de Leonís;* in XI, *Palmerín de Inglaterra, Extravagantes.* For further bibliography see under *Amadís de Gaula*, especially Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes*, I, and H. Thomas.

[2] See Henry Thomas, *Dos romances anónimos del siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1917; the authorship of *Lisuarte* is there demonstrated.

Amadís series, are likewise due to **Feliciano de Silva**,[1] of Ciudad Rodrigo, "the great literary merchant who for the first time in Spain, and perhaps in Europe, set up a factory of novels which the public of that day awaited and devoured with as much eagerness as the innumerable readers of the elder Dumas followed the thread of the *Three Musketeers* and its sequels" (Menéndez y Pelayo). The same quill-driver, be it said in passing, was also the author of a work of quite another kind, the *Segunda comedia de Celestina* (1534).[2] The last of the Amadís series is *Don Silves de la Selva* (1546), by **Pedro Luján.**

The *Amadís* itself owed much, as we have said, to the romances of the Breton cycle. This also gave birth to several translations or imitations of French originals, such as the *Baladro* (*Prophetic Cry*) *del sabio Merlín*, with its continuation *La demanda del Santo Grial con los maravillosos fechos de Lanzarote y de Galaz su hijo; Tristán de Leonís;* and, to some extent, the *Historia de Oliveros de Castilla y Artus de Algarbe*, classed among the *Extravagantes*.[3]

Palmerín [4] did not delay in constituting himself the rival of Amadís. The first part, *Palmerín de Oliva* (1511), was, according to tradition, written by a woman, but her name has never been revealed. Another story attributes it, and also the second part, *Primaleón* (1512), to Francisco Vázquez of Ciudad Rodrigo, but there is no certainty as to what hand he had in them. *La crónica del caballero Platir* (1533) belongs to this series. The only Palmerín which enjoyed a real, and largely deserved, success, was *Palmerín of England.* Today the Portuguese text of **Francisco de Moraes** (d. 1572) (*Palmerim de Inglaterra,* 1567) is regarded as certainly the original. Yet it is queer that it was published twenty years after the Castilian translation [1] (1547–1548), fourteen after the French, and twelve after the Italian. But the dedication of the Portuguese text proves that this was written in 1544; and it is regarded as a model of style, while the Spanish form is confused and faulty. As everyone knows, the curate and the barber in *Don Quijote* lavished praise upon *Palmerín de Inglaterra*, considering it "*cosa única;*" they wished it might have been preserved in a coffer like that in which Alexander kept the works of Homer.

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[1] See Henry Thomas, *Dos romances*, etc. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes*, I, cclx–cclxv, and III, cciii–ccxii. E. Cotarelo, *Nuevas noticias biográficas*, in *Bol. Ac. Esp.*, XIII, 1926, 129–139.

[2] Ed. J. A. de Balenchana, 1874, vol. IX of *Col. de libros esp. raros o curiosos.*

[3] All these in vols. VI and XI of *Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, ed. Bonilla. On all see W. J. Entwistle, *Arthurian Legend in the Literatures of the Spanish Peninsula*, London, 1925 (with extensive bibliographies). In addition, on the *Baladro* and *Demanda*, see Karl Pietsch, *Spanish Grail Fragments*, Chicago, 1924–1925. *Tristán de Leonís:* reprint of 1501 ed. by Bonilla, 1912, vol. 6 of *Biblióf. Madrileños.* See G. T. Northup, *The Spanish Prose Tristram Question*, in *Mod. Philol.*, XI, 1913, 259–265. Id., in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVIII, 1913, 30–31. *Oliveros de Castilla:* facsimile of 1499 ed. by A. M. Huntington, N. Y., 1902; cf. R. Foulché-Delbosc in *Rev. Hisp.*, IX, 1902, 587–595.

[4] C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, *Versuch über den Ritterroman Palmeirim de Inglaterra*, Halle, 1883. W. E. Purser, *Palmerín of England*, Dublin, 1904. H. Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry*, 84–118.

Pages could be filled with titles of these wearisome romances, whose heroes sprang repeatedly from their own ashes, with the connivance of the public. It is best to follow Cervantes's lead, and name only *Lepolemo o el Caballero de la Cruz* (1521), (by Alonso de Salazar? or Juan de Molina?); *Don Cirongilio de Tracia* (1545), by Bernardo de Vargas; *Belianís de Grecia* (1547–1579), by Jerónimo Fernández; *Felixmarte de Hircania* (1556), by Melchor Ortega; *Olivante de Laura* (1564), by Antonio de Torquemada; and *Don Clarisel de las Flores*,[2] whose author, Jerónimo de Urrea, has already been twice mentioned.

All these works bear witness to the popularity of chivalric literature. But they demonstrate also the wide diffusion of the ancient French novels. This is seen clearly in such compilations as *El cuento del Emperador Carlos Maynes y de la Emperatriz Sevilla*,[3] a late echo of the Carolingian cycle; *El libro del Conde Partinuplés*,[4] by Gaspar Aldana; *La historia de la linda Magalona y del cavallero Pierres de Provença; La historia del cavallero Clamades y de la linda Clarmonda;* [4] *El triunfo de los nueve varones de la fama;* and even *Roberto el Diablo.*[4] The presses of Burgos, Seville and Toledo worked hard to satisfy their eager readers.

After the mid-century, however, authors began to show signs of exhaustion, and readers of fatigue. Need was felt of rejuvenation and variety in the genre. Some introduced verse into their prose (*Primaleón*, *Palmerín*, and especially *Clarisel*); others wrote their tales entirely in verse (*Celedón de Iberia*, 1583, by Gómez de Luque; *Florando de Castilla*, 1588, by Jerónimo de Huerta); still others, to sanctify a type of literature which was vigorously censured by such men of note as Luis Vives, Melchor Cano, Arias Montano, Guevara, Oviedo, López Pinciano, Pero Mejía, Luis de Granada and other moralists, not to mention statesmen and the Cortes, invented the *Caballería a lo divino*, and presented the romantic adventures of their heroes as allegories beneath which the reader should find pious instruction and edifying doctrine. Among such writers were **Jerónimo de Sempere** (or **San Pedro**), author of the *Caballería celestial del pie de la Rosa Fragante* (1554), **Gabriel de Mata,** who issued *El caballero Asisio* (1587) in three parts, and **Hernández de Villaumbrales,** who wrote *El caballero del Sol* (1552). The last romance of chivalry composed, or at least published, in Spain, was probably *La historia de Don Policisne de Beocia*, by **Juan de Silva y Toledo.** It appeared in 1602, and thus conducts us to the very door of *Don Quijote.*

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[1] Ed. Bonilla, in *Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XI.

[2] Ed. of 25 chapters of the first part, in *Biblióf. Andal.*, vol. 27, Sevilla, 1879. This is the only printed text of this work. Cf. also Gerónimo Borao, *D. Ger. Jiménez de Urrea y su novela caballeresca*, etc., Zaragoza, 1866.

[3] *Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, VI.

[4] *Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XI.

9. The Sentimental Novel [1]

The sentimental novel proper, in the manner of Diego de San Pedro (p. 133), continued to find readers. **Juan de Segura** has left an epistolary love-story, *Proceso de cartas de amores que entre dos amantes pasaron*, and the novel of *Lucindaro y Medusina* (printed together, 1548). The date, and the author's claim that he translated it from Greek into "*nuestro pulido castellano*" serve as a reminder that at about that time the first Spanish versions were being made of Heliodorus's *Theagenes and Chariclea,*[2] so much imitated later, and of the equally famous Alexandrine novel by Achilles Tatius, *Adventures of Leucippe and Cleitophon.* The best imitation of the second is that of **Alonso Núñez de Reinoso,** published at Venice in 1552, under the title *Historia de los amores de Clareo y Florisea y de los trabajos de Ysea.*

A more original novel, and one as widely read, was that published in 1565 by Captain **Jerónimo de Contreras,** royal *coronista.* Under the banal title of *Selva de aventuras* he relates the strange and edifying tribulations of two unhappy lovers, Luzmán and Arbolea; the former, finding his sweetheart in a cloister, himself becomes a hermit.

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[1] See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes*, I, ch. vi.

[2] Probably first rendered by Francisco de Vergara (d. 1545). A printed translation via the French, 1554.

10. The Pastoral Novel[1]

Just as chivalric literature began to decline, the first pastoral novels made their appearance. Not that the genre was really new. Italy, with Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (1502) or Portugal, with the *Saudades* or *Menina e Moça* (1554), of Bernardim Ribeiro (d. 1552) could have provided inspiration and models, had they been necessary. But the pastoral had already appeared in Spain in the *Églogas* of Juan del Encina; the tradition continued in the *Autos* of Lucas Fernández and Gil Vicente. And on another side lyric poetry, after the time of Garcilaso, had conceived many a rustic picture. The *Coloquio pastoril* of **Antonio de Torquemada** foreshadowed the coming vogue. This dialogue was, it is true, accompanied by a kind of counterpoise, the *Coloquios satíricos* (1553).[2] The latter possess great interest of their own, they are so rich in amusing details touching customs of the time (games, doctors, chemists, food, clothing, the honor of a gentleman).

But it was the *Diana* of **Jorge de Montemayor**[3] (1520?–1561) which opened with brilliance the period of pastoral novels. Its author was a Portuguese. He took the name of the village where he was born: *Montemôr o Velho* (Montemayor el Viejo), near Coimbra, on the banks of the much-sung and poetic Mondego. He was a musician, and served (1548) as *cantor en la capilla* of the Castilian Princess Doña María, elder sister of Prince Felipe (later Philip II); for a time (1552–1554) *aposentador* (in charge of lodgings) for María's sister Princess Juana, he lived in various parts of Spain, particularly at Valencia, and died a violent death in Piedmont, in some quarrel of jealousy.

The first edition of the *Diana* (Valencia) bears no date, but is thought to be of about 1559. Although it thus falls in the succeeding period, it is more conveniently discussed here, for it was written mainly in the preceding years, and the author's other works (see p. 170) had already made him famous.

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[1] See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes*, I, ch. viii. H. A. Rennert, *The Spanish Pastoral Romances*, 2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1912.

[2] Ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes*, II, 485–581.

[3] *La Diana*, ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes*, II, 251–336. *Los trabajos de los reyes*, ed. Sánchez Cantón, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, XII, 1925, 43–55.—See, besides the general works named, G. Schönherr, *Jorge de Montemayor*, Halle, 1886. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *The Bibliography of the "Diana enamorada,"* in *Revue hispanique*, II, 1895, 304–311.

The *Diana* is as simple in plot as the romances of chivalry were complex. It merely relates the loves of the shepherdess Diana and the shepherd Sireno, on the shores of the river Esla, in the province of León. All sorts of obstacles disturb the course of their affection, and the outcome is unfortunate for Sireno: Diana weds the shepherd Delio. The author expressly states that numerous elements of his fiction allude to real events. Sireno seems to be Montemayor himself, and the 16th century already saw in Diana a certain lady of Valencia de Don Juan; but it is not prudent to push the identifications too far. With the main plot, which in itself is trifling, Montemayor interweaves various episodes: that of Arsenio and Arsileo, that of Ismenia, that of Felix and Felismena, borrowed from Bandello's 36th *novella* of the Second Part. These tales, aided by a free sprinkling of verse, diversify the narrative.

The immense success of this novel is explicable by its literary merit, by the novelty of the scene and the costumes, and also, doubtless, because such an idyll satisfied the unavowed yearnings of a society weary of constant war and agitation. The country setting is, of course, just as unreal as the languishing shepherds who sigh in its midst. In the *Diana,* as in Garcilaso's eclogues, we have a nature seen from afar, as through the windows of the Alcázar at Toledo. All the characteristics to be found in the later pastoral novels are already in the *Diana:* mingling of prose and verse, autobiographical elements and allusions to society love-affairs, almost complete absence of sincere nature-feeling, elements of mythology or the supernatural, enchantments, spirits, magic fountains, etc. And yet, compared to the sort of novel then popular, the pastoral offers a relative simplicity, gentleness and freshness of imagination which justifies, or at least explains, its vogue.

The enthusiasm it aroused is attested by at least seventeen reprints in the 16th century, eight in the 17th, three Spanish sequels, and numerous imitations, by famous authors, in Spain and outside. Sir Philip Sidney translated two lyrics of Montemayor, and a portion of Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1595) comes from the *Diana.* The *Astrée* (1607) of Honoré d'Urfé is one of its last echoes. In form and matter the resemblances between these two celebrated novels are striking. Each gave courtly love a new expression. Each helped to polish manners and sharpen wit; respectively they foretell the school of Góngora and the society of

Rambouillet. In the *Diana* there is more naïveté and sentiment, in the *Astrée* greater subtlety of psychology and livelier dramatic movement.

11. The Moorish Novel

The *Historia del Abencerraje y la hermosa Xarifa* [1] occupies but a few pages, but it is a charming story, and a perfect model of the Moorish romances which in their turn soon came into fashion.

The governor (*alcaide*) of Antequera, Don Rodrigo de Narváez, who was a real personage of the early fifteenth century, captures the Granadine Moor Abindarráez, of the famous Abencerrage lineage, as the latter is on his way to Coín to marry the fair Jarifa, daughter of the *alcaide* of that town. Learning the circumstances, Narváez generously sets his captive free with the condition that he shall return in three days. At the time set, Abindarráez and Jarifa appear as agreed, but are given their liberty. The action is set in 1484 or 1485; it is evident that the intervention of Narváez is historically impossible.

This short novel was inserted by an unknown hand in the fourth book of Montemayor's *Diana*, in the first edition (1561) issued after his death, and it is found in all subsequent editions. But in a somewhat different text the story had already been incorporated in the *Inventario* of **Antonio de Villegas** (cf. p. 169), and this work, though not printed till 1565, had been licensed for printing in 1551. There is still a third printed version in a Gothic letter brochure not earlier than 1550.[2] This booklet is an extract from a chronicle of Fernando, *el de Antequera*. The three versions are independent of one another; the original from which they are derived is lost, and with it the name of the first author, who certainly possessed sincerity and the gift of straightforward, interesting narrative.

12. The Picaresque Novel

Just at the same period another new genre, the picaresque novel, was initiated by a justly famous book, the *Vida de Lazarillo de*

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[1] Ed. Aribau, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, III. Ed. G. Le Strange, Cambridge, 1924.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes*, I, pp. ccclxxv–ccclxxx. H. Mérimée, *El A., d'après l'Inventario et la Diana*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXI, 1919, 143–166. Id., *El A., d'après diverses versions publiées au XVI^e siècle*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXX, 1928, 147–181. G. I. Dale, *An Unpublished Version of the Hist. de Abindarráez y Jarifa*, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIX, 1924, 31–33.

[2] Photographic reproduction in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXV, 1923, plates III–X.

Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades.[1] It was printed in 1554 in three different places: Burgos, Antwerp and Alcalá, but the lost first edition was probably still earlier. It is in truth remarkable that the same decade (1550–1560) should have given birth to three works of fiction each of which was destined to head a long posterity of famous imitations and to found three new genres: the Moorish novel, the pastoral novel and the picaresque novel. This, therefore, is one of the culminating points in the literary history of Spain. The zenith of the Golden Age is close at hand. The date of 1550, which is also that of the first *Romanceros*, is, next to 1492, one of the most characteristic and fruitful for the civilization of the Peninsula.

The *Lazarillo*, then, marks the first official appearance of picarism and the picaresque hero. What is the definition of this word? By *picaresque* novel is meant a novel whose characters are drawn from that particular class of people, of low birth or fallen in station, who live at others' expense, deliberately place themselves beyond the pale of social convention and law, and keep themselves alive by sheer trickery, by the fertility of an unscrupulous imagination. Such adventurers are, in Spain, *pícaros*. If the thing is old, the word, of doubtful etymology,[2] was scarcely known before the

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[1] Ed. Aribau, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, III. Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, Barcelona, 1900 (*Bibl. hispanica*, vol. III). Ed. J. Cejador, 1914 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 25). Ed. A. Bonilla, 1915. Ed. H. J. Chaytor, Manchester, 1922. English transl. by Sir Clements Markham, London, 1908. Id. by L. How, with introduction by C. P. Wagner, N. Y., 1917.—See A. Morel-Fatio, *Études sur l'Espagne*, I, 1895, 109–166. F. W. Chandler, *Romances of Roguery*, N. Y., 1899. Id., *Literature of Roguery*, 2 vols., Boston, 1907. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Remarques sur L. de T.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, VII, 1900, 81–97. F. De Haan, *An Outline of the History of the Novela Picaresca in Spain*, The Hague and N. Y., 1903. J. D. M. Ford, *Possible Foreign Sources of the Spanish Novel of Roguery*, in *Kittredge Anniv. Papers*, Boston, 1913. G. Moldenhauer, *Der Sp. Zensur- und Schelmenroman*, in *Homen. Bonilla*, I, 1927, 223–239. F. C. Tarr, *Literary and Artistic Unity in L. de T.*, in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass. of America*, XLII, 1927, 404–421. G. Reynier, *Le roman réaliste au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1914. H. Petriconi, *Zur Chronologie und Verbreitung des spanischen Schelmenromans*, in *Volkstum und Kultur der Romanen*, I, 1928, 324–342.

[2] At first the word was often a synonym of *pinche*, cook's boy, spit-turner. It is curious that in French *coquin* (which is a good rendering of *pícaro*) seems to be a pejorative from *queux*, cook. *Pinchar*, *pinche*, *pícaro*, are words of the same family. De Haan (*Pícaros y ganapanes*, in *Homen. Menéndez y Pelayo*, II, 1899, 149–190) and Bonilla (*Etimología de 'Pícaro,'* in *Rev. de Arch.*, V, 1901, 374–378) propose an Arabic etymon which seems unconvincing. B. Sanvisenti (*Alcune osservazioni sulla parola pícaro*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XVIII, 1916, 237–246) prefers to derive it from *picar*, with accent-shift. [A. R. Nykl (*Pícaro*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXXVII, 1929, 172–186) suggests a historical etymology from *Picard*.

Definitions of the term "picaresque novel" vary greatly. Some critics approve that given in the text. For others the criterion is the satirical survey of society, second third of the 16th century. Its first appearance so far as we know is in the *Carta del Bachiller de Arcadia al Capitán Salazar* (1548). The *Lazarillo* itself does not contain it. The novel preserves for us the most complete account of the picaresque world; but its kingdom, whose Court was the beggars' rendezvous, had two other literary provinces, drama and lyric. It is true, however, that the last two borrowed their heroes, their glory and success almost wholly from the novel.

Evidently, such a type of literature can exist only in a society that is in an unsatisfactory moral and economic state, and the picaresque genre corresponds to a particular stage of civilization. The fact is that toward the middle of the century symptoms began to appear of a profound disturbance in social conditions. Incessant warfare reacted upon manners and on the spirit of the people, producing inevitably the ruin of commerce, industry and agriculture. Accordingly, the Court attracted the life of the nation to itself; it was the meeting-place of all those who sought a facile living. The Court furnished rich soil for adventurers of every sort on the watch for easy marks and easy money: unscrupulous valets, soldiers on leave, deserters, students playing perpetual hooky, unfrocked monks, shabby hidalgos, cut-purses and cut-throats, card-sharpers, night-flyers and vagrants; the great picturesque army of *pícaros*, in short. The enormous fortunes to be made rapidly in America had turned all heads; money came quickly and went quickly and many spent when they earned nothing. False economic theories, mysticism even, with its special conception of charity, favored the chances of the intriguer and loafer: *la sopa boba* (charity soup), distributed in all the monasteries, is the regular diet of the hungry *pícaro*.[1]

The causes of this transformation of society did not produce

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presented in autobiographic form. For others it is a particular heartless, cynical philosophy of life. The last point of view is taken by A. Castro, *El pensamiento de Cervantes*, 1925, 230–239. The translator prefers the second definition. The third would seem to exclude Lesage's *Gil Blas*.]

[1] *La vida del pícaro* is the subject of a poem in 111 tiercets (1601), attributed by some to Pedro Liñán de Riaza (d. 1607), by others to Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, and again to a certain Gallegos, author of a *Vida de palacio*. The *Vida del pícaro* was edited critically by Bonilla in *Rev. Hisp.*, IX, 1902, 295–330, and in a previously unknown text by John M. Hill, in *Poesías barias*, etc., Bloomington Ind., 1923, 117–125. Rodríguez Marín published the *Segunda Parte de la vida del, pícaro* (ca. 1654), in *Rev. de Arch.*, XVIII, 1908, 60–74. The *Rimas* of Liñán de Riaza form vol. I of the *Bibl. de escritores aragoneses*, Zaragoza, 1876. Other *Poesías* in Bonilla, *Anales de la lit. esp.*, 1904, 103–113.

their full effect till near the end of the century, and for this reason the novels which best depict it date from that time. But the causes had long been in existence, and that fact made possible works like the *Celestina* and *Lazarillo*. For the latter, if it be considered in its constituent elements, had precedents; in literary history spontaneous generation is all but unknown. The *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* is a picaresque novel in some of its features. Parmeno, Sempronio, Sosia, Centurio, Lucrecia, Elicia and Areusa, not to speak of Mother Celestina herself, are the direct ancestors of Lazarillo, Guzmán and Pablo. Luis Vives was far more right than he thought when he called the *Celestina: Nequitiarum parens*, the Mother of Wickedness. And it would not be hard to point out other antecedents of picarism. The work of the Archpriest of Hita, so realistic in some respects, contains fully developed the customary cast of characters for a picaresque intrigue. And that bold and shameless *Lozana Andaluza* (1528),[1] (*The Jaunty Andalusian Girl;* but the flavor of the name simply cannot be rendered), what is that but a picaresque novel, and one of the rawest, although her exploits are staged in Italy? If its author, **Francisco Delicado,** himself an Andalusian, was village priest of the valley of Cabezuela, as he asserted, he was a worthy counterpart of Juan Ruiz. His personal experience of life may well have been even richer than Ruiz's, and they are alike in calm immodesty, uncurbed vigor and extraordinary richness of vocabulary. The *Lozana Andaluza* is a fine language text, but not intended for young pupils.

By the time the *Lazarillo* appeared, picarism, in various forms, was widespread in Spanish literature. Take, for example, the *Crótalon*,[2] by **Cristóbal de Villalón** (1501?–after 1558): its method is that of the picaresque writers. The successive metamorphoses

[1] Ed. Fuensanta del Valle, 1871 (*Libros esp. raros o curiosos*, I.) Ed. Luis de Lara, 1899 (*Col. de libros picarescos*). Ed. E. M. de Segovia, Renacimiento, 1916.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes*, III, pp. clxxxviii–ccii.

[2] "De Christophoro Gnosopho," according to the manuscripts. Ed. Fuensanta del Valle, 1871 (*Biblióf. Esp.* 9). Ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes*, II, 119–250. Other works of Villalón: *Diálogo que trata de las transformaciones de Pitágoras*, etc., in *Orígenes*, II, 99–118. *Viaje de Turquía*, ed. Serrano y Sanz, in *Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, II, 1–149. Ed. Solalinde, Calpe, 1919, 2 vols. *Ingeniosa comparación entre lo antiguo y lo presente* (1539), ed. Serrano, 1898 (*Biblióf. Esp.*, vol. 33). *El Scholástico*, ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, 1911 (*Biblióf. Madrileños*, vol. 5). *Tragedia de Mirrha* (1536), ed. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XIX, 1908, 159–183. Ed. J. Rogerio Sánchez, 1926.—See F. A. de Icaza, in *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, IV, 1917, 32–46. N. Alonso Cortés, *Miscelánea vallisoletana*, 3ª serie, Valladolid, 1921, 165–180; and 4ª serie, 1926, 55–60. See below, p. 205, n. 1, and p. 208, n. 1.

of a cock give opportunity for a complete review of human conditions carried out with great intellectual freedom and brutal realism. The plan of this satirical dialogue is taken from Lucian's *Cock's Dream*, and this is plain evidence that the ancient novel was one of the sources of the Spanish picaresque tale. The *Crótalon* (=set of castanets?) was written at the beginning of the reign of Philip II, but was not printed till 1871. Villalón's *Viaje de Turquía*, the narrative of his three years of captivity, has likewise a strong picaresque coloring. The author studied at Alcalá, at Salamanca (1525), and acted as private tutor in Valladolid (1532–34), where he still was in 1539. He traveled in Italy, was taken captive by the Turks in 1552 and carried to Constantinople where he passed for a physician. He returned by way of Greece and Italy. He died after 1558.[1]

In other countries, of course, the same causes produced the same effects. Italy, Germany, France and England enriched this special literature.[2] Nowhere else, however, did it flourish as in Spain, and it was Spain, certainly, which contributed the name. It is a fertile branch of letters, and tells us much about the manners of the day. But its data must not be accepted without close scrutiny. In it satire is likely to be malicious, and a portrait tends to become a caricature. And so too, with regard to literary value; none can deny the originality of the Spanish picaresque novel, nor that it piques the reader's curiosity, but all the works we shall have occasion to name suffer, in greater or less degree, from serious defects: unnatural style, intentional deformation and exaggeration of every feature, and superficiality in the observation of psychological fact.

13. Lazarillo de Tormes

The *Lazarillo* appeared anonymously. Of the different names which have been suggested (Fray Juan Ortega, the poet Sebastián de Horozco, etc.) only one seems to offer an attractive hypothesis, and that is Don Diego de Mendoza, some of whose works reveal a boldly realistic spirit. But although for various reasons I continue to favor this theory, I must confess that up to the present it is not backed by any certain and direct proof, and that there are some excellent arguments against it.[1]

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[1] [Neither the *Crótalon* nor the *Diálogo* nor the *Viaje de Turquía* bear Villalón's name, as do his other works. The text follows the generally accepted conclusions of Sr. Serrano y Sanz; but Solalinde and Alonso Cortés raise a serious challenge to them. If he did not write the *Viaje de Turquía*, the statement about his travels outside Spain must be deleted.. See p. 208, n. 1.]

[2] For England, see Martin Hume, *Spanish Influence on English Lit.*, Philadelphia-London, 1905, chap. vi.

The work contains seven chapters or *Tractados*. Lazarillo himself relates his birth, his childhood and his stay with the different masters whom he served: the blind man, the *clérigo* of Maqueda, the poor hidalgo, the Mercenarian friar, the seller of bulls, the chaplain and the *alguacil*. As he goes, he launches many a keen thrust at men of the Church, and his hand is sure and bold. The last lines seem to imply a sequel which never appeared. The autobiographic form of the *Lazarillo* was faithfully adopted by the picaresque novel everywhere.

The vigorous realism of its sketches, the firmness of the author's touch and the alert simplicity of his style make this brief narrative a little masterpiece. But it remained unique for a long time, for the pretended *Second Part* is scarcely worth a mention; it appeared at Antwerp in 1555, and gives, instead of exact satirical portraiture, ridiculous, fantastic adventures.

Juan de Luna, a Spanish teacher in Paris, author of *Diálogos familiares* (1619), wrote another *Second Part*,[2] but this and the *Lazarillo del Manzanares*, by **Juan Cortés de Tolosa,** did not appear till sixty-six years later, in 1620, and they merit no more than a mention.

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[1] [For bibliography see above, p. 202, n. 1. It was M. Morel-Fatio who presented serious arguments against the attribution to Mendoza. Cejador in his edition upheld the claim of Sebastián de Horozco, and this theory appeared to Bonilla the most plausible, though unproven.]

[2] Juan de Luna, or H. de Luna, *La Segunda Parte de la vida de L. de T., sacada de las corónicas antiguas de Toledo*, ed. Aribau, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, III. Ed. E. R. Sims, Austin, Texas [1928].

CHAPTER III

THE DRAMA [1]

1. Different Types of Drama

During this period the drama, founded by Encina, developed steadily. As plays increased in number, divergent paths were explored; dramatic art was in search of its true way. That was the cause of much hesitation, confusion and abortive essays. Two important names, Torres Naharro and Gil Vicente, dominate the rest. These two authors were in reality contemporary with Encina, but their literary activity manifested itself later than his *Cancionero* of 1496, and one of them at least, Gil Vicente, began his career as a disciple of Encina.

A very considerable number of dramas have survived from the first half of the 16th century, either printed or manuscript, separate or in collections, and new ones are constantly coming to light. This period, which used to be thought quite empty, is being steadily filled in. [2] A single manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional contains 96 pieces, most of them not printed in their day.[3] All but one are of a religious nature, and they were probably written in the third quarter of the century (1550–1575). And this is only a small indication of what has disappeared. It is hard, in a field of so numerous and so diverse productions, to establish any clear and logical order. No attempt will be made here to name all, or nearly all, the works. It will be simpler to group the most important names about the two leaders, who represent fairly well two different tendencies: Encina and Torres Naharro. To be sure, the two authors and schools meet at certain points, but in a way the first represents, both in matter and form, the national tradition, while the second has undergone some influence of the Italo-classic Renaissance. Beside Encina and Torres Naharro, Gil Vicente, founder and glory of the Portuguese drama, created a new art. At first Encina's example was strong upon him, and later he may have known that of Torres, but his art stands on its own merit, and Vicente had his own great and particular gifts. Finally, in addition to the living drama, largely original, there existed a learned drama, translated or directly imitated from the classics, like the *Amphitryon* of Villalobos, the Euripides play of Boscán (now lost), the adaptations of Pérez de Oliva (*Amphitryon*, *Venganza de Agamenón*, *Hécuba triste*), the *Tragedia de Mirrha* (1536), a mixed narrative and dialogue by El bachiller Villalón,[1] and others. This erudite art had very trifling effect upon the national drama.

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[1] Leandro F. de Moratín, *Orígenes del teatro español*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, II. M. Cañete, *Teatro esp. del siglo XVI*, 1885. A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Las Bacantes*, 1921. J. P. W. Crawford, *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, Philadelphia, 1922. H. Mérimée, *Le théâtre esp. depuis les origines jusqu'à Lope de Vega*, in *Théâtre espagnol*, Paris, n. d.

[2] Paz y Melia's catalogue of MS. plays in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid (1889) contains 4307 items, and many of them belong to the 16th century.

[3] Published by Léo Rouanet, *Colección de autos, farsas y coloquios del siglo XVI*, 4 vols., Barcelona, 1901. Other collections for this period: Eugen Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, Dresden, 1911. Urban Cronan, *Teatro esp. del siglo XVI*, 1913 (*Biblióf. Madril.* 10).

2. The School of Encina [2]

The followers of Encina were very numerous. Almost all the *Farsas*, *Églogas*, *Coloquios*, *Representaciones*, *Autos de Natividad* and *del Sacramento*, which fill the manuscript just mentioned, belong to his line, and so do the twenty-eight plays and moralities of the *Recopilación* (*Collection*) (1554?) of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz,[3] those of other dramatic *Cancioneros* (as that of Sebastián de Horozco, not printed till 1874), many of the compositions of Luis Hurtado, Juan de París, Juan de Pedraza,[4] author of a *Farsa de la Danza de la Muerte* (1551), Ferruz, Pero López Rangel, and most or all of the thirty-eight dramatists named by Cañete as working prior to 1540. [5] The same may be said of **Fernán López de Yanguas.**[6]

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[1] It appears unlikely that the "Bachiller Villalón" who wrote the *Tragedia de Mirrha* and the *Ingeniosa comparación* is the same as the Cristóbal de Villalón, *licenciado en teología*, author of the *Provechoso tractado de cambios* (1541), *El Scholástico*, and the *Gramática castellana* (1558; cf. Conde de la Viñaza, *Bibl. histórica de la filología cast.*, 1893, 482–502, 1108–1122), or the author of the *Crótalon* and *Viaje de Turquía*. [But see p. 205, n. 1. It is practically certain that the *Bachiller* and the *Licenciado* are one and the same. For convenience the bibliography of all works attributed to Villalón has been placed in one note; p. 204, n. 2.]

[2] J. P. W. Crawford, *The Spanish Pastoral Drama*, Phila., 1915.

[3] Ed. V. Barrantes, 1882–1886, 2 vols. (*Libros de antaño*, 11 and 12).

[4] His *Comedia de Sancta Susaña* (1551) was reprinted by Bonilla (from the 1558 ed.) in *Revue Hisp.*, XXVI, 1912, 423–436.

[5] *Farsas y Églogas de Lucas Fernández*, 1867, p. lix and following. For editions of the writers just cited see Crawford, *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega, Appendix*.

[6] *Farsa del mundo y moral*, in Rouanet's *Col. de autos*, etc., vol. IV, and also in Cronan, *Teatro*. *Farsa sacramental*, see Cotarelo in *Rev. de Arch.*, VII, 1902, 251–

Mention has already been made of his *Dichos de los siete sabios de Grecia* (p. 192), "*bocadillos de oro,*" written in verse, he said "*porque los niños más tiernos los puedan saber de coro.*" The aim of his *Cincuenta preguntas con otras tantas respuestas* (1550) was likewise pedagogical. He wrote for the stage a number of *Farsas* (*Farsa del mundo y moral*, *Farsa de genealogía*, *Farsa sacramental*), and an *Égloga de la natividad*, in which the actors are for the most part shepherds. Pastoral too are the plays of the Toledan publisher **Luis Hurtado,** who issued the *Cortes de la Muerte*[1] and *Cortes de casto amor* (1557), the former written in part by Micael de Carvajal. He published a revised form of Perálvarez de Ayllón's *Comedia Tibalda* with the title *Comedia de Preteo y Tibaldo* (1553),[2] and, on his own account, an *Égloga Siluiana*, written in a style which is rather slow and diffuse, but yet does not lack clarity and strength.

Other essays were made at other points of the Peninsula. In Valencia, at the court of Germaine de Foix, **Juan Fernández de Heredia** (1480?–1549) saw performed his curious *Coloquio de las damas valencianas* (1524).[3] There **Luis Milán** wrote *La montería de las damas y caballeros de Troya* and other ballets or pageants included in *El cortesano* (1561).[4] He was better known as a musician (*Libro de música de vihuela de mano, intitulado el Maestro*, 1536).

Among all these dramatists whose works have become rare and whose names are all but forgotten, one truly deserves notice, and that is **Lucas Fernández** (1474?–1542) of Salamanca, whose *Farsas y églogas al modo y estilo pastoril y castellano* were printed in 1514.[5] This collection includes, besides a *Diálogo para cantar*, six pieces. The first three, one *Comedia* and two *Farsas o cuasi comedias*, have simple plots of the loves of peasants or soldiers, and contain only

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272. *Farsa sobre la felice nueva*, in Cronan. *Égloga de la natividad*, in Kohler, *Sieben dram. Eklogen.*—See A. Bonilla y San Martín, *F. L. de Y. y el Bachiller de la Pradilla*, in *Rev. crítica hispano-americana*, I, 1915, 44–51.

[1] Ed. Justo de Sancha, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXV.

[2] Ed. Bonilla, 1903 (*Bibl. hispanica*, XIII).

[3] Published posthumously in *Obras*, 1562; reprint Martí Grajales, Valencia, 1913. The collection is important for our knowledge of the history and manners of the court of the vice-queen Germaine de Foix. See H. Mérimée, *L'art dramatique à Valencia*, Toulouse, 1913, 65–82.

[4] Reprinted, with *El libro de motes de damas y caballeros* (1535), in vol. VII of *Libros esp. raros o curiosos*, 1874.—See H. Mérimée, *op. cit.*, 88–100. J. B. Trend, *Luis Milán*, Oxford, 1925.

[5] Ed. Manuel Cañete, 1867.—See A. Morel-Fatio, *Notes sur la langue des Farsas y églogas de L. F.*, in *Romania* X, 1881, 239–244. R. Espinosa Maeso, *Ensayo biográfico de L. F.*, in *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, X, 1923, 386–424 and 567–603.

three or four scenes each. There follow a Christmas *Égloga o farsa,* a Christmas *Auto o farsa,* and an *Auto de la Pasión.* The simple and expressive language reproduces the dialectal differences (*charro* and *sayagués*) of the various speakers, nearly all taken from the popular classes. The dialogue is thus marked with the stamp of truth. The versification shows stanzas of from seven to ten lines, of octosyllables and the *quebrado* of four.[1] In short, Lucas Fernández's drama is an echo of Encina's, somewhat weaker but still of great interest. The anonymous *Farça a manera de tragedia* (1537),[2] in which there is certainly more tragedy than farce, is in the same pastoral style.

3. The drama of **Bartolomé de Torres Naharro** (d. after 1530) is more original and richer. Born at Torre de Miguel Sexmero (Extremadura), he experienced many adventures, including captivity in Algiers, went to Rome, took orders there, and probably entered the service of D. Bernardino Carvajal, Cardinal of Santa Cruz. Later (1516?) he established himself in Naples, in the service of Fabrizio Colonna. In that city he published the *Propalladia* [3] (1517), dedicating these *First Fruits of my Minerva* to the celebrated Marquis of Pescara, Fernando Dávalos. Before this collection he had written some scattering verse: a *Psalmo* to celebrate a Spanish victory over the Venetians (1513), like Herrera's *Canción por la victoria de Lepanto;* a parody of the Lateran Council, 1512–1513, *Concilio de los galanes y cortesanas de Roma,* etc. The *Propalladia* contains, besides the dramatic works, the *Retracto,* a fine lament upon the death (1515) of Pedro Manrique de Lara, Duke of Nájera; three *Lamentaciones de amor; romances;* some pious verse; a *Sátira;* seven *Epístolas;* eight *Canciones;* three sonnets; and a *Diálogo del Nascimiento.* There were six *Comedias* in the 1517 edition: the *Comedia Serafina*, the *Trofea*, the *Soldadesca*, the *Tinellaria*, the *Himenea*, and the *Jacinta*. Later two more were added, the *Comedia Calamita* and the *Aquilana*. These pieces were all performed in Italy, in the presence of prelates or nobles.

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[1] Cf. S. Griswold Morley, *Strophes in the Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega,* in *Homen. Menéndez Pidal,* I, 1924, 505–531; for Fernández, p. 508.

[2] Ed. H. A. Rennert, in *Rev. Hisp.,* XXV, 1911, 283–316; revised ed. Valladolid, 1914.

[3] Ed. M. Cañete and Menéndez y Pelayo, 1880–1900 (*Libros de antaño,* vols. 9 and 10).—See the latter's *Estudio preliminar* in the second vol. A. L. Stiefel in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Lit.,* CXIX, 1907, 195–196. J. E. Gillet, in *Romanic Review,* XI, 1920, 26–36, and XIV, 1923, 265–275. Id., in *Mod. Philol.,* XXI, 1923, 101–102. J. P. W. Crawford, in *Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXXVI, 1921, 15–17. M. Romera-Navarro, *Estudio de la 'Com. Himenea,'* in *Romanic Review,* XII, 1921, 50–62. A. Lenz, *T. N. et Plaute,* in *Rev. Hisp.,* LVII, 1923, 99–107. P. Mazzei, *Contributo allo studio delle fonti ital. del teatro di Juan del Encina e T. N.,* Lucca, 1922.

The preface (*Prohemio*) of the *Propalladia* is interesting, for it informs us of Torres Naharro's dramatic theories. All *comedias* are to be divided into two classes: *comedias a noticia* (realistic) and *comedias a fantasía* (romantic, purely imaginary). Among the first he places *Soldadesca* and *Tinellaria*, collections of guard-house and kitchen scenes, with soldiery and *pícaros* as characters; in the second group belong *Serafina*, *Himenea*, *Calamita* and *Aquilana*. This classification is somewhat vague, and scarcely applies to *Trofea*, which celebrates Portuguese conquests, or even to *Jacinta*, halfway between the two kinds. In imitation of the classics, the plays are divided into five acts, or, as Torres Naharro puts it, into five stages or *jornadas*, a term taken up later by Juan de la Cueva; they are preceded by a prologue, *Introito*. He studied character with some care and developed a richer and more complex plot; he increased the *dramatis personae*, representative of all classes. In short, a distinct literary aim is in evidence. Juan de Valdés declared that Torres Naharro "*mucho ha ilustrado la lengua castellana*," has added lustre to Castilian, but he added that he wrote best on low and plebeian subjects: "*escribía bien aquellas cosas bajas i plebeyas que pasaban entre gentes con quien él más ordinariamente trataba.*" He has been reproached for using so many Italianisms, and it could hardly be otherwise, for Italian had become his customary speech. He made some metrical innovations; for example, he rendered the *arte mayor* line more flexible by introducing its hemistich as a *quebrado*.[1]

Torres Naharro exerted a powerful influence on Spanish drama. It can be noted in many of his contemporaries who may be regarded as in greater or less degree his disciples or imitators. The following may be mentioned: **Castillejo** (*La Constanza*, 1522; cf. p. 169); the Aragonese **Jayme de Güete** or **Huete,** author of two five-act *comedias*, the *Tesorina* and the *Vidriana* (1525?);[2] **Agustín Ortiz** (*Comedia Radiana*, ca. 1533);[3] **Antonio Díez** (*Auto*

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[1] [Gil Vicente did the same at about the same time, and it is not easy to say which was first. See S. G. Morley, *op. cit.*, 510, note 3.]

[2] Ed. Cronan, *op. cit.*

[3] Ed. R. E. House, in *Mod. Philol.*, VII, 1910, 507–556.

de Clarindo, 1535?; in three acts);[1] **Vasco Díaz Tanco de Fregenal,**[2] who claims to have written seventeen *autos*, all lost; **Luis de Miranda** (*Comedia Pródiga*, 1554, probably written much earlier);[3] **Micael de Carvajal,**[4] one of the best dramatists of the middle of the century (*Tragedia Josefina*, 1535, but probably earlier; in four acts); **Alonso de Villegas Selvago** (*Comedia Selvagia*, 1554),[5] a youthful work which its author, after he became a chaplain at Toledo, wished to bury under more pious works; **Sepúlveda,** of whom nothing is known save the *Comedia de Sepúlveda* (1547),[6] an adaptation of *Il Viluppo* (1547) by the Italian Parabosco; **Bartolomé Palau,**[7] possibly the person ridiculed by Lope de Rueda as Jáquima in *El Convidado* (*Farsa Salmantina*, 1552, with curious details of university life; *Victoria de Cristo*, 1569? imitation of Gil Vicente's *Historia de Deus*); **Francisco de las Natas** (*Comedia Tidea*, 1550);[8] **Francisco de Avendaño** (*Comedia Florisea*, 1551,[9] a three-act play, like the *Auto de Clarindo*); **Juan Pastor** (*Tragedia de la castidad de Lucrecia*),[10] who at the close of that piece declares that he wrote also a *Grismaltina* and a *Clariana;* and, finally, the anonymous *Comedia Fenisa* (1540),[11] an eclogue in easy and simple verses, the scene being laid at Fresdelval, near Burgos; it retained its hold on the people longer than more ambitious works.

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[1] Ed. Bonilla, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXVII, 1912, 455–487.

[2] For the titles, see Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, 785–786. J. E. Gillet, *Apuntes sobre las obras dramáticas de V. D. T. de F.*, in *Rev. de Arch.*, XXVII, 1923, 352–356. M. Macías, *V. D. T. de F.*, in *Bol. Arqueológico de la Comisión provincial de Monumentos de Orense*, VII, 1923, 113–134.

[3] Ed. J. M. de Alava, Sevilla, 1868 (*Bibliof. Andaluces*, vol. 19).—See A. L. Stiefel, in *Literaturblatt für germ. und rom. Philol.*, XXIV, 1903, 125. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes*, III, pp. cl–cli.

[4] *Tragedia Josefina*, ed. Cañete, 1870 (*Biblióf. Esp.*, v. 6).—See M. Cañete, *Teatro esp. del siglo XVI*, 105–247. A. Morel-Fatio, in *Romania*, XV, 1886, 462–468. For the *Cortes de la Muerte*, see above, p. 209.

[5] Ed. in *Libros esp. raros o curiosos*, V, 1873.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes*, III, pp. cclvi–cclxviii. This is a five-act imitation of the *Celestina*, but capable of being performed.

[6] Ed. Cotarelo, in *Revista esp. de lit., hist. y arte*, I, 1901.—See Crawford, in *Romanic Review*, XI, 1920, 76–81.

[7] *Farsa llamada Salmantina*, ed. Morel-Fatio, in *Bull. Hisp.*, II, 1900, 247–304. *Victoria de Cristo*, extracts in Rouanet, *Autos*, etc., IV, 365–394. *Historia de Santa Orosia*, ed. A. Fernández-Guerra, 1883. *Farsa llamada Custodia del hombre*, ed. Rouanet, with study of Palau's dramatic work, in *Archivo de invest. hist.*, I, 1911 and II, 1911.—See also Rouanet, in *Rev. crítica de hist. y lit.*, IV, 1899, 430–435. R. E. House, in *Romanic Review*, IV, 1913, 311–322. M. Serrano y Sanz in *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, IX, 1922, 301–310.

[8] Ed. Cronan, *op. cit.*—See M. Romera Navarro, in *Mod. Philol.*, XIX, 1921, 187–198.

[9] Ed. Bonilla, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXVII, 1912, 398–422.

[10] Ed. Bonilla, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXVII, 1912, 437–454.

[11] Ed. Bonilla, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXVII, 1912, 488–497.—See J. E. Gillet, in *Mod.*

Most of these works, which are in varying degree suited to the stage, can be in some way related to the drama of Torres Naharro. The ideas found in them, however, often betray the dominating power of the *Celestina*. This influence is strongly to be felt in many *Comedias*, *Tragicomedias* and *Farsas*, written, like the *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*, to be read, not acted. Of them three are anonymous: *Comedia Seraphina* (1521) and *Comedia Thebayda*, in prose; and the verse *Comedia Ypólita;* the last two are undated but of about the same time as the first.[1] One of the best is the *Tragicomedia de Lisandro y Roselia* (1542) by **Sancho de Muñón.**[2] The *Tragedia Policiana* (1547) [3] was probably by **Sebastián Fernández.** The *Comedia Euphrosina* is a Portuguese work by Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos of about 1535 (?); the translation [3] into Spanish was not made till 1631. The bachelor **Juan Rodríguez Florián** wrote the *Comedia Florinea* (1554).[3] One of the last in date (1602) but first in merit is *La Lena*, by **Alfonso Velázquez de Velasco.**[4]

4. Gil Vicente [5] (1465?–1536?) is a somewhat mysterious figure, for one of such importance. Neither place nor date of his birth or death is known. A goldsmith of the same name worked at the

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Lang. Notes, XL, 1925, 102. In the 1625 edition Juan de Melgar is given as the author, probably without justification.

[1] The two in prose were reprinted in the *Libros raros o curiosos* collection; *Thebayda* (very badly) by Fuensanta del Valle (vol. XXII, 1894), and *Seraphina* by the same and Sancho Rayón (vol. V, 1873). The rare *Comedia Ypólita* is now accessible in a careful edition by Philip E. Douglass, Phila., 1929.

[2] Ed. Fuensanta del Valle and Sancho Rayón, in *Libros raros o curiosos*, III, 1872. Ed. J. López Barbadillo, 1918. See F. A. de Icaza, *Los dos Sancho de Muñón*, etc., in *Homen. Menéndez Pidal*, III, 309–317.

[3] Ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, in *Orígenes*, III.

[4] Likewise printed by Menéndez y Pelayo in vol. III of the *Orígenes de la novela*. His *Introducción* to this volume discusses every work mentioned in this paragraph.

[5] *Obras*, ed. J. Mendes dos Remedios, 3 vols., Coimbra, 1907–1914. *Four Plays* (*Auto da Alma, Exhortação da guerra, Farsa dos Almocreves, Tragicomedia pastoril da Serra da Estrella*), ed. A. F. G. Bell, with Engl. transl., Cambridge, 1920. *Auto de la Sibila Casandra*, ed. Álvaro Giráldez, 1921. *Auto da Festa*, ed. Conde de Sabugosa, Lisboa, 1906.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, VII, pp. clxiii–ccxxv. J. I. Brito Rebello, *G. V.*, Lisboa, 1912. C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, *Notas Vicentinas*, in *Revista da Univ. de Coimbra*, I, 1912; VI, 1918; VII, 1919; and IX, 1921. A. Braamcamp Freire, *Vida e Obras de G. V.*, Porto, 1919; 2nd ed. 1921. Fidelino de Figueiredo, *Hist. da Litt. Classica*, 1ª Epocha, 2nd ed., Lisboa, 1922, cap. I. A. F. G. Bell, *G. V.*, Oxford, 1921 (with full bibliography). Crawford, *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, Phila., 1922, 70–74.

Portuguese court during the same period as the playwright; and it is plausibly supposed, if not absolutely proved, that they were one and the same person. He came to Court during the reign of João II (1481–95), and served successively under Manuel (1495–1521) and João III (1521–1557). He was the official purveyor of plays for all occasions, and in festivities had an opportunity to display his dramatic talent and his skill as a musician. Whether because he wished to please Manuel's queen Doña María, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, or because most Portuguese writers of that time used their own language and Castilian with equal ease, or whether the recent example of Encina gave Castilian a special prerogative, Gil Vicente employed either and often both in the same play. Of his forty-four pieces, some sixteen are entirely in Portuguese, eleven entirely in Spanish, and the other seventeen in a sort of artificial mixture of the two.

There is no doubt that at first Vicente took Encina for his model, as in the *Auto da Visitacão* or *Monólogo del Vaquero* (1502), the *Auto pastoril*, the *Auto de los Reyes Magos* (1503), and even the curious *Auto de la Sibila Casandra*,[1] in which the plot becomes more complex, though the popular spirit is still strong. The last-named contains a pretty song, an anthology favorite, "*Muy graciosa es la doncella*," which is known to have been set to music by Vicente himself. Encina is visible, too, in the *Auto da Fe* (1510), the *Auto de los cuatro tiempos* (1516?), and the trilogy of the three *Barcas: Auto da Barca do Inferno, Auto da Barca do Purgatorio, Auto da Barca da Gloria* (1517–1519), only the last of the three being in Castilian.[2] Among Gil Vicente's non-religious plays written wholly or mostly in Castilian, the best are the *Comedia del viudo* (1514), the *Comedia de Rubena* (1521), in three acts, with an *introito* or *argumento*, and the two tragicomedies of chivalry, *Amadís de Gaula* (1533) and *Don Duardos*, the latter, taken from *Primaleón*, perhaps his masterpiece. Lyric poetry is an integral part of Vicente's work. His *Triumph of Winter* and *Triumph of Summer* convey a favorable idea of his manner, imaginative, graceful and vivacious. Gil Vicente was an authentic lyric poet, and more within the drama than outside it. It is truly remarkable that his plays, though nearly all performed at Court, preserve a popular flavor and a freshness of imagination little to be anticipated under such conditions. In his delightful *Farsas* he sketched characters of the people, as Encina and Rueda did in Spain, and proved himself an observer quick to catch the tricks and crotchets of his subjects. His genius displayed itself at Court, but it drove its roots far into the national soil.

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[1] Cf. Georgiana Goddard King, *The Play of the Sibyl Cassandra*, Bryn Mawr, 1921.

[2] English poetic version of the trilogy by A. F. Gerald, *The Ship of Hell*, Watford, 1929.

SECOND PART

THE GOLDEN AGE AT ITS HEIGHT

From Philip II to the Death of Lope de Vega (1555–1635)

1. General Characteristics

The long period which now opens before us covers and runs somewhat beyond the reigns of the son and grandson of Charles V. It well deserves the name of Golden Age. It is indeed the great age of Spanish letters, not alone by reason of the extraordinary number of writers in every branch and the maturity and classic perfection of the language, but because at that time some of the greatest names in literary history appear: this could justly be called the era of Cervantes and Lope de Vega. It must be borne in mind that this culmination of letters and art does not correspond exactly to the peak of Spanish political power. The latter was already seriously undermined, but military prestige and the continuing brilliance of Spain's civilization still veiled the secret sores which did not fully appear, beyond all hope of concealment, till the close of Philip IV's reign.

Let us try to sum up the chief characteristics of this literary period. The drama developed amazingly; under the leadership of Lope de Vega and his school, it assumed first place. Epic poetry fell slowly into the shade, though it flourished for a time, if one were to judge only by number of works, and not by their worth. Lyric poetry remained in favor. Attempts were made, particularly by Herrera, and later by Góngora, to renew and enrich it, but they were not wholly successful. Despite ingenious experiments, there were but few great lyrists, of the sort whose names cross national frontiers and attain world fame. One might almost say that the early promise of the lyric came to nothing. In prose, there are three salient facts. First of all, the remarkable flowering, all too brief, of mystical literature, which reveals so well one side of the Spanish soul. It withered too quickly, the most illustrious representatives disappearing before the 17th century began. Second, as if to form a counterpoise or contrast, all the forms of novel were in favor, more especially the kind we shall call realistic; that is to say, the novel of manners and the picaresque novel, which is the typically Spanish variety. Third, it is of the highest importance to observe that at the very moment when literature was approaching perfection, it was threatened by a double scourge which attacked form and matter, word and thought, and which is designated by the names *Gongorism* and *conceptism.* These terms will later be defined.

This period is long, including nearly a century. But there seems to be no advantage in subdividing it; quite the contrary, for it has its unity, which had best not be chopped up needlessly. Nevertheless one observation must be made: without question there are differences to be felt between the two halves of this literary era, and these changes correspond not to dates in politics and history, but to facts of a purely literary order. Thus, the dominance of the type of *comedia* fixed by Lope de Vega established a fundamental distinction between the drama before and after its appearance; so, too, the *coup d'état* which Góngora attempted brought about a capital evolution in lyric poetry. And finally, although the work of Cervantes, of far greater aesthetic import, did not produce immediate consequences of such weight, it marks a crowning era in the history of Spanish language and art. These three men, Lope de Vega, Góngora, Cervantes, juxtaposed here only on account of their similar historical significance, reached their prime at almost the same time, namely, at the beginning of the 17th century. They are like three neighboring mountain-peaks, of unequal height, but rising far above all the rest. By them the others are measured.

2. Contemporary Literatures

France. This period is filled by the struggle between the spirit of liberty which inspired Reformation and Renaissance, and the necessity of maintaining order. In politics it produced Henry IV of Navarre. In literature, beginning with Amyot and Montaigne, it led through Malherbe, Balzac and Chapelain to the French Academy (1634), Descartes (*Discours de la Méthode,* 1637) and Corneille (*Le Cid,* 1636). Ronsard, Desportes, d'Aubigné, du Bartas, Régnier in poetry; Grévin, Garnier, Montchrétien, Hardy, Larrivey, Mairet in drama; Amyot, Bodin, the *Satire Ménippée* (verse and prose), Charron, Montluc, Saint François de Sales in prose, all helped render the language more flexible and subtle. At times French literature displayed tendencies like those which triumphed in Spain, but north of the Pyrenees they died stillborn. Attempts to initiate an untrammeled, anti-classic drama did not prosper. Conceptist preciosity threatened for a moment, with Théophile, the *Astrée*, Voiture and Rambouillet, but it soon yielded before the spirit of common sense. The novel presented analogies to Spain in the *Baron de Foeneste*, *Francion* and the *Astrée*, but they quickly faded off into the insipid and interminable narratives of Gomberville, La Calprenède and the Scudérys. After the time of Henry IV, the two literatures moved in opposite directions. There were, to be sure, slight interinfluences. Conceptism, following diverse and delicate currents, not easy to determine, came to reinforce preciosity. But Spain, jealously closed to the world, as has been said, borrowed little from France.

Italy. Compared with French literature, waxing and flourishing at this time, that of Italy manifestly declined from its previous prosperous era. One great name, Torquato Tasso (1544–1595) supports its glory. The pastoral drama *Aminta* (1573)—which must be bracketed with Guarini's *Pastor fido* (written 1585, printed 1590)—and the epic *Gerusalemme liberata* (finished 1575) had a considerable influence on Spain. The seventeenth century was for Italy one of the most empty in her literary history. It opened with the sadly famous poetry of Giambattista Marino (1569–1625). Thanks to him, *secentismo*, Marinism and bad taste were all synonyms. "The period which extends from the middle of the 16th century to the beginning of the 18th is reputed one of the most unfortunate in Italy's history. . . . In it all political life and national sentiment disappeared. Liberty of thought was snuffed out, culture grew meagre, literature became mannered and awkward, architecture and the decorative arts were perverted by the baroque." [1]

England.[2] Here literature swiftly reached its prime under

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[1] B. Croce, *La Spagna nella vita italiana*, Bari, 1917, p. 241.

[2] In general, see Martin Hume, *Spanish Influence on English Lit.*, Phila.-London, 1905. J. G. Underhill, *Spanish Literature in the England of the Tudors*, N. Y., 1899. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *The Relations between Spanish and English Literature*, Liverpool, 1910.

For the Romances of Chivalry, Henry Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Ro-*

Elizabeth and James I. Modern poetry made a beginning with Tottel's *Miscellany* (1557), and continued with Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586), Edmund Spenser (1552?–1599; *Faerie Queene*, 1590–1596) and William Shakespeare (1564–1616; *Venus and Adonis*, 1593; *Sonnets*, 1609). In drama the landmarks are *Gammer Gurton's Needle* (1575), the works of Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593; *Tamburlaine*, 1587), Shakespeare (*Merchant of Venice*, 1594–96; *Hamlet*, 1601–03?; *Othello*, 1604; *The Winter's Tale*, 1611), Beaumont and Fletcher, and Ben Jonson (1573?–1637). In history Holinshed's *Chronicle* (1577); in the novel Sidney's *Arcadia* (1580–81) and John Lyly's *Euphues* (1579–80) are to be remembered. Didactic prose and essay produced works of the first order: Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie* (1580–81), Hakluyt's *Voyages* (1589), Sir Francis Bacon's philosophical and scientific publications (1561–1626; *Essays*, first set, 1597; *Advancement of Learning*, first two books, 1605), the Authorized Version of the *Bible* (1604), and Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621).

Notwithstanding this brilliant development, interrelations between English and Spanish literatures were fewer than might be anticipated. The two nations were then enemies. Spain knew little or nothing of what was being written in England, while in the latter nation Italian influence was dominant, despite the number of translations from Spanish works being published there. These were often made indirectly from French or Italian versions. The works most favored at the beginning were those of Guevara, Luis Vives, Pero Mejía, and the Romances of Chivalry. But the chief examples of Spanish contacts are Mejía's *Silva de varia lección* as a source of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, and the *Diana*, which aided Shakespeare in the plot of *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1595?). Later the borrowings of plot multiplied. Cervantes's *Don Quijote* was translated by Thomas Shelton in 1612–1620. The *Novelas ejem-*

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mances of Chivalry, Cambridge, 1920, ch. vii. Picaresque novel, F. W. Chandler, *opera citata*.

For the drama, A. L. Stiefel, *Die Nachahmung span. Komödien in England unter den ersten Stuarts*, in *Romanische Forsch.*, V, 1890, 193–220; and *Archiv. für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, XCIX, 1897, 270–310, and CXIX, 1907, 309–350. R. Schevill, *On the Influence of Span. Lit. upon England in the Early 17th Century*, in *Rom. Forsch.*, XX, 1905, 604–634. R. Grossmann, *Spanien und das elisabethanische Drama*, Hamburg, 1920.

List of translations to English from Spanish, 1530–1602, in Underhill, *op. cit.*, 375–408.

plares were not rendered till much later, but Beaumont and Fletcher and Middleton utilized them freely. These cases are of the surface. There is no evidence that Euphuism was a Spanish derivative, and certainly the Elizabethan drama was an independent movement, earlier than that of Spain.

CHAPTER I

POETRY

3. Lyric Poetry [1]

Chronologically, one can group the lyric poets of this period into three generations: 1, those born about the third decade of the 16th century: Luis de León (1528?–1591); Alcázar (1530–1606); Herrera (1534?–1597); Francisco de la Torre (d. toward 1594); Figueroa (1536–1617?). 2, the contemporaries of Góngora (1561–1627), as: Ledesma (1552–1623); Valdivielso (1560?–1638); Lupercio (1559–1613) and Bartolomé (1562–1631) Leonardo de Argensola; Lope de Vega (1562–1635); etc. 3, the young generation, whose literary activity began about 1600: Rodrigo Caro (1573–1647); Rioja (1583–1659); Villamediana (1580?–1622); Quevedo (1580–1645); Esquilache (1581–1658); Jáuregui (1583–1641); Luis Martín de la Plaza (1577–1625?); Medinilla (1585–1620); Villegas (1589–1669); etc. The three names which best characterize the respective groups are those of Herrera, Góngora and Quevedo. Among those whose lives run well beyond this period, it may suffice to mention Rebolledo (1597–1676).

4. The first group includes some of Spain's best lyrists. It is true that one can scarcely apply that term to the Sevillan **Baltasar del Alcázar** (1530–1606),[2] a soldier under the Marquis of Santa Cruz, then governor of the town of Los Molares for the Duke of Alcalá, then administrator of the property of the Count of Gelves, Don Jorge de Portugal. He was a witty and lovable poet, putting his whimsies into easy humorous verse; his fellow southerners liked to call him the Andalusian Martial. Nor can **Francisco de Figueroa** (1536–1617?) [3] claim a first rank. A native of Alcalá de Henares, he lived for a long time in Italy, married at home in 1575, visited Flanders in 1579, and returned to Alcalá to die. Italy affected his talent not a little: her influence is felt in most of his erotic and bucolic verse. This reminds one of Garcilaso, but it no longer held the charm of novelty which fascinated the earlier poet's readers. Thyrsis *el Divino*, for so his friends surnamed him, had grown old, and with him the "ungrateful Phyllis." Figueroa's poems were not published till 1625, long after his death.

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[1] *Poemas líricos de los siglos XVI y XVII*, ed. Adolfo de Castro, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, vols. XXXII and XLII. *Romancero y cancionero sagrados*, ed. Justo de Sancha, *ibid.*, vol. XXXV. A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Flores de poetas ilustres de los siglos XVI y XVII*, 1917.

[2] *Poesías*, Sevilla, 1878 (*Biblióf. Andaluces*). Ed. Rodríguez Marín, 1910. Selections in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXII, XXXV and XLII.

[3] *Obras* (facsimile of 1626 ed. by A. M. Huntington), N. Y., 1903. *Poesías*, ed.

Like characters, like settings and like themes are found in the verse of **Francisco de la Torre,**[1] published in 1631 by Quevedo, six years after those of Figueroa. Almost nothing is known of the author's person. It has even been suggested that the name was no more than a pseudonym behind which the real poet hid: Quevedo himself, according to one critic; the Portuguese Almeida, who prepared the verses for the press, according to another. From examination of his poems, one can infer that he had lived in Italy, studied the poets of that country closely, and knew some of the Latin lyric writers. His style is very different from that of Quevedo, and the manuscript of his works, all ready for the press, was officially approved by Ercilla (d. 1594). By its style the poetry of Torre seems to date from the 1580's. It is elegant, gentle and technically perfect; the author's taste is pure, his language irreproachable, save for a rare Italianism. The collection contains 65 sonnets, 6 *canciones*, 11 odes, 10 *endechas*, and the *Bucólica del Tajo*, in eight eclogues. The very fact that he could so easily be confused with other poets shows that his personality is neither strong nor original.

5. If these lyric poets cannot well be called great, there is no denying the adjective to Luis de León and Herrera.

Adolfo de Castro, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLII. *Poésies inédites*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXV, 1911, 317–344. *Varias composiciones inéditas*, ed. A. Lacalle Fernández, in *Rev. crít. hisp.-americana*, V, 1919, 148–168. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Observaciones . . . con varias composiciones inéditas*, in *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, II, 1915, 302–340, 458–496.—See J. P. W. Crawford, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, II, 1907, 223–227. U. A., in *Rev. Hisp.*, XL, 1917, 260–263, and XLIII, 1918, 563–565. A. Lacalle Fernández, *Estudio bio-bibliográfico*, in *Rev. crít. hisp.-americana*, V, 1919, 122–147. R. Schevill, *Lainez, F. and Cervantes*, in *Homen. Menéndez Pidal*, I, 1925, 425–441.

[1] *Obras* (facsimile of 1631 ed. by A. M. Huntington), N. Y., 1903. See Ad. Coster, *Sur F. de la T.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXV, 1925, 74–133. J. P. W. Crawford, *F. de la T. y sus poesías*, in *Homen. Menéndez Pidal*, II, 431–446. Id., *F. de la T. and Juan de Almeida*, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLII, 1927, 365–371.

Luis de León will be discussed more fully among the mystic writers (p. 270); here we shall speak only of his poetry.[1] It excels in quality, not in quantity, for, setting aside the translations from classical authors and the Scriptures, which fill two of the three books in his collection, the original pieces number scarcely more than thirty. They too were published by Quevedo (1631), just forty years after the author's death, and from defective copies. If the editor, as he stated, really wished their beautiful simplicity to act as an antidote to the laborious subtleties of the Gongorists, he was too late; by that time, the harm was done. But at least, in most of these *liras*, tiercets, and sonnets the purest inspiration of Spanish mysticism is allied to the divine soaring of Platonic poetry, a Vergilian feeling for nature, and the classical elegance of Horace. The admirable odes to Francisco Salinas (*El aire se serena . . .*), to Felipe Ruiz (*En vano el mar fatiga . . . ; ¿Cuándo será que pueda . . . ?*), to Oloarte (*Noche serena*), to Cherinto (*Las sirenas*); the *Vida retirada, En la ascensión, Morada del cielo;* the *Profecía del Tajo*, the *liras A Santiago*, philosophical, yet glowing with the warm breath of patriotism; these and many other *obrecillas*, "which fell from my fingers in my youth and almost in my childhood," as León wrote with too great modesty, will never be surpassed by any Spanish poet. In fact, they unite two qualities which are rarely found together in the Castilian lyric: harmonious and truly classic purity of form, with sincerity and depth of feeling. Elaboration, over-subtlety, empty sonorous pomp, the customary defects of Spanish poets, are not present in these inspired verses, both tender and strong, which sprang from the silence of the cloister or from the pleasant solitude of La Flecha, the Augustinian country house near Salamanca.

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[1] In *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXVII and XXXV. *Poesías originales*, ed. F. de Onís, San José de Costa Rica, 1920. *Poésies originales*, ed. A. Coster, Chartres, 1923. *Lyrics, with English Renderings* by Aubrey F. G. Bell, London, 1928—See, besides general works to be cited later, Menéndez y Pelayo, *Horacio en España*, 2nd ed., 1885, I, 11–24 and II, 26–36. F. de Onís, *Sobre la trasmisión de la obra lit. de Fr. L. de L.*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, II, 1915, 217–257. A. Coster, *Notes pour une édition des poésies de L. de L.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XLVI, 1919, 193–248. Id., *ibid.*, 573–582. Id., *Dos palabras más sobre las poesías de L. de L.*, in *Homen. Menéndez Pidal*, I, 1925, 287–297. Z. García Villada, *Dos códices de las poesías de Fr. L. de L. en la biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo*, in *Bol. Bibl. Men. Pel.*, IV, 51–79. A. F. G. Bell, *Notes on L. de L.'s Lyrics*, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXI, 1926, 168–177. W. J. Entwistle, *Additional Notes on Luis de León's Lyrics*, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXII, 1927, 44–60, 173–188. Id., *Fray L. de L.'s Life in his Lyrics. A New Interpretation*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXXI, 1927, 176–224.

6. Though Luis de León's verses circulated among his friends during his life, and won him certain imitators, he was not a strong force upon the poetry of his time. But **Fernando de Herrera** (1534?–1597) was a real *chef d'école,* the leader of the Andalusian school. It is customary to place the Andalusian poets in opposition to the Castilian poets, in particular those of Salamanca, among whom Garcilaso and Luis de León are included. There are, in fact, appreciable differences between the two groups, and have been, to some extent, in all centuries. Andalusians are characterized by brilliancy of imagination, rich and bold metaphors, rhetorical style, studied and often labored subtlety of expression; all qualities which easily find a place in lyric poetry. The Castilians, on the other hand, cooler of imagination, display more chastened taste, more measured expression; they possess power and clearness rather than brilliance. They seek beauty more in exactness and sober delineation than in profusion of colors. In setting up such an antithesis between the characteristics of the two regions one must of course allow for many exceptions. But these are the two opposed concepts which would be found underlying the recurring polemics between representatives of the two schools. No one represents the Sevillan school with more authority than Herrera.[1]

His life was uneventful. He enjoyed a benefice from a parish in Seville, though he never took orders, and thus was enabled to devote himself peacefully to his literary labors. The one disturbing circumstance of his life was his passion for the Countess of Gelves, Leonor de Milán (d. 1581); still it may be wondered whether this very platonic passion was anything more than an excuse for addressing to the lady of his thoughts, his *Luz,* his *Estrella,* a quantity of poems in which the author, well read in Petrarch and Auzias March, spins fine ethereal threads according to the approved rules of the art.

These pseudo-amorous poems, most of them sonnets, form an important part of his works, which were first published by the author himself in 1582 (*Algunas obras*), and the second time in 1619 (*Versos*) by the painter Pacheco, whose studio was a sort of literary salon for the most distinguished folk of Seville.

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[1] *Poesías,* ed. Ad. de Castro, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XXXII. *F. de H., Controversia sobre sus anotaciones a las obras de Garcilaso de la Vega; Poesías inéditas,* ed. J. M. Asenio, Sevilla, 1870 (*Biblióf. Andaluces,* vol. 13). *L'hymne sur Lépante,* ed. Morel-Fatio, Paris, 1893. *Algunas obras,* ed. A. Coster, Paris, 1908. *Poesías,* ed. V. García de Diego, 1914 (*Clás. cast.,* vol. 26). *Versos,* ed. A. Coster, Strasbourg, 1919 (*Bibl. romanica*). *Poésies inédites,* ed. A. Coster, in *Rev. Hisp.,* XLII, 1918, 557–563.—See A. Coster, *F. de H.* (*El Divino*), Paris, 1908. F. Rodríguez Marín, *El divino Herrera y la Condesa de Gelves,* 1911.

The collection was not complete. The *Historia general de España hasta Carlos V* is lost. Besides, we know that much of Herrera's poetry disappeared after his death. Of what remains,[1] the *Canciones* are the foundation of his fame. The best known of these odes are the so-called *Hymn in Celebration of the Victory at Lepanto* (1572),[2] (of which there are two versions), the ode *Por la pérdida del Rey Don Sebastián*, the Portuguese king who was defeated and killed at Alcázar Kebir, on August 4, 1578, and the ode *To Don Juan de Austria*, victor over the Moriscos in the Alpujarras (1571). The last is the weakest of the three. Strong patriotic feeling, elevation of thought and nobility of style, enriched with imagery from the Bible, give true grandeur to these compositions. In them Herrera is most original; and in them too he makes most skilful application of his theories of literary reform.

His great aim was to guide the Spanish lyric toward nobler and loftier themes, and to enrich it with a more brilliant dress, so that in every branch it might rival the poetry of the classics and the Italians. To that end he attempted to raise the pitch of the Castilian lyre, which till then had been too easily content with ordinary subjects. He studied the language of the Scriptures, of Pindar and Horace; he banished too familiar or popular words, replacing them with expressions patterned after Latin and Italian. He made bold use of neologisms and archaisms, and was lavish with inversion and metaphor. Finally, he invented a new system of spelling. All this erudite labor of detail left a certain imprint of artificiality and coldness upon his verse.

The principles of this reform were formulated by Herrera in his annotated edition of the works of Garcilaso, issued in 1580. Although he took the precaution to declare that Garcilaso was the greatest Spanish poet known "up to that time," some of his criticisms seemed to lack reverence for his illustrious predecessor.

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[1] Eighty sonnets, 11 elegies, 8 *canciones*, and the *Égloga venatoria*.

[2] *Canción en alabança de la Divina Magestad por la vitoria del señor Don Juan.* See Morel-Fatio, *op. cit.*, above. It was first printed at the end of the prose narrative: *Relación de la guerra de Cipre y suceso de la batalla naval de Lepanto*, Sevilla, 1572. The *Relación* was reprinted in vol. XXI of the *Col. de docs. inéditos*, 1852, 242–382.

A "citizen of Burgos," hiding under the pseudonym *Licenciado Prete Jacopín* (Don Juan Fernández de Velasco, Conde de Haro), made a sharp retort to the "Sevillan poet." The argument turned into a petty squabble; Herrera's answer, one must admit, was anything but Attic. At a later time Quevedo, without fully recognizing the meritorious side of Herrera's attempted revolution, reproached him with being partially responsible for the excesses of the Gongorists. There is some truth in the stricture; yet Herrera remained *el Divino* to his generation and the next. He must be credited with an initiative analogous to that taken by the school of Ronsard in France.

7. At about the same date as Herrera's poems, other collections appeared, in which the national and Italian styles were mingled in varying proportions. **Jerónimo de Lomas Cantoral** [1] of Valladolid, published his *Obras* at Madrid in 1578. The Extremaduran **Joaquín Romero de Cepeda** [2] was lyrist, epic poet and dramatist (*Obras*, 1582; see below, p. 251 and p. 327). **Gabriel López Maldonado** was repeatedly eulogized by Cervantes, who contributed a prefatory sonnet to his *Cancionero* (1586).[3] **Pedro de Padilla,**[4] besides his historical *Romancero* (cf. p. 175), published many volumes of verse, among them *Tesoro de varias poesías* (1580) and *Églogas pastoriles* (1582). The religious collection (*Libro de poesía christiana, moral y divina*, 1590) of Fray **Damián de Vegas** contains also the *Comedia Jacobina*,[5] a drama of Esau and his birthright. **Vicente Espinel** will be found farther on, in connection with his famous picaresque novel (p. 317), but he must be mentioned here among the poets, on account of his technical skill and the invention, attributed to him, of the ten-line octosyllabic strophe called *décima*, or, from his name, *espinela* (*abba:accddc*). He is also credited with having added the characteristic fifth string to the Spanish guitar. The *Diversas Rimas* (1591), officially approved, and highly praised, by Ercilla, contains purely lyric verse and also *epístolas* or *canciones*, some of which have special interest.

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[1] Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, no. 2706.—See N. A. Cortés, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, VI, 1919, 375–388.

[2] Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, nos. 3707–3708. *Una glosa de romances viejos por R. de C.*, ed. S. G. Morley, in *Rev. de la Bibl., Arch. y Museo*, I, 1924, 349–361.

[3] See Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, nos. 2750 and 2751. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, III, 418–420.

[4] See Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madr.*, III, 445. Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos datos biográficos*, p. 23.

[5] Ed. Justo de Sancha, with *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXV.

Eugenio de Salazar (cf. p. 286) left a manuscript *Silva de poesías* [1] containing lyric verse of all kinds; and with it an interesting *Epístola* to Herrera, and a *Sátira contra los abusos de la Corte.*

Many of the authors studied elsewhere in this volume interspersed verses in their prose, and sometimes the verse is preferable. Among them are such names as Montemayor, Gil Polo, Ginés Pérez de Hita, Balbuena, Barahona de Soto, Lope de Vega.

8. Second Group

The mantle of Herrera fell upon the Cordovan **Luis de Argote,** who assumed his mother's name of **Góngora** (1561–1627).[2] He was one of Spain's great writers, the leading poet of the generation born at the beginning of the second half of the century. He went to the University of Salamanca (1576), where he enjoyed himself and studied little. Returning to Cordova, he took minor orders and became prebendary (*racionero*) of the Cathedral (1585?). Later, by the protection of two royal favorites, the Duke of Lerma and D. Rodrigo Calderón, he became a priest and was appointed chaplain to the King (*capellán de Su Magestad*). From that time (1617) he resided in Madrid. In 1626 he suffered a stroke of apoplexy and returned to Cordova, where he died the next year.

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[1] Extracts in Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, no. 3776.

[2] *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, X, XVI, XXXII, XXXV. *Obras poéticas* [with *Epistolario* of 60 letters], ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, N. Y., 1921, 3 vols. (*Bibl. hispanica*, XVI, XVII, XX). *Fábula de Polifemo y Galatea*, ed. Alfonso Reyes, 1923. *Romances*, ed. J. M. de Cossío, 1927. *Soledades*, ed. Dámaso Alonso, 1927, with important preface. *Vingt-six lettres de G.*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Rev. Hisp.*, X, 1903, 184–225.—See E. Churton, *G.*, London, 1862, 2 vols. [with English translations]. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Bibliographie de G.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XVIII, 1908, 73–161. A. Reyes, *G. y 'La Gloria de Niquea,'* in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, II, 1915, 274–282. J. Pellicer de Salas y Touar, *Vida de D. L. de G.*, reprinted in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXXIV, 1915, 577–588. See also *Obras poéticas*, ed. Foulché-Delbosc, III, 291–308 Díez-Canedo, Guzmán and Reyes, *Contribuciones a la bibliografía de G.*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, III, 1916, 171–182, and IV, 1917, 54–64. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *G.*, .London, 1917. A. Reyes, *Reseña de estudios gongorinos*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, V, 1918, 315–336. Id., *Cuestiones gongorinas . . .*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XLIII, 1918, 505–519, LXV, 1925, 134–139, and *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, VI, 1919, 268–282. H. Thomas, *Three Translators of G. and other Spanish Poets*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XLVIII, 1920, 180–256, 311–316. Miguel Artigas, *Don Luis de Góngora y Argote, Biografía y estudio crítico*, 1925 [with 66 unpublished letters]. M. Artigas, *Semblanza de G.*, 1928. Clara Louisa Penney, *Luis de Góngora*, N. Y., 1926. M. Artigas, *Revisión de la biografía de G.*, etc., in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, XIV, 1927, 405–416. This whole number of this journal is devoted to Góngora.

His poetical compositions, scattered previously in all sorts of places, were first collected by Juan López de Vicuña, who published them in 1627 (*Obras en verso del Homero español*). In 1633 Gonzalo de Hozes y Córdoua issued a more complete collection (*Todas las obras de Don Luis de Góngora en varios poemas*); it added many more verses (a few of them previously unpublished), the *comedia Las firmezas de Isabela* (1613), and fragments of two other plays (*El doctor Carlino, La venatoria*). The dramatic efforts are without much interest. These early editions were careless and corrupt. It remained for M. Foulché-Delbosc, in 1921, to utilize an authorized manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid and issue a critical, chronologically ordered, edition.

There are in Góngora's literary career two distinct periods, just as there are two contrasting currents in his work. Till the first years of the 17th century, Góngora was satisfied to be an ingenious disciple of Herrera. He gave free rein to his brilliant and subtle genius, ever inclined toward badinage and satire. His familiar poems, his piquant *letrillas* and charming *romances* flow easily from the clear and limpid spring of the great national tradition. His true masterpieces are there. But his acute and sinuous mind opened a new way for itself in poems of loftier tone, more especially in the divisions of his work entitled *Sonetos heroicos, Sonetos amorosos, Canciones, Octavas, Tercetos, Décimas*. Here he followed the path marked out by Herrera, and outdistanced all his contemporaries in it; thanks to his talents, he became their guide and fugleman. Success emboldened him. He pushed farther ahead on the road in which nearly all accompanied him. He took delight in innovations which were at once hailed with unanimous applause. Then he wrote his most significant works after this manner, the *Panegýrico al Duque de Lerma* (1609), the *Oda a la toma de Larache* (1610), the two *Soledades* and the *Fábula de Polifemo y Galatea* (1613?), and finally the *Fábula de Píramo y Tisbe* (1618).

In viewing as a whole Góngora's poetic production, one cannot fail to be struck by the difference of his two manners, which are clearly opposed to each other, despite certain similarities of detail. The passage from one to the other was so abrupt that one may well suppose that he was suddenly caught by a new artistic ideal. Thenceforth he would write no more for the *profanum vulgus*, but for the intellectual élite, the delicate and refined, *cultos* and *pré-*

cieux. They were the only ones that counted.[1] And so, instead of a clear style which everyone, even a fool, could comprehend, he would use with full purpose the style that Montaigne characterized as *sibyllin, nubileux et douteux* (Sybilline, cloudy and dubious). M. Faguet once wrote of "obscure writers" these words, which fit Góngora exactly: "Some are obscure voluntarily and with a purpose, in order to gain the delicate and precious distinction of being obscure authors. Their method of procedure is this: first they think clearly, like anyone else; then, by patient substitution of inexact words for exact, of fantastic phrases for simple ones, of inversion for straightforward order, they progressively darken their text. . . . By obscurity they defend themselves from the indiscretion of the mob; by obscurity they defend themselves from being understood by persons whose comprehension would disgrace them."[2]

No one pursued this path with a more determined step than Góngora. That is why *culteranismo* received from him one of its historic names, *Gongorism*, although he did not invent the style, for it was already latent everywhere, and can be found almost completely developed in Herrera, and, yet earlier, in Juan de Mena. Gongorism, then, is Góngora's second manner.[3] Let us attempt to define it.

9. Gongorism[4]

What is Gongorism? To answer this question with any exactness, we must have recourse to the writer's own contemporaries, his defenders and his enemies. Of the former, who expounded the cultist works of the master, we may name: Joseph Pellicer de Salas y Touar (*Lecciones solemnes a las obras de . . . Góngora*, 1630);[1] Salazar Mardones (*Defensa de la Fábula de Píramo y Tisbe*, 1636), García de Salcedo Coronel (*Polifemo comentado*, 1629; *Obras de Góngora comentadas*, 4 vols., 1636–1648); Martín de Angulo y Pulgar (*Égloga fúnebre a D. Luys de Góngora*, 1638); Francisco del Villar (*Sobre la carta de Cascales*); Andrés de Ustarroz; Juan de Espinosa Medrano (*Apologético en favor de D. Luis de Góngora*, 1662);[2] etc. Of his adversaries: Pedro de Valencia (a friend, who, upon reading the *Polifemo* and *Soledades*, tried to dissuade the author from continuing in that direction); Francisco de Cascales (*Cartas filológicas*, 1634);[3] Jáuregui (*Discurso poético*, 1624, *Antídoto contra las Soledades*); Lope de Vega (*passim*); Quevedo (*passim*, in the *Sueños*, *Aguja de navegar cultos*, 1631, *Perinola*, *Culta latiniparla*, 1629, etc.)

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[1] ". . . honra me ha causado hacerme oscuro a los ignorantes, que ésa es la distinción de los hombres doctos: hablar de manera que a ellos les parezca griego, pues no se han de dar las piedras preciosas a animales de cerda." Letter from Góngora to a friend, published by Paz y Melia, *Sales españolas*, II, 297, and cited by Alfonso Reyes, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, V, 1918, 334. Saavedra Fajardo, a contemporary of Góngora, wrote thus of him: ". . . cuando en las veras deja correr su natural, es culto i puro, sin que la sutileza de su ingenio haga impenetrables sus conceptos, como le sucedió después, queriendo retirarse del vulgo i afectar la escuridad; error que se disculpa con que aun en esto mismo salió grande i nunca imitable." *República literaria*, ed. García de Diego, 1923, p. 112.

[2] Émile Faguet, *L'Art de lire*, Paris, 1912, p. 95.

[3] [The reader must not suppose that Góngora ever lost the power of writing simple, clear *romances* and *letrillas*. They are found up to the end. His "second manner" was one which he could assume or lay off at will, and moreover the germs of it appear in some of the poet's early work. Thus, the *romance* quoted below (p. 231) is dated 1580. Cf. also M. Artigas, *Biografía*, p. 282.]

[4] See M. Cañete, *Observaciones acerca de Góngora y del culteranismo en España*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XLVI, 1919, 281–311. C. G. Child, *John Lyly and Euphuism*, Erlangen-Leipzig, 1894. L. P. Thomas, *Le lyrisme et la préciosité cultistes en Espagne*, Halle-Paris, 1909. Id., *Góngora et le gongorisme considérés dans leurs rapports avec le marinisme*, Paris, 1911. G. Lanson, *Góngora*, in *Rev. Hist. Litt. de la France*, III,

From this long and virulent polemic one gathers, first of all, that *cultismo*, or *culteranismo*, as Jiménez Patón baptized it in his *Elocuencia española en arte* (1604), is characterized primarily by obscurity. To his adversaries Góngora is an "Angel or Prince of Darkness." He needs a commentary in order to be understood, and in fact commentators have seized upon his works as texts which properly belonged to them. What is the cause of this obscurity? In the first place, abuse of Latin and Greek terms (*copia*, *caliginoso*, *turba*, *candor*, *cerúlea*, *fragoso*, *tálamo*, *diuturno*, *protonecio*, *ligustos*, *estoraque*, *coluros*, *ebúrneo*, *venusto*, etc.). Second, Góngora builds his sentences on a Latin model, with inversions inacceptable to our analytical languages ("*Éstas que me dictó rimas sonoras . . .* "; "*Dos pobres se aparecen pescadores Nudos al mar de cáñamo fiando . . .* "; "*Treguas al ejercicio sean robusto . . .* ," etc.). Third, he is too lavish of tropes and metaphors, piling one upon another till sense disappears,[4] and with the meta-

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1896, 321–331. A. Farinelli, *Marinismus und Gongorismus*, in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1912, cols. 1413–1422. Elisha K. Kane, *Gongorism and the Golden Age*, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1928.

[1] A. Reyes, *Cuestiones gongorinas. Sobre el texto de las 'Lecciones solemnes,'* in *Rev. Hisp.*, XLIII, 1918, 505–519.

[2] Reprinted in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXV, 1925, 404–538.

[3] Ed. E. de Ochoa, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXII. *Juicio acerca de Góngora*, ed. Ad. de Castro, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXII.

[4] The triumph of the metaphor may be admired in the 80 sonnets in which Quijada Riquelme, a Sevillan poet, compared his lady to the sun (*Las soliadas*, 1619;

phors goes hyperbole (thus, the eyes of a rejected lover are two Guadalquivirs; another wretch is pierced by the arrows of love which project from his back and thus form a cuirass against new shots). Antitheses recur *ad nauseam:*

> Ciego, que apuntas y atinas,
> Caduco Dios y rapaz,
> Vendado que me has vendido,
> Y niño mayor de edad,
> Por el alma de tu madre,
> Que murió siendo inmortal, etc.

Lastly, he overworks mythological allusion and the display of classical erudition.

It has been supposed by some that the contagion had been imported from Italy to Spain, and that its appearance was only a form of *Marinism.* It is not impossible that the latter may have contributed to its virulence, after it had begun, but it must be remembered that Marino's poem, *Adone,* did not appear till 1623, after all of Góngora's. Again, a young Cordovan poet, **Luis Carrillo y Sotomayor** (1583?–1610) has been named as the importer of the disease. But he was scarcely known to his contemporaries, and his mediocre verse was published in 1611. Though Lyly's *Euphues* dates from 1579–80, it is unlikely that its fame ever reached Spain. These pseudo-historical explanations are, in themselves, insufficient.[1]

It is probable, however, that Góngora knew his young fellow-townsman Carrillo. His *Polifemo* had a model in the latter's *Fábula de Acis y Galatea* (a commonplace theme of the day); it is certain that in the *Libro de la erudición poética* (written 1606?) he found most of his own theories. But such coincidences should not be overstressed. In reality, Gongorism is merely the acute Spanish form of an epidemic which broke out at almost the same time in England, Italy and France, that is to say, in every country where the recovery of ancient literatures had created a new ideal of beauty and perfection, a widening horizon of art, which writers

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reprint Sevilla, 1887). For a minute analysis of Góngora's style, laying bare the mechanism of its defects and beauties, see Dámaso Alonso, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, XIV, 1927, 329–46, and preface to *Soledades*, 1927.

[1] Cf. Erasmo Buceta, *Algunos antecedentes del culteranismo*, in *Rom. Review*, XI, 1920, 328–348. J. Millé y Giménez, *Lope, Góngora y los orígenes del culteranismo*, in *Rev. de Arch.*, XLIV, 1923, 297–319. J. García Soriano, *Don Luis Carrillo y Sotomayor y los orígenes del culteranismo*, in *Bol. Ac. Esp.*, XIII, 1926, 591–629. Cf. p. 229, n. 4.

tried to make actual by experiments which were sometimes risky, and by innovations frequently in conflict with national tradition and the spirit of the modern tongues. It is well known how French writers tried to broaden and ennoble diction, and refine thought, or at least the expression of it. But the great difference was that Spain had never had such severe schoolmasters as Malherbe, Vaugelas and the Academy, not to mention Boileau and Molière, who came later.

We must be just to Góngora and the Gongorists, and recognize that they brought brilliance, color and a new sonority into the poetic diction which they strove to renovate. This aspiration toward more artistic "writing" explains and even, if you like, justifies, recent enthusiasm for Góngora and attempts to rehabilitate his memory. The movement began, quite naturally, with admiration for Gracián, the subtle author of the *Agudeza*. Some of the French modernists and the younger Spanish intellectuals are striving to restore to honor "the poet of color, the blender of fundamental tones, the artist of spacious symphonies in blue and gold," as Rémy de Gourmont wrote.[1] In spite of every effort, the uninitiated simply cannot understand.

At any rate, the ravages of cultism have been exaggerated because it has been confused with another serious malady which attacked Spanish thought at that time, and which must now be considered, namely, *conceptism*.

Cultism or Gongorism (the two expressions are strictly synonymous) is, in fact, only the most superficial, most external, and one may almost say the most benign manifestation of a deep-seated disease. Cultism attacks only the form, and had at least the advantage, to compensate its many disadvantages, that it enriched the language of poetry, as is proved by the number of words which entered the vocabulary at that time, and have remained there. Besides, cultism, in the narrow sense, disappeared toward the middle of the 17th century. But the deep constitutional vice of Spain, which shows its head at intervals from the very beginning, which fastened upon the too clever Hispano-Latin literature, as on Catalan-Provençal art and degenerate Petrarchism, the vice which broke out with special virulence at the moment now under discussion, is that perpetual search for keen, brilliant and futile thoughts expressed in an unexpected way, with the aid of combinations of words, antitheses and puns that allow a writer to display the subtlety of his wit, usually at the expense of common sense: and this we call *conceptism.* Conceptism is to thought (*concepto*) what cultism is to word.

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[1] *Promenades littéraires*, IVe serie, p. 310. Cf. Azorín, *passim*, and Alfonso Reyes, *Cuestiones estéticas*, Paris, 1911, pp. 89–132, *Sobre la estética de Góngora*, where he tries to demonstrate that "Góngora's poetry is eminently a realization of lyrism, that is, of music and color, of those qualities which affect us most easily and naturally, and convey to us an impression of beauty" (pp. 123–124). Hans Larsson, *La logique de la poésie*, transl. Philipot, Paris, 1919, p. 117: "Art in the choice of words is not enough. That is why poetry requires other means of expression, figures, images, rhythm, the closely personal qualities which may be displayed in exposition, and artistic composition of the whole." A group of young poets is editing G.'s complete works; Dámaso Alonso's *Soledades* is the first volume; Cossío's *Romances* the second. Cf. also M. J. Benardete, *G. Revaluated*, in *Rev. Estudios Hispanicos*, I, 1928, 365–389.

But one of these defects does not necessarily exclude the other. On the contrary, they are mutually attractive and are often found together. Quevedo, who is generally regarded as the perfect model of conceptists, detested Góngora, but the latter was already a conceptist. On the other hand, although conceptism was a particular parasite of prose, it often came of necessity to be confused in its expression with Gongorism, which specifically attacks poetry. For both disregarded the real essence of art, when they sacrificed thought to expression, emotion to wit, and truth to studied originality; both reached the same goal, by different paths. Conceptism was, in our opinion, infinitely more dangerous than Gongorism. It was incubating during the whole 16th century. At the beginning of the 17th it burst forth suddenly, because then the cruel exhaustion of Spanish thought made itself felt, and because the nationalistic fever of conquest and proselytism, which till then had held the disease in check, dropped steadily, and the germs seized upon a weakened organism. The malady persisted for a long time. While the cultism of verse was being gradually forgotten, conceptism increased in force. It reached its full flower in Gracián, who in his *Agudeza y arte de ingenio* (1642 and 1648) expounded every known variety of *concepto.* Genius was nothing but cleverness and subtlety. Decadence is easily understood when such jugglers' tricks are performed in an absolute void of ideas.

"A culture and a literature" says Benedetto Croce very justly,[1] "do not fall into decadence from external, but from internal causes.

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[1] *La Spagna nella vita italiana . . .*, Bari, 1917, p. 192.

This occurs when old thoughts are exhausted and old emotions are extinct, and no new ones arrive of sufficient potency to take their places. Then writers continue to work upon defunct ideas, which is the same as saying that they operate in a spiritual void, substituting cleverness, ingenuity and effort for intellectual and poetic spontaneity."

The terms *Gongorism* or *cultism* and *conceptism* have been defined at this point, in connection with Góngora, because the two cannot well be kept apart. Exact understanding of them is necessary, for they explain better than anything else the vicissitudes of Spanish literature at that time. Nearly all writers suffered in some degree from one or the other, and often from both. Only the greatest escaped, or at least, like Cervantes, Lope de Vega and Quevedo, they were great only when they did escape, and in proportion as they escaped.

10. The following are lyric poets contemporary with Góngora:

Alonso de Ledesma (1562–1623?),[1] of Segovia, has been called the founder of conceptism. But neither his *Conceptos espirituales* (1600) nor his *Juegos de Noche Buena* (1611), prohibited by the Index of 1790, nor his *Romancero y monstro imaginado* (1615), nor finally his *Epigramas y geroglíficos a la vida de Christo* (1625) show him to be anything but a pious versifier without talent or taste, who sometimes attained the nadir of ineptitude. He was, however, imitated by **Alonso de Bonilla** [2] of Baeza, who, from 1614 to 1624 issued several volumes (*Peregrinos pensamientos, Nuevo jardín de flores divinas*, etc.), which rivaled their models in empty preciosity.

Juan de Arguijo (1567–1623) [3] was a *veinticuatro* (alderman) of Seville. He wrote little; his sixty sonnets in the manner of Herrera (see especially *Ariadna*), some odes and *Epístolas*, the *Silva* to his lute (*A la vihuela*) and some stories reveal an agreeable and flexible talent, and relatively pure taste. He was one of the poets most copiously represented in Espinosa's *Flores* (1605), and his poems appeared collected as early as 1612 (*Versos*). He was an admirable musician, and a lavish Mecenas.

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[1] *Poesías*, ed. Justo de Sancha, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXV.—See Marqués de Laurencín, *Un libro muy raro de A. de L.*, etc., in *Rev. crítica hispano-americana*, I, 1915, 147–149. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliog. madrileña*, II, 203–207, 340–341. E. Mérimée, *Quevedo*, Paris, 1886, pp. 332–334.

[2] *Poesías*, ed. Justo de Sancha, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXV.

[3] *Sonetos*, ed. J. Colón y Colón, Sevilla, 1841. *Poesías*, ed. Ad. de Castro, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXII. *Cuentos recogidos*, etc., in Paz y Melia, *Sales españolas*, II, 1902, 91–209.—See Gallardo, *Ensayo*, I, 284–289. J. M. Asensio, *Don J. de A., estudio biográfico*, 1883. F. Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos datos*, etc., 349–360.

11. The two brothers **Leonardo de Argensola,**[1] although, like Quevedo, they have other titles to fame, may claim a good rank among the poets of this time. They represent, it is true, didactic poetry rather than the lyric, but they are almost its sole representatives. Both were born at Barbastro (Aragon). **Lupercio**[2] the elder (1559–1613), held administrative positions at Saragossa during the Antonio Pérez affair; later he was appointed secretary of Hernando de Aragón, Duke of Villahermosa, then official chronicler of Aragon and secretary of the Empress María of Austria. He died at Naples, where the Viceroy, the Conde de Lemos, had made him Secretario de Estado. As a writer, he began with drama. Three of his plays, *Filis*, *Alejandra* and *Isabela*, received exaggerated (and possibly ironic) praise in *Don Quijote* (I, 48). They were written about 1581, and at once forgotten, which scarcely bears out the popularity Cervantes alleged for them. The two last, recovered and published in 1772 by Sedano,[3] have been roughly handled by the critics. The *Isabela* recalls the episode of Olindo and Sofronia, in Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata;* the *Alejandra* was adapted from Lodovico Dolce's *Marianna* (1565). Both are tragedies reeking with blood.

Bartolomé (1562–1631) took orders, and became priest and rector of Villahermosa (province of Castellón), the village where the duke of that name held court. Then he was chaplain to the Empress María (1602), secretary of Lemos in Naples (1611), canon of La Seo (the cathedral) of Saragossa, and chronicler of Aragon (1615). Before going to Italy he published (1609) an over-elegant and over-legendary account of the *Conquista de las Islas Molucas*,[4] which was favorably received. His other historical works include *Alteraciones populares de Zaragoza en 1591*, and a continuation in one volume (1630) of the six of the *Anales de Aragón*, by Zurita. He narrates at length, with great detail, the events of the years 1516–1520, and displays a better style than his predecessor, but less historical sense.

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[1] *Poesías*, ed. Ad. de Castro, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLII. *Obras sueltas*, ed. Conde de la Viñaza, 1889, 2 vols.; vol. I, Lupercio Leonardo; vol. II, Bartolomé Leonardo. *Algunas obras satíricas inéditas*, ed. Conde de la Viñaza, Zaragoza, 1887. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Pour une édition des Argensolas*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XLVIII, 1920, 317–496 (Texts, 372–496). L. Pfandl, *Unveröffentlichte Gedichte der Brüder A.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LV, 1922, 3–28, 161–188 (Texts, 173–188).—See Pérez Pastor, *Bibliog. madrileña*, III, 409–412. Paz y Melia, *Sales españolas*, I, 379–383. O. H. Green, *Some Inedited Verses of B. L. de A.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXXII, 1928, 475–492.

[2] Otis H. Green, *The Life and Works of L. L. de A.*, Philadelphia, 1927.

[3] *Parnaso español*, VI, 312–524. Reprinted by the Conde de la Viñaza, *Obras sueltas*, I, 45–275.—See J. P. W. Crawford, *Notes on the Tragedies of L. L. de A.*, in *Romanic Review*, V, 1914, 31–44. Id., *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, Phila., 1922, 170–173.

[4] Ed. Miguel Mir, Zaragoza, 1891.

The poems of the two brothers were collected and published in one volume (*Rimas*, 1634) by Lupercio's son. The themes they treated are quite similar, but their talents differ. Bartolomé shows superior fluency, power and depth, while Lupercio is the more elegant and delicate. Both drew inspiration from the Latin classics: Horace, and, in their satires, Juvenal. Alike they felt repugnance toward the cultist innovations, and they have remained in the eyes of posterity what they were to their contemporaries, models of pure and chaste diction: "*habían venido de Aragón a reformar el castellano,*" said Lope de Vega. Their poems may be divided into three classes: satires and epistles, lyrics proper, and short pieces (sonnets and epigrams). Of Lupercio one can still read with pleasure the *Tercetos* describing Aranjuez ("*Hay un lugar en la mitad de España*"), the *Sátira a Flora*, and some splendid sonnets, *To Sleep* ("*Imagen espantosa de la muerte*"), *October* ("*Lleva tras sí los pámpanos otubre*"), etc. Bartolomé will be remembered for his *Satire against Court Vices* (*Epístola a Nuño de Mendoza*), the *Epístola a Don Fernando de Borja*, and some excellent sonnets, in particular the much-quoted "*Díme, Padre común, pues eres justo.*" The fine literary bearing of these poems, in which there is more art than genius, and more force than imagination, has assured the Argensolas of an enviable position among the writers of the Golden Age.

Other poets who belong properly in this group will be mentioned in other connections (Valdivielso, p. 242; Barahona de Soto, p. 250; Lope de Vega, pp. 243, 246, 252, 254, 338).

12. Third Group of Lyric Poets

One can pass quickly over the many minor lyrists who lived in Góngora's time or in the generation immediately following. Most of them placed some writings in the celebrated anthology of Pedro Espinosa, *Flores de poetas ilustres de España*, either in the first part (1605) or in the second, prepared by Juan Antonio Calderón in

1611 and never printed till 1896. [1] This collection, containing poems by more than eighty authors, was, even at that date, mainly representative of cultism. Among all those poets or versifiers, some can safely escape with a mere mention: Agustín Calderón, Rodrigo de Carvajal y Robles, Alonso Cabello, Juan de Valdés y Meléndez, Agustín de Tejada, and the collector himself, Espinosa.[2] Only the most important will be dwelt upon below, and they will be taken up in chronological order, as nearly as is possible.

1. **Rodrigo Caro** (1573–1647),[3] of Utrera, was an expert archaeologist, and as such studied the ancient remains in his own city and Seville (*Memorial de Utrera, Antigüedades de Sevilla*). But he deserves high rank as a poet, if he is indeed the author of the fine elegy *A las ruinas de Itálica* (1595–1604?). It was formerly attributed to Rioja, but it now seems certain that Caro is to be credited with its lofty thought and pure outlines.[4]

2. **Juan de Tassis,** Count of **Villamediana** (1582–1622) [5] is more interesting in his romantic adventures and ambitious love than in his verses. He and Carrillo (p. 231) were among the most cunning Gongorizers. Villamediana showed his cultism in the *Fábulas de Faetón, de Apolo y Dafne, de la Fénix.* Some very piquant and witty satirical verses are the sole poems by him that retain any interest; they were perhaps the cause of his death.

3. **Francisco de Quevedo** (1580–1645), whose more important works belong elsewhere (p. 275), must, however, be reckoned one of the foremost lyrists of his time, as well as one of the most fertile. All his life long he scattered about him innumerable poems [6] in

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[1] Ed. of both parts, Juan Quirós de los Ríos and Fr. Rodríguez Marín, Sevilla, 1896, 2 vols.

[2] [Espinosa, however, offers interesting points. His *Fábula de Genil* has been highly praised. His *Obras* were edited by Fr. Rodríguez Marín, 1909. See Rodríguez Marín, *Pedro Espinosa, estudio biográfico, bibliográfico y crítico*, 1907. P. Henríquez Ureña, *Notas sobre P. E.*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, IV, 1917, 289–292.]

[3] *Obras* [*Memorial de Utrera* and *Días geniales*], ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, Sevilla, 1883–1884, 2 vols. (*Biblióf. Andaluces*, vols. 23 and 24). *Varones insignes* and *Epistolario*, ed. S. Montoto, Sevilla, 1915 (with study). See A. Sánchez and S. Castaner, *R. C., Estudio biográfico y crítico*, etc., Sevilla, 1914.

[4] See the critical edition by P. Blanco Suárez, in *Bibl. lit. del estudiante*, vol. XIX, 1923, 280–302.

[5] *Poesías*, ed. Ad. de Castro, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLII.—See E. Cotarelo, *El Conde de V.*, 1886. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliog. Madrileña*, III, 482–487. A. Reyes, *Góngora y "La Gloria de Niquea,"* in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, II, 1915, 274–282. N. Alonso Cortés, *La muerte del Conde de Villamediana*, Valladolid, 1928.

[6] *Poesías*, ed. Janer, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXIX. *Obras completas* (*Biblióf. Andaluces*, vol. 20), Sevilla, 1897, 1903, 1907, 3 vols. (not completed).

every meter and every genre. Only a few found refuge in contemporary collections. More were brought together in 1648 by his friend González de Salas (*El Parnaso español,* including six *Musas*), and in 1670 his nephew Pedro Aldrete completed the collection (*Las tres musas últimas castellanas*). The 837 poems thus preserved are divided according to nature and subject among the Nine Muses. Their quality is most uneven.

The occasional poems have little merit; the religious poems, among which is a heroic epic, *Cristo resucitado,* are no better. The verse connected with the stage (*Loas, bailes, entremeses, jácaras*) reveals Quevedo's playful and malicious muse beginning to disport itself. The *Musa Erato* (of love poetry) appears, it is true, more witty than passionate, but the didactic and satirical poetry gives the author his real opportunity. Whether in verse or prose, Quevedo's true originality lay in that direction, and it appeared not only in pieces cast in the classic mould (*Sermón estoico de censura moral, Epístola satírica y censoria contra las costumbres presentes, Sátira contra el matrimonio,* etc.), but still more in the short pieces of the national tradition, *letrillas, romances,* and even in poems of the gambling-den and slums; these last (*jácaras de germanía*) include, perhaps, his real masterpieces. As a whole this large corpus of poems impresses the reader with an opulence of talent rarely equalled in Spanish literature, but it also causes regret that with all his facility, learning and wit the author left not a single work worthy to stand in finished perfection beside the great models of the classic literatures.

4. **Francisco de Borja,** Prince of **Esquilache** (1581–1658) [1] was, like Villamediana, an example of the aristocratic *littérateur.* Despite the high posts which he held, he found time to compose many poems, collected in his *Obras en verso* (1648). Those written in the Spanish taste, madrigals, *romances* and epigrams, are often admirable, and much superior to such ambitious efforts as *Nápoles recuperada por el rey Don Alonso* (1651), and *La Pasión de Cristo* (1638), in tiercets.

5. **Juan de Jáuregui** (1583–1641),[2] a Sevillan painter and poet,

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[1] *Poesías,* in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XVI (*romances*), XXIX (*Nápoles recuperada*), XLII.—See J. Gómez Ocerin, *Del Príncipe de E.,* in *Rev. Filol. Esp.,* V, 1918, 297–300.

[2] *Poesías,* ed. Ad. de Castro, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XLII. *Aminta,* Barcelona, 1906.—See Pérez Pastor, *Bibliog. madrileña,* III, 204–224. J. Jordán de Urríes y Azara,

owed part of his great reputation to a justly celebrated translation of Tasso's *Aminta* (1607), and a less successful rendering of Lucan's *Pharsalia* (printed 1684). The *Rimas* (1618) contained his lyrics. Although he set himself up as an adversary of cultism in his *Discurso poético* (1624), he paid tribute to the new school in his *Orfeo*, of the same year. Earlier poems had already shown him only too apt a disciple of cultism, but he frequently had a lucky inspiration, as in the *Acaecimiento amoroso* (*Love Adventure*). Jáuregui is supposed to have painted a portrait of Cervantes; some believe it to be one recently discovered, and now owned by the Spanish Academy.

6. The licenciado **Luis Martín** (sometimes mistakenly called *Martínez*) **de la Plaza** (1577–1625),[1] a priest of Antequera, contributed no less than seventy poems to the two parts of the *Flores de poetas ilustres*. Many, it is true, are merely translations from Italian, in which he seems to have specialized. He translated Tansillo's *Lacrime di S. Pietro*, a work rendered into Spanish also by Gálvez de Montalvo in 1587, by Sedeño, and by Damián Álvarez in 1613; it was paraphrased by Fernández de Ribera in 1609. But Martín de la Plaza is remembered chiefly for one dainty madrigal, *Iba cogiendo flores* . . . , itself an imitation of Tasso.

7. **Baltasar Elisio** (or **Eloy**) **de Medinilla** (1585–1620) [2] owes his fame much more to his friendship with Lope de Vega and the tragic circumstances of his death than to his lyric and epic verse. His religious epic, *Limpia concepción de la Virgen* (1617) has never been reprinted. His dialogues on Lope's literary theories (*El Vega de la poética española*) were to be a panegyric of the *Comedia nueva*, but this work, weighed down with erudition, was never completed. Medinilla was murdered by a demented man whom he was trying to calm; the legend that Moreto (born 1618) had a share in his death is belied by the dates.

8. The inquisitor and canon of Seville **Francisco de Rioja** [3]

Bibliografía y estudio crítico de J., 1899. Menéndez y Pelayo, in *Hist. ideas estéticas*, 2nd ed., III, 494–504. *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, XII, 1925, 587–605. M. Guillemot, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XLII, 1918, 564–579.

[1] See Fr. Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos datos*, 425–443.

[2] *Descripción de Buenavista*, ed. Martín Gamero, in *Cigarrales de Toledo*, Toledo, 1857. *Buenavista* was the name of a country-house of the Archbishop Sandoval y Rojas. See Francisco de Borja de San Román, *E. de M. y su personalidad literaria*, Toledo. 1920; the appendix contains four unpublished works, one being *El Vega de la poética*, from MS. 4266, Bibl. Nacional.

[3] *Poesías*, ed C. A. de la Barrera, 1867 (*Biblióf. Esp.*, vol. 2). *Adiciones a las*

(1583–1659) has been stripped by modern criticism of two of the fairest jewels in his poetic crown. The *Canción a las ruinas de Itálica* is now attributed to Caro, and the *Epístola moral a Fabio* to Captain **Andrés Fernández de Andrada,**[1] probably the son of a famous horseman, Pedro. The *Epístola* is, in any case, one of the noteworthy poetic works of the age; perfect in feeling and expression, its "golden tiercets" convey a philosophy of humility, resignation and courage. Even without the two, Rioja can boast of moral *silvas* (*A la riqueza, A la pobreza, Al verano*), sonnets and elegies which breathe a pure and classic spirit.

9. **Esteban Manuel de Villegas** (1589–1669),[2] born at Matute (province of Logroño, Aragon) made a brilliant beginning when he published (1617–1618) his *Poesías eróticas o amatorias,*

> A los veinte limadas,
> Y a los catorce escritas,

if these lines refer to the whole collection and not merely to the *Delicias,* which form one part of it. His book contains very skilful translations, delightful imitations of Anacreon and Horace, satires, idylls, elegies and other poems, among which are attempts to reproduce Latin meters exactly (*Las Latinas*). One of these is the pretty piece *Al céfiro,* in Sapphic strophes. This was only an experiment, never followed up, but the charm of his anacreontics made a strong impression on his contemporaries. Unhappily, Villegas did not fulfil the hopes he had aroused. The sun, to which he liked to compare himself—' *Me surgente, quid istae?*"—, disappeared early. Compelled to earn a living, persecuted by the Inquisition, he produced nothing more except a translation of Boëthius' *De Consolatione* (1665) by which he consoled himself for the misfortunes and disillusionments of life. It must be said, however, that other works are lost: two volumes of *Disertaciones críticas, Antiteatro,* and a book of satires (confiscated by the Inquisition).

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poesías de F. de R., ed. La Barrera, 1872 *Biblióf. Andaluces*, vol. 5). *Poesías*, ed. Ad. de Castro, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXII.—See A. Fernández-Guerra y Orbe, *La Canción "A las ruinas de Itálica" . . . no es de F. de R.*, in *Memorias de la Acad. Esp.*, I, 1871, 175–217. Ad. de Castro, *La "Epístola moral" no es de Rioja*, Cádiz, 1875.

[1] See R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Les manuscrits de l'Epístola moral a Fabio*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, VII, 1900, 248–250. Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos datos*, p. 502.

[2] *Las eróticas, y traducción de Boecio*, 2 vols., 1797. *Poesías*, ed. Ad. de Castro, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLII. *Eróticas o amatorias*, ed. N. Alonso Cortés, 1913 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 21). See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Heterodoxos esp.*, III, 859–875.

10. Many other poets and many other collections might be named. Let us confine ourselves to the *Rimas del incógnito,* so named by their editor, M. Foulché-Delbosc.[1] They comprise no less than 233 pieces on the most diverse themes. Their allusions indicate a date of the first half of the 17th century. The author was particularly interested in theatrical troupes.

13. Epic Poetry

Throughout this whole period, especially at its beginning, epic poetry burst into an extraordinary development. There were various reasons for this phenomenon: the desire to rival the great ancient models, now better known, and similar works of Italy; the high rank which classical Arts of Poetry assigned to the epic; Castilian pride, which wished to celebrate world-conquest in songs worthy of it, and make solemn consecration of the lofty emprise then carried on, and of Spain's providential rôle in history; religious enthusiasm which, mingled with epic pride of race, would sing the mysteries and heroes of the Faith, Christ's captains as well as great worldly princes and *conquistadores;* finally, the success and very fashion of this literary genre. These motives explain sufficiently the sudden production of poems so many and so varied. Unfortunately they are, with rare exceptions, more remarkable for number than for worth. When the emotions that gave rise to them cooled or disappeared, when the spirit which was the life of some had died away, it became clear that an epic can too often be conventional, frigid and artificial. Most of the poems have been forgotten, and even though collections of classic writers were for a time encumbered with long lists of titles, few were really read. We shall pause only for those which have survived in fact; they are quite enough to give an idea of the rest.

They may be divided into four principal groups: 1, *Religious Epics,* devoted to the mysteries and saints of Catholicism; 2, *Historical Epics,* celebrating great events of Spain's early or recent history, and the conquest of the New World; 3, *Romantic Epics,* based on fabulous or purely imaginary adventures; 4, themes borrowed from *classical antiquity.* The *burlesque epics,* a sort of parody on the others, form a group by themselves.

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[1] *Rev. Hisp.,* XXXVII, 1916, 251–456.

14. Religious Epics

The most important epics in this crowded division are the following:

1. *El Monserrate*,[1] by Captain **Cristôbal de Virués** (1550–1609?), a Valencian playwright (p. 329). This poem (1588) is composed of twenty cantos in *octava rima*, and narrates the old legend, so popular in Catalonia, of the hermit Juan Garín, who lived among the picturesque cliffs of the Monserrat, where he murdered and buried the daughter of the Count of Barcelona. After a life of extraordinary penance which he accepted very humbly, he obtained pardon. His victim was then miraculously restored to life, thanks to the intercession of the Virgin, who has one of her most revered shrines upon that mountain. This religious theme, treated by José Zorrilla in the nineteenth century, is quite as much romantic as pious. It is based on a saintly legend, and acquires an epic quality only from certain extraneous episodes (e.g. the battle of Lepanto). Its enduring success was caused, aside from its mystical nature, by the strangely original tradition, now poetic and now dramatic in character, and by the poet's undoubted talent, which was recognized by all his contemporaries from Cervantes to Lope de Vega.

2. **José de Valdivielso** (1560?–1638; cf. p. 360) [2] narrated in 24 cantos *The Life, Virtues and Death of the Most Glorious Patriarch Saint Joseph* (1604?), and in another no less interminable poem [3] celebrated La Virgen del Sagrario who is venerated at Toledo. But his most popular and best book was the *Romancero espiritual del Santísimo Sacramento* (1612), a collection of artlessly sincere religious lyrics.

3. The *Cristiada* in twelve cantos (1611),[4] of Padre **Diego de Hojeda** (1570?–1615), has often been compared with similar poems of Vida, Milton and Klopstock. Hojeda's epic, written at Lima, is less diffuse than most others of his time. There are passages quotable for their energy or their sincere emotion.[5]

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[1] *Historia del Monserrate*, ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XVII.

[2] *Vida, excelencias y muerte del gloriosísimo Patriarca San Josef, esposo de Nuestra Señora*, ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXIX. *Poesías*, ed. Justo de Sancha, *ibid.*, XXXV. *Romancero espiritual*, ed. M. Mir, 1880.—See J. Mariscal de Gante, in *Autos sacramentales*, 1911, 123–143. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliog. madrileña*, II, 396.

[3] *Sagrario de Toledo, Poema heroico*, 1616.

[4] Ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XVII. Ed. Fr. Miquel y Badía, Barcelona, 1896. —See Fr. Justo Cuervo, *El maestro Fr. Diego de Ojeda y "La Cristiada,"* 1898. P. J. Rada y Gamio, *La Cristiada*, 1917.

[5] Quintana included several in his anthology of epics called *Musa épica*.

4. The same subject had previously been treated by **Juan de Quirós,** a Sevillan priest, in 1552 (*Cristopatia,* seven cantos, in *octava rima*); in 1576, by **Juan Coloma,** Viceroy of Sardinia (*Década de la Pasión de Cristo,* ten books, in tiercets); in 1584, by **Francisco Hernández Blasco** (*Universal Redención,* 56 cantos, in octaves). In later years it was taken up by **Francisco Durán Vivas** (*Grandezas divinas, vida y muerte de Nuestro Salvador Jesucristo,* 1643); by **Juan Bautista Dávila** (*Pasión del Hombre Dios,* 1661, in *espinelas*); by **Enciso y Monzón** (*La Cristiada,* 1694). The drama on Calvary was likewise the source of inspiration for the *Palabras de Cristo en la Cruz,* of Fray **Diego Murillo,** and the *Invención de la Cruz* (1648) by **López de Zárate.**

5. **Lope de Vega,** whose name appears at every turn during this period, rises far above these versifiers, who were more pious than inspired, even though his religious poems were only very minor gems in his coronet. His *Isidro* [1] dates from 1599 (ten books, in *quintillas*). San Isidro Labrador is the patron of Madrid, and the poem displays the usual ease, grace and popular national inspiration which lend a profoundly Spanish character to most of Lope's works. One might possibly place beside the *Isidro* the long, confused improvisation called *Los pastores de Belén* (1612); [2] it is a medley of verse and prose, which relates, by the lips of shepherds, the history of the Holy Family up to the Flight into Egypt. With his customary freedom of imagination, Lope has put into it many digressions, containing here and there charming songs of a popular type, full of simple sweetness.

6. The Old Testament furnished subjects for Doctor **Alonso de Acevedo** (*Creación del Mundo,* 1615),[3] one of the most elegant and skilful rhymers of this group; Doctor **Jacobo Uziel** (*David,* 1624, 12 cantos in octaves); and **Antonio Enríquez Gómez** (*Sansón Nazareno,* 1656), better known for other more interesting works (cf. p. 395).

7. As one would expect, there are many poems on the Virgin Mary. The only ones of this period which need be mentioned are: *La mejor Mujer, Madre y Virgen* (1625, in 14 cantos), by **Sebastián de Nieva Calvo,** who dragged into it the inevitable description of

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[1] There is no edition later than vol. XI of *Obras sueltas,* 1777. Extracts, ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XXXVIII.

[2] Vol. XVI of *Obras sueltas,* 1778.

[3] Ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XXIX.

the battle of Lepanto; *Historia de la Virgen Madre de Dios María* (1618),[1] by **Antonio de Escobar y Mendoza**; and *Nuestra Señora de Aguas Santas* (1611), by **Alonso Díaz.**

8. Lives of the saints were fertile in themes for devout epics. In this section belong the *Caballero Assisio* (1587, 3 parts, in octaves), a sort of romance of chivalry *a lo divino,* by **Gabriel de Mata,** who also wrote an interesting allegorical poem on the life of man, called *Cantos morales* (1594, 13 cantos, in octaves), and the *Vida de San Diego de Alcalá* (1589, in 16 cantos); *La Benedictina* (1604, 18 cantos, in octaves), of Fray **Nicolás Bravo**; *San Ignacio de Loyola* (1617), by Escobar y Mendoza, mentioned just above; *La verdadera hermandad de los cinco mártires de la Arabia* (1621, 9 cantos, in octaves; the martyrs are Cosme, Damián, Eupremio, Leoncio, Eutimio), by **Damián Rodríguez de Vargas**; *San Nicolás de Tolentino* (1628), by **Hernando de Camargo**; and the *Templo militante,* or *Flos sanctorum* (1602–1614), by the *esdrujulista* **Bartolomé Cairasco de Figueroa.** So, after a lapse of more than three centuries, Berceo's poetic hagiography came again into fashion. But where was the naïve simplicity of the old Riojan cleric?

15. Historic Epics

The national themes possess at least some historic interest. Unhappily, the poems which treat them are too often ruined by bombast which no Spanish vanity can excuse, and the obvious straining for ideas serves only to magnify the usual negligence of form.

The history of primitive Spain, strongly crossed with legend, gave birth to the following: *El León de España* (1586, 2 parts in 29 cantos), by **Pedro de la Vecilla Castellanos,** who narrated the origin of the city of León, the struggles of Spaniards against the Romans under Vespasian, and the tradition of the famous tribute of one hundred virgins paid by Mauregato; its style is pure and clear, and Cervantes gave it passing mention (*Don Quijote,* I, 7); *Sagunto, Numancia y Cartago,* or *La Numantina* (1589), by **Lorencio de Zamora**; *La conquista de la Bética* (1603), by **Juan de la Cueva** (p. 326), a subject taken up later by **Juan Antonio de Vera y Figueroa** (*El Fernando, o Sevilla restaurada,* 1623); *Las Navas de*

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[1] Facsimile by A. M. Huntington, N. Y., 1903. The 1625 reprint bore the title *La Nueva Gerusalén María.*

Tolosa (1594), *La restauración de España* (1607) and *El Patrón de España, Santiago* (1612), by **Cristóbal de Mesa** (1559–1633), a prolific poet and translator, known also for some estimable lyrics (*Rimas,* 1607–1611). *España defendida* (1612), by **Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa** (see p. 274), narrates the unlucky war fought by Charlemagne against the Spaniards to possess himself of the crown willed to him by Alfonso the Chaste. This poem on a French theme, treated from the Spanish point of view, in the Italian manner, is an imitation of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered.*[1] The eminently national theme of Bernardo del Carpio, already sung in 1585 by **Agustín Alonso** (*Hazañas y hechos del invencible caballero Bernardo del Carpio*), and in 1555 by **Garrido de Villena,** inspired an author of greater reputation, **Bernardo de Balbuena** (1568–1625?), Bishop of Puerto Rico (cf. p. 293). His *Bernardo o Victoria de Roncesvalles* (1624) [2] shows brilliant imagination and great fluency, which tends to degenerate into tedious expansion. Yet some of the finest epic lines of this period belong to Balbuena, whose descriptive talent and opulent fantasy were exceptional. The Cid, of course, was not forgotten. His *Famosos y heroicos hechos,* etc., were duly celebrated by **Diego Jiménez Ayllón** in 1568.

On another side, the great events of contemporary history furnished ample material for any poet's epic ambition. Carlos V was chanted at length by **Jerónimo Sempere** in *La Carolea* (1540, 50 cantos, in octaves), and by **Luis Zapata,** in *Carlo famoso* (1566),[3] of equal length and in the same meter. Don John of Austria was the subject of **Jerónimo Cortereal's** *Batalla de Lepanto* (1578, 15 cantos, blank verse), and **Juan Rufo Gutiérrez's** *Austriada* (1584);[4] this author (1547–after 1620), known also as *El Jurado de Cór-*

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[1] See J. P. W. Crawford, *S. de F.'s "España Defendida" and Tasso's "Gerusalemme Liberata,"* in *Romanic Review,* IV, 1913, 207–220.

[2] Ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XVII.—See M. Fernández Juncos, *D. B. de B., obispo de Puerto Rico: estudio biográfico y crítico,* Puerto Rico, 1884. John Van Horne, *"El Bernardo" of B. de B.,* Univ. of Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit., VII, no. 1, 1927.

[3] J. Toribio Medina, *El primer poema que trata del descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo. Reimpresión de la parte correspondiente del "Carlo Famoso,"* Santiago de Chile, 1916.—See J. Menéndez Pidal, *Discurso leído ante la R. Acad. Esp.,* Jan. 24, 1915.

[4] Ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XXIX. *Poesías, ibid.,* XVI and XLII.—See R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Étude sur la "Guerra de Granada" de Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza,* in *Rev. Hisp.,* I, 1894, 101–165, 338. Cf. id., *ibid.,* XXXV, 1915, 476–538. R. Ramírez de Arellano, *Juan Rufo, jurado de Córdoba: estudio biográfico y crítico,* 1912.

doba, devoted 18 of the 24 cantos in his prosy epic to Don Juan's campaign against the Moriscos, cribbing freely from Mendoza's *Guerra de Granada.* The poem became famous; the reader will recall Cervantes's too indulgent dictum; speaking of the *Austriada*, Virués's *Monserrate* and Ercilla's *Araucana:* " These three books are the best ever written in Castilian in heroic verse, and they can compete with Italy's most famous epics; let them be preserved as the richest gems of poetry that Spain possesses." [1] We may name here, though written much later, the poem by the Prince of Esquilache (p. 238), on the conquest of Naples by Alfonso V of Aragon (1651, 12 cantos),[2] and that of **Luis de Ulloa Pereira** on the loves of Alfonso VIII and Rachel, the fair Jewess of Toledo (1659).[3] This is a virile work, though too deeply tainted with conceptism; Quintana called it "the last sigh of the ancient Castilian muse."

Lope de Vega's *Dragontea* [4] appeared in 1598, two years after the death of the bold British corsair Francis Drake, who inflicted so much injury on Spanish shipping and played a decisive part in the destruction of the Invincible Armada. Drake, whose name the title itself stigmatizes, was at that moment a subject of burning actuality, and that explains the virulent invectives hurled against him, Queen Elizabeth and England; but the nearness of the events did not prevent the author from utilizing all the procedures and artifices of the epic genre, even its customary marvels and portents. The cry of relief which went up from Spain when she learned that "the Dragon" had died at Panama found an eloquent echo in the last canto of the ten which make up this singular poem.

One hesitates to place Lope de Vega's *Jerusalem conquistada* (1609) [5] among the historical epics. It is true that the poem takes as its theme Richard the Lion-hearted's unsuccessful attempt to wrest Jerusalem from Saladin; but there is so much legendary matter added, beginning with the alleged participation of Alfonso VIII of Spain in this crusade, so many love episodes and novelesque adventures, that the historical element is almost stifled. To be sure, strained history matters little in such a work. A more serious defect is that the subject, as conceived by Lope, is unfit for an epic. The title itself is misleading, since it is not Richard but Saladin who conquers Jerusalem. The poem was a special favorite of its author, since he went to the unusual trouble of revising it; and with the reservations indicated, one can admire his customary mastery as it appears in certain interesting episodes, in bits of clever character-drawing, and in stanzas which are now delicate, now full of vigor.

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[1] *Don Quijote*, I, 6.

[2] *Nápoles recuperada por el rey Don Alfonso*, ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXIX.

[3] *La Raquel*, ed. Rosell in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXIX.

[4] Latest ed., in vol. III of *Obras sueltas*, 1776.—See J. A. Ray, *Drake dans la poésie espagnole*, Paris, 1906, 13–63.

[5] *Obras sueltas*, vols. XIV and XV.

Lope de Vega could easily have put universal history into epics, had he not preferred to put it into dramas. In 1627 he published the history of Mary Stuart under the title *Corona trágica* [1] (five books, in octaves). It won him the title of Doctor of Theology and the Cross of the Order of St. John from Pope Urban VIII. The subject was admirable, but the author cannot be said to have made the most of it. There are touching passages, but too much space is devoted to tirades against Queen Elizabeth and the English. The tragic elegy assumes the aspect of a political pamphlet.

16. The Araucana

Coming now to epics drawn from the history of the Americas, there is no need to pause over the *Cortés valeroso o la Mejicana* (1588–1594) of **Gabriel Lobo Lasso de la Vega** (1559?–1615?),[2] or the *Peregrino Indiano* (1599) [3] by **Antonio de Saavedra Guzmán,** or the *Elegías de varones ilustres de Indias* (1589),[4] by **Juan de Castellanos** (1522–1607?), or many other works that might be enumerated were it not tiresome.

They were all cast in the shade by the *Araucana* of **Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga** (1533–1594),[5] the sole Spanish epic that is truly famous. The first part, begun in 1555, appeared in 1569, the second in 1578, the third in 1589; two cantos more were added in the edition of 1590. The entire work then contained 37 cantos, in octaves. Its subject is the insurrection of the Araucanian Indians, led by Caupolicán, against the Spanish conquerors. But the author prefixed to it the previous history of Chile (up to canto XII); then the strictly historic narrative, as first conceived and announced, began to seem to him too cold and bare for an epic, and from canto XII on he interwove imaginative episodes and love scenes. He even appears after a while to have forgotten his obscure *araucanos* and turned with pleasure to descriptions of great contemporary events, which he tacked to his first plan as best he could, by means of dreams, visions and magic revelations. So we find in cantos 17–18 the story of the capture of St. Quentin, then the battle of Lepanto (24) and the war of Philip II in Portugal (37), not to mention side-plots which have still less connection with the main theme, such as the story of Queen Dido (cantos 32–33), whom Spanish writers so gallantly avenged for her betrayal by pious Aeneas.

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[1] *Obras sueltas*, vol. IV.

[2] *Romances*, ed. Durán, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, X and XVI.—See A. Restori, *Il* "*Manojuelo de romances*," in *Rev. Hisp.*, X, 1903, 117–148. M. Artigas, *L. L. de la Vega*, in *Rev. crítica hisp.-americana*, III, 1917, 157–166.

[3] Ed. Icazbalceta, Mexico, 1880.

[4] Only *Parte 1ª* printed at that time. *Partes 1ª, 2ª y 3ª*, ed. Aribau, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, IV, 1847. *Parte 4ª*, ed. Paz y Melia, 2 vols., 1886.

[5] *La Araucana*, facsimile ed. A. M. Huntington, N. Y., 1902–1903, 2 vols. (of Parts 1 and 2). Ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XVII. Ed. J. Toribio Medina, Santiago de Chile, 1910–1918, 5 vols. (with extensive notes and bibliography).—See A. Royer, *Études littéraires sur l'A.*, Dijon, 1879. A. Bello, *Obras completas*, vol. VI, Santiago de Chile, 1883. J. L. Perrier, *Don García de Mendoza in E.'s* "*Araucana,*" in *Romanic Review*, IX, 1918, 430–440. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas hispano-americanos*, IV, 1895, pp. vi–xv. J. T. Medina, *Los romances basados en* "*La Araucana,*" Santiago de Chile, 1918. Ed., *Las mujeres de* "*La Araucana*" *de Ercilla*, in *Hispania*, XI, 1928, 1–12.

In spite of these fantastic elements which Ercilla, emulating the Italians, felt obliged to insert in his poem, its essence remains strictly historical. The author notes day by day what he has seen; he paints the people and landscapes as they pass before his eyes. He seems at times no more than a chronicler or geographer gifted with facility in versifying. The Spanish leaders who figure on his stage, Valdivia, Villagrán, García, Reinoso, were real men; as to the Araucanian heroes, Caupolicán, Lautaro, Tucapel, Colocolo, and Rengo, if they were not real, their characters and acts bear every sign of reality. The female characters, on the other hand, Fresia, Guacalda, Tegualda, Glaura, are too conventional. These Indian women seem to have enjoyed association with the famous heroines of antiquity or Ariosto's and Tasso's maidens. In battle scenes Ercilla excels; the reader feels that "the hand that wields the pen is fresh from a sword." Here, the soldier poet needs little effort to become epic. If his classical-style harangues appear cold to us, despite Voltaire's exaggerated praise, at least he is able to find the appropriate image to depict an attitude or an act, and he turns deeds into poetry with skilful and picturesque comparisons. We of today would prefer to see more local color in the descriptions, but at the poet's best they evoke an exotic landscape. The faithfulness of details, added to the rigorously historical nature of the story makes the supernatural portion, mythological or pagan, seem all the more out of place. Gods like Mars and Bellona and magicians like Fitón were traditional paraphernalia of the epic, but there is an unsightly gap between this veneer and its base.

It is a strange work, now chronicle, now fabulous poem in the taste of Ariosto, now an echo of the old classic epics. The narrative unrolls before one in steadily increasing richness, the plot is constantly modified according to the writer's momentary whim; and this panegyric of Spanish energy in the Old and New Worlds, these sturdy octaves, careless of form and meagre of rhyme, yet often filled with the clash of arms, reveal an imagination more luxuriant than careful. The whole constituted an original attempt to create a national form of epic by welding and transforming older elements.

The author had special qualifications for his undertaking. Born at Madrid, of a family coming from the little port of Bermeo (Vizcaya), educated at court among the pages, he accompanied Prince Philip (later Philip II) on various journeys (1548–1554), and, during the same period, had occasion to follow the Princess María to Bohemia, Austria and Hungary. In 1555 he went to Chile with the *adelantado* Jerónimo de Alderete. He remained in America till 1562, took part in many combats, expeditions, journeys and discoveries, was disgraced, imprisoned and even condemned to death for a petty quarrel with a rival. Fortunately for Spanish literature, his sentence was commuted. Returning to Spain, he revised and finished his poem, married in 1570, was made a Knight of Santiago in 1571, traveled in Italy and Germany (1574–1577), lost a son in 1588, and after unhappy declining years died November 29, 1594.

The *Araucana* became at once popular, and its success brought forth imitations. *Arauco domado* (1596, first and only part) was the work of the Chilean **Pedro de Oña** (b. 1570),[1] author also of a poem on St. Ignatius (*El Ignacio de Cantabria*, 1639). **Diego de Santisteban Osorio** wrote a continuation of the *Araucana* (*Quarta*

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[1] *Arauco domado*, ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXIX. Ed. J. T. Medina, Santiago de Chile, 1917.—See J. T. Medina, *Bibl. hispano-chilena*, Santiago de Chile, 1897, I, 42–79. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas hispano-americanos*, IV, 1895, pp. xvii–xxix. J. A. Ray, *Drake dans la poésie espagnole*, Paris, 1906, 153–157.

y Quinta Parte de la Araucana, 1597) and an epic on the Maltese wars (*Guerras de Malta y toma de Rodas*, 1599). *Purén indómito*, by **Fernando Álvarez de Toledo** was composed in 1598 but not printed till 1862.[1] These men all plowed Ercilla's field. **Antonio de Viana,** a native of Tenerife, published in 1604 a historical poem, *Antigüedades de las islas Fortunadas de la Gran Canaria*,[2] which gave Lope material for his *comedia Los Guanches*.

17. Romantic Epics

Among the poems of purely imaginary theme, the first in order may properly be *Las lágrimas de Angélica* (1586), by which the physician **Luis Barahona de Soto** (1548–1595) [3] of Lucena proposed to continue the fertile series of Italian *Orlandos*. He was not the first to make the attempt. In 1555 **Nicolás Espinosa** had issued a *Segunda parte de Orlando*, bringing in the battle of Roncevaux and the death of the Twelve Peers; and in 1578 **Martín de Bolea y Castro** published the *Libro de Orlando determinado*, a continuation of Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato* (16 cantos, in octaves). But these were eclipsed by the *Angélica*, whose success was attested by Lope and Cervantes; the latter, in perfect good faith, called its author "*uno de los famosos poetas del mundo, no sólo de España*." The *First Part*, in twelve cantos, had no sequel. Barahona's agreeable poem is his chief claim to notice, though he wrote lyrics, five eclogues (that "of the hamadryads" over-praised by Luzán), *Diálogos de la montería*, a *Fábula de Acteón* in octosyllables, satires and some other epic fragments.

Barahona did not exhaust the vogue which Ariosto's creations enjoyed at that moment. Lope de Vega, while voyaging with the Invincible Armada on board the galleon San Juan, was making Angelica and Medoro the heroine and hero of a poem of his own, *La hermosura de Angélica*, which was not published till 1602, in a retouched and amplified form (20 cantos, in octaves). The beauty of Angelica and of Medoro procure them the throne of Seville, but they have first to make their ways through a hundred adventures and peripetias, in which the author's wide-roaming imagination took free rein. Episodes, digressions and allusions to local events weigh down the frail plot, over which the brilliant improviser cast a net of his embroideries. But he certainly did not cause his model to be forgotten.

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[1] Ed. D. Barros Arana, Paris, 1862.

[2] Ed. F. von Löher, Tübingen, 1883. Ed. (?), Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1882.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, preface to vol. XI, 1900, of *Obras de Lope de Vega*, pp. lxxxvi–xcv. Ag. Millares, *Biografías de Canarios célebres*, 2ª ed., Las Palmas, 1879, II, 197–222.

[3] *Primera Parte de la Angélica*, facsimile ed. A. M. Huntington, N. Y., 1904. *Poesías líricas*, ed. F. Rodríguez Marín, in *L. B. de S., estudio biográfico, bibliográfico, y crítico*, 1903. *Diálogos de la montería*, ed. F. R. de Uhagón, 1890 (*Biblióf. Esp.*, vol. 27).—See F. Rodríguez Marín, *op. cit.*

Las Havidas (1566) of the Tudelan **Hierónimo Arbolanche** [1] deserves mention, not for the theme, which is the wildest sort of pseudo-history, but for a few fine lines of pleasant rustic savor.

Los amantes de Teruel, epopeya trágica in 26 cantos of blank verse, by **Juan Yagüe de Salas,** was published in 1616. It tells the dramatic story of two unhappy lovers, Diego Marcilla and Isabel de Segura, parted by fate, and too late reunited; an old tradition of Teruel, according to the inhabitants, but probably modified by an Italian novella.[2] The romantic legend had been narrated before, in *redondillas,* by Pedro de Alventosa of Teruel (ca. 1555), by Rey de Artieda (*Los Amantes, tragedia,* 1581) and again in prose by Bartolomé de Villalba (1577). [3] Later it was staged successfully by Tirso de Molina (?, *Los amantes de Teruel; Segunda Parte de las comedias,* 1635), by Pérez de Montalván (*Los amantes de Teruel,* 1635) and in the nineteenth century by Hartzenbusch (1837).

18. Epics on Classical Themes.—Burlesque Epics

The former, absolutely forgotten today, are of very slight interest. **Joaquín Romero de Cepeda** (p. 327) published in 1582 *El infelice robo de Helena,* in ten cantos, and in 1584 *La antigua, memorable y sangrienta destruición de Troya,* in twenty *romances.* The Portuguese **Manuel de Gallegos,** a friend of Lope, issued a Castilian *Gigantomaquia* at Lisbon in 1628. One can classify in this series all the half-epic, half-lyric *Fábulas* which came into fashion at the beginning of the 17th century: *Daphne* (of Gregorio Silvestre, Alonso Pérez, Villamediana), *Píramo y Tisbe* (Silvestre, Montemayor, Villegas), *Polifemo* (Góngora), *Faetón* and *Europa* (Villamediana), *Eco* of Anastasio Pantaleón de Ribera, *Atalanta* and

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[1] See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes,* I, pp. cccxcviii–ix.

[2] See E. Cotarelo, *Sobre el origen y desarrollo de la leyenda de Los amantes de Teruel,* 2ª ed., 1907. H. Mérimée, *L'art dramatique à Valencia,* Toulouse, 1913, 296–303.

[3] *El pelegrino curioso y grandezas de España,* first printed by Gayangos, in *Biblióf. Esp.,* vol. 23, 2 vols., 1886–1889.

Venus y Cupido of Moncayo y Gurrea, *Psyque* of Jacinto de Villalpando, *Eurydice* of Agustín de Salazar y Torres, etc. Lope de Vega's contribution deserves a bit more space: *Filomena* and *Andrómeda* (1621) and *Circe* (1624).[1] The first of these poems narrates the metamorphoses of Tereus and Philomela, and in it Lope recovered Ovid's elegant facility. But most of the poems of this type lack all interest, and are sadly touched with Gongorism.

They lent themselves readily to parody, because these subjects inevitably, and more than any other class, brought out the most false and conventional side of the epic. So burlesques began to appear at about the same time, and if not taken in too large doses they may serve to counteract the boredom in which the others plunge us.

Cosme de Aldana, a poetaster whose verse appeared in 1587, composed the suppressed *Asneida* against Velasco, governor of Milan. Another Spaniard, a refugee in Paris, published under the pseudonym **Cintio Merotisso** an amusing farcical epic, *La muerte, entierro y honras de Chrespina Marauzmana, gata de Juan Chrespo* (1604). It is not, however, so well known as Lope de Vega's *Gatomaquia* (1634),[2] the protagonists of which are likewise felines, or *La Mosquea* (1615),[3] of **José de Villaviciosa** (1589–1658), which sings the deeds of flies. It is impossible to feel strong enthusiasm for this epico-zoölogical genre, which at that time drew authority from Homer, who was supposed to be the author of the *Batrachomyomachia.* But if you accept the genre, you must admit that there was little better writing being done in that period than the 12 cantos of the *War of the Flies and Ants* or *Mosquea,* an ingenious and racy parody of the Iliad and Aeneid, suggested by Teofilo Folengo's *Moschaea* (1521). Still better is the *Battle of the Cats* (*Gatomaquia*), which narrates the amours of the fair Zapaquilda and her suitors, the valiant Marramaquiz and Micifuf. Never did a poet put more delicate imagery and wit into so light a theme. Dexterous irony and literary parody flow clear as crystal in these supple *silvas* whose unequal lines are moulded to the thought.

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[1] All three in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXVIII, ed. Rosell.

[2] Ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXVIII.

[3] Ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XVII.—See J. P. W. Crawford, *Teofilo Folengo's "Moschaea" and J. de V.'s "La Mosquea,"* in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n Am.*, XXVII, 1912, 76–97. A. González Palencia, *J. de V. y "La Mosquea,"* in *Bol. Ac. Esp.*, XIII, 1926 and XIV, 1927; separate, Cuenca, 1929.

Unexpected finds of picturesque words add their drollery to the comic verve which, by a dangerous *tour de force,* is sustained through more than 2500 lines.

Neither is there any lack of wit in Quevedo's fragment entitled *Las necedades y locuras de Orlando el enamorado* (ca. 1635).[1] On the contrary, there is too much, for here buffoonery attains and passes the limit of the permissible. This reckless caricature, which masks ferocious attacks upon certain enemies, can scarcely force a laugh today, and overshoots its mark more often than not. It is far removed from the pleasing unconstraint of *Tomé de Burguillos,*—the pseudonym with which Lope chose to disguise himself when he published his burlesque works (*Rimas humanas y divinas,* 1634).

19. Didactic Poetry

Our survey of the poetry of this period will close with a glance at the few didactic poems which merit special mention. The painter Pacheco, Velázquez's father-in-law, has preserved important fragments of a poem on painting, *Poema de la pintura,*[2] by **Pablo de Céspedes** (1538–1608), the Cordovan artist, friend of Archbishop Carranza. His poem, composed about 1604, just when Spanish painting was entering upon its great period, is interesting for its theme and pleasing for its vigorous hendecasyllables and energetic octaves; the descriptions, too, are highly successful. It is instructive to compare this poem with the *Diálogos de la pintura* (1633) by the painter Vicente Carducho, and the *Arte de la pintura* (1649) of the same **Francisco Pacheco** (1564–1654), who wrote the lives and painted the portraits of so many of his famous contemporaries.[3]

The much earlier work of **Francisco de Guzmán,** *Triunfos morales* (1557), and Lope de Vega's *Triunfos divinos* (1625), were inspired by Petrarch's *Trionfi;* they all contain moral lessons without any particular originality. The same may be said of the *Emblemas* (1589) of **Juan de Covarrubias,** brother of the lexicographer; this work comes directly from Andrea Alciati's *Libellus emblematum,* which had already been translated, in 1549, by Bernardino Daza.

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[1] Ed. Janer, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXIX.

[2] Ed. López de Sedano, *Parnaso esp.*, IV, 1770, 272–295.

[3] *Arte de la pintura*, ed. Cruzada Villaamil, 2 vols., 1866. *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos de ilustres y memorables varones*, ed. J. M. Asensio y Toledo, 1881–85 (contains 63 portraits and nearly as many biographies).

We come next to a series of poems possessing some importance for the history of literature and of criticism. The first is the *Arte poética* [1] of **Vicente Espinel** (p. 317), which is scarcely more than a translation of Horace; then the *Exemplar poético* of the Sevillan **Juan de la Cueva** (1550?–1610?).[2] This author had accompanied his brother Claudio, an inquisitor, to Mexico. Later he lived in Seville, Úbeda and Cuenca. His works include lyrics (in *Obras*, 1582); the epic already mentioned, *La conquista de la Bética* (1603; cf. p. 244); another didactic poem, a properly forgotten imitation of Polydore Virgil, *Los inventores de las cosas* (1607); the *Viaje de Sannio* (1585); a collection of historical ballads, *Coro febeo de romances historiales* (1587), interesting only for their subject-matter; dramas to be discussed later (p. 326); and the *Exemplar poético* (1606). In the three *Epístolas* which compose the last-named work, Cueva formulates the general precepts of poetic style, defines meters and genres, and lustily defends the *comedia española.* The plan of the work is confusing and its theory often debatable, but as a literary document it is of high importance.

Lope de Vega's *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (1609, in 389 unrhymed hendecasyllables)[3] has quite as great documentary value. The author's chief aim was to defend his system of playwriting against the connoisseurs, the *científicos*, and he makes very humble excuses for the audacious novelties of the new school, namely his own. Whatever irony there be in this humility, he pleads extenuating circumstances, the most weighty being the declared preference of the public. To this he is willing to sacrifice himself, though on principle he disapproves. In the course of his discussion he expresses opinions and views of the greatest interest to historians of the drama.

On the other hand, Cervantes's *Viaje del Parnaso* (1614) [4] and

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[1] In López de Sedano, *Parnaso español*, I, 1768. It was first published in the *Diversas rimas*, 1591.

[2] *Exemplar poética*, ed. Icaza, in *Clásicos cast.*, vol. 60, 1924. *Poèmes inédits* (*Viaje de Sannio*), ed. F. A. Wulff, Lund, 1887 (in *Acta Universitatis Lundensis*, XXIII). *Romances*, ed. Durán, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, X and XVI. *Los inventores de las cosas*, in Sedano, *Parnaso esp.*, IX, 1778.—See Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, nos. 1960–1967. F. Wulff, in *Homen. Menéndez y Pelayo*, II, 143–148. E. Walberg, *J. de la C. et son "Exemplar poético,"* Lund, 1904.

[3] Ed. A. Morel-Fatio, in *Bull. Hisp.*, III, 1901, 365–405.—See A. Farinelli, in *Arch. für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, CIX, 1902, 458–474. Bonilla, in *Rev. de Arch.*, VI, 1902, 222.

[4] Ed. Schevill and Bonilla, 1922. Engl. translation by J. Y. Gibson, London, 1883.

Lope de Vega's *Laurel de Apolo* (1630)[1] are disappointing, considering the subject-matter and the authors' names. These two poems are merely long, tiresome enumerations of contemporary poets who are lauded in conventional fashion, without aptness, accuracy or critical distinctions. In this the authors followed a current model. Montemayor's *Canto de Orfeo* (*Diana*, Book IV) and Gil Polo's *Canto de Turia*, in Book III of the *Diana enamorada*, furnished the type. Cervantes had himself written one such catalogue in the *Canto de Calíope* (*Galatea*, Book VI). The model of the *Viaje del Parnaso* was an Italian *Viaggio in Parnaso* (1582), by the Perugian Cesare Caporali (1531–1601). Apollo, besieged by bad poets, sends Mercury to fetch the good ones to his aid. Mercury asks Cervantes for the necessary information. There are eight *capítulos* in *tercetos*, with a prose postscript (*Adjunta*) greatly superior to the verse. But all in all, it is as hard to find poetry as criticism in these mediocre poems. Even the historian can glean but little from them.

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[1] Ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXVIII.

CHAPTER II

PROSE (EXCEPT THE NOVEL)

The prose of that period may be divided into three main categories: *history, mystical and didactic writings,* and *the novel.* In each of these classes some of the greatest names of Spanish literature are to be found. Castilian prose at that moment reached its height in richness and purity, yet one can catch here and there the first signs of exhaustion and decadence, though they are not so visible as in poetry.

1. History

Florián de Ocampo had attempted to give Spain a complete and authentic history, in place of the chronicles which had till then satisfied her. He failed in his undertaking. The Aragonese **Jerónimo Zurita** (1512–1580)[1] was less ambitious: he limited his endeavor to Aragon (*Anales de la corona de Aragón,* 1562–1579). Four volumes (20 books) contain the *Anales,* and two more (1580, ten books) form the history of Ferdinand the Catholic. This secretary to Philip II and official chronicler of Aragon has left an important work, for his history, if not of the highest literary value, is at least serious and well documented. It is remarkable also for its impartiality, moderation and sane judgment, qualities which cause Zurita's *Anales* to occupy justly a position of high esteem among Spanish histories. Zurita's labors were carried on by **Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola** (p. 236), who brought the annals down to 1520, then by **Andrés de Ustarroz** and **Diego de Sayas,** who carried them to 1525, and finally by **Diego José Dormer,** from 1525 to 1540.[2]

The Cordovan **Ambrosio de Morales** (1513–1591),[3] was professor of rhetoric at Alcalá, and chronicler of Castile. In four volumes (1574–77–86) he continued Ocampo's history, bringing it down to 1037. He wrote more elegantly than Zurita, and gave much space in his work to antiquities and inscriptions. He appended to his *History* a description, or rather a brilliant eulogy, of Spain. This learned and skilful writer left other works, among them an account of a trip to Galicia and Asturias (*El viaje . . . a los reinos de León y Galicia*, etc.), published by Padre Flórez in 1765.

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[1] See F. Ustarroz y Diego Dormer, *Progresos de la historia en el reino de Aragón y elogio de Zurita,* Zaragoza, 1878. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliog. madrileña,* III, 523.

[2] The *Anales de Aragón* and its continuations form 22 volumes in the edition of 1578–1705.—On the poetry of Ustarroz cf. E. D. Roberts in *Rev. Hisp.,* LXXVI, 1929, 346–359.

[3] *Corónica general,* 1791–1792, 6 vols.—See E. Redel, *A. de M.,* Córdoba, 1909. E. Fueter, *Historiographie,* p. 276. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliog. madrileña,* III, 432.

Esteban de Garibay (1525–1599) wrote a compendium in forty books of the history of all the kingdoms of Spain (1571, reprinted in 1628).

2. But the real historian of Spain was found in the Jesuit **Juan de Mariana** (1535–1624),[1] the illegitimate son of the Dean of Talavera. He joined the recently-organized Company of Jesus (1554), made the round of various lands and universities (Alcalá, Rome, Sicily, Paris), either as student or professor, and returned (1574) to a studious retreat at Toledo, which he scarcely left during the forty-nine last years of his life. There he drew up his report upon the *Polyglot Bible* (1569–1572) of Arias Montano, who was accused of heresy; Mariana courageously decided in his favor. There, too, he wrote, in Latin, his *De Rege et Regis Institutione* (1599), full of bold thinking and fiery eloquence. In it he defended the not novel thesis that a people subjected to tyranny had a right, after exhausting every other defense, to kill the tyrant. In the course of his argument he excused Jacques Clément, the murderer of Henri III (1589). In 1610 Ravaillac assassinated Henri IV. Mariana was thought responsible for the deed, and his book was solemnly burned at Paris. Another Latin work was the *Seven Treatises* (*Tractatus VII*, 1609), three at least of which deserve mention here: *On Public Games* (*De Spectaculis*), rich in information about the customs of the time; *On Coinage* (*De monetae mutatione*); and *On Death and Immortality* (*De morte et immortalitate*). One may add the *Discurso de los grandes defectos que hay en la forma del*

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[1] *Obras*, ed. F. Pí y Margall (*Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXX and XXXI).—See G. Cirot, *Mariana historien*, Bordeaux-Paris, 1905. Id., *À propos du "De rege," des "Septem Tractatus" de M. et de son ou de ses procès*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, X, 1908, 95–99. P. U. González de la Calle, in *Rev. de Archivos*, vols. XXIX (1913), XXX (1914), XXXI (1914), XXXII (1915), XXXIX (1918), XL (1919), *passim*. G. Cirot, *Le roman du Père M.*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXII, 1920, 269–294.

govierno de los Jesuitas, which was not published till after his death, and then outside of Spain (Bordeaux, 1626).

But the *History of Spain* absorbed most of Mariana's strength. Anxious to reveal to other nations the greatness of his country, he wrote his work first in Latin and published it in twenty books (1592), then in twenty-five (1595),[1] and finally complete in thirty books (1605). However, in obedience to requests, and perhaps to render more certain the success of his work, he himself translated it into Spanish, with modifications. He began the publication of this translation (in thirty books) in 1601, and continued it in successive editions almost to the year of his death (1608, 1617, 1623).

Mariana's *History* embraces world-events from the most ancient and fabulous, in the time of Japhet, down to the Emperor Charles V. From then to Philip IV the author gave only a brief summary. The first aim of the work was to eulogize Spain. Although Mariana's documentation and scientific preparation is not so much to be despised as some have said, his models are the Latin historians, especially Livy. With regard to national legends, he adopted Livy's point of view exactly. He embellished his narrative with every ancient tradition that poetry could furnish him. In this way he gave his story a literary charm and picturesque color which do not greatly harm historic verity, for he knew very well that legend was legend. "I set down more than I believe," said he: "*plura transcribo quam credo.*" "It is a sort of pragmatic history," said Menéndez y Pelayo, "which first of all aims to derive from the past a stimulus for the future." With his classical models always in mind, Mariana intersperses his narrative with discourses (usually very eloquent), portraits and moralizations; at times he even employs direct address to the characters on the stage: *Historia opus maxime oratorium.* In truth, eloquence is Mariana's salient quality. Add to that a grave and vigorous style, rendered more weighty by intentional touches of archaism;[2] flowing periods enlivened by alert thinking; a gift of multiform narration which selects picturesque word and significant detail, and perfect acquaintance with his material (for this work of art was, for its time, also a work of science), and one can readily understand that the success of the *Historia de España* was justified, and why Mariana, to the public at large, still stands as the most famous of all Spanish historians.

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[1] There seems to have been an edition of the first 20 books and another of the first twenty-five books, both in 1592. See Cirot, *Mariana historien*, 452–454.

[2] Saavedra Fajardo, in his *República literaria* (ed. García de Diego, 1923, p. 123) remarked of Mariana: "Siendo de nuestros tiempos, quiere parecer de los de Perançules."

3. Prudencio de Sandoval (1553?–1620) [1] published in 1604–1606 his *Historia de la vida y hechos del emperador Carlos V*, which may be regarded as complementary to Mariana's work. It is no more scholarly than his, and certainly less solid and well written. Besides this book, Sandoval left an incomplete history of the Benedictine monasteries of Spain, a *Historia de los reyes de Castilla y de León* (Fernando I, Sancho II, Alfonso VI, Doña Urraca, Alfonso VII), called the "*Cinco Reyes*" (1615), and a *Historia de Idacio, Isidoro de Badajoz, Sebastián de Salamanca, Sampiro, Pelayo* (1615), called "*Cinco Obispos.*" He lacked judicial sense, but utilized many documents previously unknown.

Lives of saints and the history of religious orders have always been in honor on the Peninsula. At this period many such appeared. Foremost among them are two monographs by Padre **José de Sigüenza** (1544?–1606), a sound scholar and a master of form. His *Vida de San Jerónimo* (1595) forms a preface to the *Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo* (1600–1605).[2] Fray **Diego de Yepes** (1530?–1613?) wrote a life of St. Teresa (1595) and a history of the persecution in England (1599). Of great importance are the historical works of the Jesuit **Pedro de Ribadeneyra** (1527–1611): [3] *El cisma de Inglaterra* (1588), lives of the early Jesuits, Loyola, Diego Laínez, Francisco de Borja, the *Flos Sanctorum*, so popular in Spain, and other pious works.

The history of the Americas, which had already produced such a variety of works (pp. 182 ff.), increased its store with the *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1590) by **José de Acosta** (1539–1600), a rich repertory of facts; and with two works of the **Inca Garcilaso de la Vega** (1539?–1615),[4] who was descended on the mother's side from the ancient rulers of Peru. *La Florida del Inca* (1605) and in greater degree the *Comentarios reales que tratan del origen de los Incas* (1609–1617) interest the reader by reason of the author's personality as well as by their subject.

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[1] See E. Fueter, *Historiographie*, p. 283. A. Morel-Fatio, *Historiographie de Charles-Quint*, I, 37. V. Castañeda, *El cronista Fray P. de S.*, 1929.

[2] Ed. J. Catalina García, in *Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, VIII and XII.

[3] *Obras escogidas*, ed. Vicente de la Fuente, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LX.

[4] *Traducción de los tres Diálogos de amor de León Hebreo*, ed. Bonilla y San Martín, in *Orígenes de la novela*, IV, 278–459. *Comentarios reales de los Incas*, ed. H. H. Urteaga, Lima, 1918–21, 6 vols.—See Julia Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega*, Oxford, 1921.

4. A very different type of work is the *Guerra de Granada* [1] of **Diego Hurtado de Mendoza** (1503–1575; p. 164), who was exceptionally well placed to know the facts of the uprising of the Moriscos in 1568–1571. A work of his old age, the *Guerra* circulated in manuscript, and was even copied, before it was published in 1627, by **Luis Tribaldos de Toledo.** This text is defective, and some gaps were filled later. It is proper to consider the work in connection with the date of publication, not of writing, for it had some influence upon historians of this latter period or of the following. It was one of the first narratives of a particular event, and constituted a direct imitation, in form and matter, of classical models. A few pages of the *Guerra de Granada* will convince any reader that the author drew consciously and systematically upon Tacitus and Sallust. The direct copyings have many times been pointed out. In the fourth book, for example, the Spaniards under the Duke of Arcos find the bones of soldiers of the Count of Ureña and Alonso de Aguilar, in the old fort of Calaluy, in the Sierra Bermeja; the passage is imitated from Tacitus's *Annals*, I, 61, where Germanicus discovers the slain legions of Varus. In the first book, the speech of Fernando de Valor, *el Zaguer*, which Ticknor compared to that of the Carthaginian leaders in Livy, seems also modeled upon Cataline's address to the conspirators, according to the account of Sallust. To these classical reminiscences add the learned dissertations which Mendoza delights to bring in (on the mythical origin of Seville, on the location of Munda, etc.), together with his constant tendency to feel a Roman name under a Spanish one, and we must admit that the *Guerra de Granada* is an erudite work, built according to rule upon the lines of antiquity, and that at times it seems more like a pastiche than an original composition.

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[1] Ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXI. Ed. A. Hämel, Leipzig, 1923.—See R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Étude sur la "Guerra de Granada,"* in *Rev. Hisp.*, I, 1894, 101–165, 338. Id., *Notes sur la bibliographie de la "Guerra de Granada," ibid.*, VII, 1900, 247–248. Id., *Documents relatifs à la Guerre de Grenade, ibid.*, XXXI, 1914, 486–523. Id., *L'Authenticité de la "Guerra de Granada," ibid.*, XXXV, 1915, 476–538. A. Morel-Fatio, *Quelques remarques sur la Guerre de Grenade de Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, in *Annuaire de l'École des Hautes Études*, Paris, 1914, 5–50. Lucas de Torre, *D. D. H. de M. no fué el autor de "La Guerra de Granada,"* in *Bol. Acad. Hist.*, LXIV, 1914, and LXV, 1915. G. Cirot, *La Guerra de Granada et l'Austriada*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXII, 1920, 149–159.

The style as well reveals imitation. The *Guerra de Granada* is one of the most vaunted monuments of classic Spanish prose, yet one may be allowed to say that effort and method are at times too much in evidence. The author proposed to reproduce the manner of Sallust and Tacitus, which is choppy and abrupt as well as sententious. So he proceeded to heap up small brief phrases and parallel clauses, without stopping to think whether the links were tight or whether syntax suffered. To be sure, these successive complementary dabs do sometimes give extraordinary relief to an idea. The stripped manner conveys the impression that the author, who knows much and has much to say, has voluntarily restricted himself to a narrow choice, and often he does attain the concision of his models. One very precious gift is his, imagination, and thanks to that his pictures are full of life and light. He does not lose his way in the labyrinth of skirmishes, raids and pillage of which this war consisted (for real feats of arms were rare in it). With vigor and restraint he brings out the salient trait, as in his portraits of Aben-Humeya, Abenabó, Juan de Mendoza, the Marquis de los Vélez, and the vivid scene when Abenabó is murdered at the caves of Berchul. Mendoza's noble liberty of spirit is a rare virtue: he speaks of men and things with no trace of race- or caste-prejudice, and does sheer justice to friends and enemies alike. This historian is a moralist on the order of Tacitus, Guicciardini and Commines.

The style and the artistic value of the *Guerra de Granada* were roughly handled by M. Morel-Fatio: even its authenticity has been doubted, without sufficient reason.[1] Reproaches of a purely literary order will serve at least to offset the exaggerated praise of certain writers.

5. Mendoza's manuscript had been utilized in **Luis del Mármol Carvajal**'s *Historia del rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del reino de Granada* (1600),[2] and in Fray **Jaime Bleda**'s *Corônica de los moros*

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[1] See p. 260, n. 1. Lucas de Torre advanced the theory that the *Guerra* was not an original work, but a mere turning into prose of the first 18 cantos of Juan Rufo's *Austriada* (1584). But it appears that the reverse is true, and that Rufo obtained his material from the manuscript history of Mendoza. See also R. Menéndez Pidal, *Antología de prosistas castellanos*, 1923, 114, note 1.

[2] Ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXI.

de España (1618). Four years before the appearance in print of the *Guerra de Granada*, **Francisco de Moncada** (1586–1635),[1] governor of Flanders and commander-in-chief of the Spanish army in that region, published his *Expedición de los catalanes y aragoneses contra turcos y griegos* (1623). He had an admirable theme in the extraordinary adventure of Roger de Flor, who, with his bands of *almogávares*, conquered the Oriental empire. The story had already been told in Catalan in the precious chronicle of Ramón Muntaner (1265–1336?), printed in 1558 (*Chronica del rey don Iaume Primer*). The splendid color of the tableaux, the dramatic interest of the scenes which the old historian had himself witnessed, can still be detected beneath the more labored and artificial style of his imitator.

The wars in Flanders from May 1588 to 1599 (*Las guerras de los Estados Bajos . . .*, 1625) [2] were narrated by **Carlos Coloma** (1573–1637), who had fought notably in them. His account is elegant and sometimes picturesque; it bears the imprint of reality and betrays a fighting-man's enthusiasm. The author, whose career embraced a vice-regency of Majorca and an embassy in Great Britain, published also a translation of Tacitus (1629): this Latin author was rendered in several versions at about this time by Antonio de Herrera (1615–1629), Baltasar Alamos de Barrientos (1614) and Emanuel Sueiro (1613). In fact, Tacitus and Seneca were the favorite authors of this conceptist period.

Coloma's narrative was a sequel to the *Comentarios de lo sucedido en las guerras de los payses bajos* (1592) of **Bernardino de Mendoza** (1541?–1604),[3] the famous Spanish ambassador to France during the time of the Catholic League. He relates the happenings in the Low Countries from 1567 to 1577, accurately and authoritatively, but without inspiration. His *Theórica y práctica de guerra* (1595) is not so interesting as his diplomatic correspondence with the king.[4]

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[1] *Expedición . . .*, ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXI. Ed. S. Gili Gaya, 1924 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 54). Ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc of the first (MS.) version (*Empresas y victorias alcançadas por el valor de pocos catalanes y aragoneses contra los imperios de turcos y griegos*) in *Rev. Hisp.*, XLV, 1919, 349–509.—See S. Gili Gaya, *Sobre la "Vida de Boecio" de F. de M.*, in *Rev. de Filol. Esp.*, XIV, 1927, 286–288.

[2] Ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXVIII.

[3] *Comentarios*, ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXVIII.—See A. Morel-Fatio, in *Bull. Hisp.*, VIII, 1906, 20–70, 129–147 (reprinted in *Études sur l'Espagne*, 4e série, Paris, 1925, 373–490).

[4] In *Col. de documentos inéditos*, vols. XCI, XCII.

6. The Mystics [1]

The group of religious writers known as mystics is no less important than that of the historians, and is perhaps more original. The current of mysticism, so powerful at this time, is one of the most characteristic manifestations of the Spanish genius. Its influence, for good or evil, gained enormously in potency by the fact that it did not remain mured within monasteries and churches, but flowed through the whole social structure. It represented, moreover, almost alone, the speculative intellect of Spain. In this book we need only consider its outward aspect and its literary expression, but we must none the less bear in mind that mysticism played a very important rôle in the civilization of the era. Its doctrines, methods and teachings are to be studied in the abundant literature that it produced. Here we have but to select, among so many works, those which express its essence with the highest artistic perfection.

Though Spanish mysticism was as genuine and native as possible, it was not an original creation of Spain, for it represents the union of various elements known elsewhere; some go back to the Middle Ages and some even to antiquity. Nor was mystical literature unknown in Spain before the 16th century. The *Doctor illuminatus*, Ramón Lull,[2] the inspired author of the *Contemplations* and *The Book of the Lover and the Beloved*, the passionate disciple of Augustine, Anselm and Francis, was one of the most remarkable mystics of Europe in the Middle Ages. But the 16th century saw the doctrine spread and flourish brilliantly, entering the sphere of Spanish literature proper. It drew together and mingled, in a form purified and rigidly confined within the limits of orthodoxy, many diverse currents and influences. The ancients (Plato, Plotinus, Dionysius Areopagiticus), the medieval mystics, from St. John Climax, St. Augustine, and Scotus Erigena to St. Bonaventura, the Franciscans and St. Catherine of Sienna, from the Jews and Arabs (Avempace, Ibn Tufail, Averroës) to the Germans and Dutch

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[1] On Spanish mysticism in general see P. Rousselot, *Les mystiques espagnols*, Paris, 1867. H. Delacroix, *Les grands mystiques chrétiens*, Paris, 1908. E. Allison Peers, *Spanish Mysticism*, London, 1924. Id., *Studies of the Spanish Mystics*, London, 1927.

[2] See E. Allison Peers, *A Life of Ramón Lull, Translated with Notes and Appendix*, London, 1927. Professor Peers has translated several other works: *The Art of Contemplation*, 1925; *Blanquerna*, 1926; *The Book of the Lover and the Beloved*, 1923; *The Book of the Beasts*, 1927; *The Tree of Love*, 1926.

(Tauler, Ruysbroek, Denys the Carthusian, Henry Herp) and the Neo-Platonists of Italy (Gemistus Pletho, Bessarion, Ficino): each of these thinkers contributed his share to the upflaming of Spanish mystic literature.

Even outside the monasteries and the Church, Platonism had kindled curious doctrines about divine love. In this connection one of the most important treatises is that entitled *Dialogues of Love*, by the Spanish Jew Judas Abrabanel, better known as **León Hebreo** (1460?–1520). This strange work has reached us only in an Italian text of 1535, which was translated into Spanish in 1568, again in 1582, and in 1590 by the Inca Garcilaso.[1] It is supposed that a Spanish text may have existed earlier than the Italian version. However that may be, some parts of the *Dialogues* are very eloquent and surcharged with the poetry of Platonism. They were widely read, and had a considerable influence upon the mystics. The metaphors and comparisons habitual with the latter are found in León Hebreo (" the mystic ladder," " the mirror," " the flame of love," " the sleep," etc.), and his Platonism very often resembles theirs. " As supreme and perfect beauty resides in Divine Intelligence, the soul, which is a splendor proceeding from this Intelligence, becomes enamored of sovereign intellectual beauty and desires to attain bliss by perpetual union with it. . . . O Sophia, when thou hast risen by this ladder to the celestial angelic world, thou wilt find that those who share most fully the intellectual beauty of the Supremely Fair know best how far the most perfect creatures fall short of the beauty of their Creator." This book is one of the profane sources of Spanish mysticism. One can safely assert, also, without paradox, that another source was Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, translated by Boscán: it holds in essence the whole of Italian Platonism.

7. The first Spanish mystics were **Alonso de Madrid** (*Arte para servir a Dios*, 1521), **Francisco de Osuna** (*Tercera parte del Abecedario espiritual*, 1527;[2] one of the chief sources of St. Teresa's *Moradas*), **Juan de Dueñas**[3] (*Remedio de pecadores*, 1545), **Fran-**

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[1] Cf. p. 259, n. 4. See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Hist. de las ideas estét.*, vol. II, Parte 1ª, 1884, 11–66. B. Zimmels, *Leo Hebraeus*, Breslau, 1886. Id., *Leone Hebreo, Neue Studien*, Wien, 1892. J. de Carvalho, *Leão Hebreu, Filosofo*, Coimbra, 1918.

[2] Ed. M. Mir, in *Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XVI.

[3] Not to be confused with the poet of the *Cancionero de Stúñiga*, p. 114.

cisco Ortiz (*Epístolas familiares*, 1552),[1] and **Pablo de León** (*Guía del cielo*, 1553). They are only forerunners of the masters, who flourished in the second half of the 16th century. Special mention should be made of **San Pedro de Alcántara** (1499–1562) of the Minorites, the guide, confidant and defender of St. Teresa. His *De la oración y meditación* (Lisbon, n.d. [1558?]) has been the subject of much controversy; it is now thought a compendium of the work of the same title by Fray Luis de Granada. He was a pure type of Spanish ascetic, the sort of ascetic who is always ready for action. Though passionate and eloquent, he was but a mediocre writer, a pioneer for others.

By the side of these stand a legion of pious writers, whose works have been estimated at some three thousand, a godly militia, wearing, nearly all, the robe of some religious order. The Dominicans could show a Fray Luis de Granada; the Franciscans, San Pedro de Alcántara himself, Juan de los Ángeles, Diego de Estella; the Carmelites, Juan de la Cruz, St. Theresa, Jerónimo Gracián, Miguel de la Fuente; the Augustinians, Fray Luis de León, Malón de Chaide, Orozco, Fonseca, Márquez; the Jesuits, Francisco de Borja, Luis de la Puente, Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Alonso Rodríguez, Álvarez de Paz, Nieremberg. And to these battalions of every habit we must add laymen, and even such heterodox thinkers as Servet, the brothers Valdés, and Molinos.

Mysticism is of the first importance in the study of philosophy and ethics, for it was probably the sole truly national philosophy of Spain;[2] but we are at present concerned only with its literary side, and hence may consider no works but those which rank the highest in this respect.

8. Juan de Ávila (1500–1569)[3] was made famous by the extraordinary success of his preaching in Andalusia and by the power he wielded as director of consciences. In 1530 he wrote for Doña Sancha Carrillo a paraphrase of the Fourty-fourth Psalm (*Audi, filia et vide*, 1557), which was censured by the Inquisition; it appeared under a different title, with sanction, in 1574. His 164 letters of direction (*Epistolario espiritual para todos estados*, 1578), include correspondence with St. Teresa. In his *Obras, Tercera Parte* (1596) appeared twenty-seven minor treatises (*Del santísimo Sacramento, Del conocimiento de sí mismo*, etc.).

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[1] Ed. Eug. de Ochoa, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XIII.

[2] "El espíritu castellano . . . tomó por filosofía castiza la mística, que no es ciencia sino ansia de la absoluta y perfecta hecha sustancia." Unamuno, *En torno al casticismo*, 1902, p. 152. There is nothing more essentially Castilian, for example, than the work of St. Teresa, whether one consider its spirit, its matter or its form, its doctrine or its style.

[3] *Obras*, ed. J. Fernández Montaña, 2nd ed., 1901, 4 vols. *Epistolario espiritual*, ed. Eug. de Ochoa, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XIII. Id., ed. V. García de Diego, 1912 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 11).—See A. Catalán Latorre, *El beato Juan de Ávila*, etc., Zaragoza, 1894. Gerardo de San Juan de la Cruz, *Vida del maestro J. de Á.*, Toledo, 1915.

Juan de Yepes Álvarez, called **San Juan de la Cruz** (1542–1591),[1] one of the most perfect examples of the ardent mystic, was the great disciple and the great friend of Saint Teresa. His literary works, the doctrinal portion of which is not easily grasped by the profane, include: *Subida del Monte Carmelo, Noche escura del alma, Llama de amor viva, Avisos y sentencias espirituales, Devotas poesías*, and letters. Poetic inspiration and religious ecstasy are fused in him; his soul is poetry, in his *Canciones*, the *Noche escura*, the *Cántico espiritual entre el alma y el esposo* (forty *liras* with a lengthy prose commentary on each). The ardor of his feeling is equalled by the extraordinary richness of his imagery and symbolism. His is the very essence of intimate Spain, though it is plain that he was inspired by the *Song of Solomon*. There is as yet no sign of the chill affectations of Gongorism. With him refinement lies not in the words, but in the intense subjectivity of divine love. There is no greater poet in this period.

9. Yet the most famous, the noblest and the most original of all the mystics was a woman, *Teresa Sánchez de Cepeda y Ahumada*, **Santa Teresa de Jesús** (1515–1582).[2] She herself, in those of her works which are in part autobiographical, recounts to us her solitary and eager youth at Ávila, her dramatic inner life, with its brusque moments of depression and exaltation, the definitive triumph of her reason and will, her persevering struggles for the reformation of the Carmelite Order, the founding of seventeen nunneries and fifteen monasteries. These personal works include the *Libro de su vida* (*Libro de las misericordias de Dios*, written 1562–1566), the *Libro de las fundaciones* (written 1573 on) and the voluminous correspondence carried on with so many persons, among them the most important figures of the period; there are more than four hundred *Letters*, from Dec. 31, 1561 to Sept. 17, 1582. In these writings the Saint reveals herself as an admirable organizer and an expert diplomat, quick to penetrate human motives. She united in remarkable fashion realistic, practical talents and the most extraordinary poetic imagination and abstract power of absorption. This rare alliance of gifts which appear contradictory constitutes the truly original side of her genius.

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[1] *Obras*, selections in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXVII and XXXV. Ed. Gerardo de San Juan de la Cruz, 3 vols., 1912–1914. *El Cántico espiritual*, ed. M. Martínez Burgos, 1924 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 55). *Cántico espiritual y poesías*, ed. P. Silverio de Sta. Teresa, Burgos, 1928.—See M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *De la poesía mística* (*Estudios de crítica literaria*, I, 1884). D. Lewis, *The Life of St. John of the Cross*, London, 1897. Jean Baruzi, *S. Jean de la Croix et le problème de l'expérience mystique*, Paris, 1924.

[2] *Escritos*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LIII and LV. *Obras*, ed. Vicente de la Fuente, 1881, 6 vols. Facsimile eds. of original MSS.: *Vida*, 1873; *Fundaciones*, 1880; *Moradas*, 1882. *Moradas*, ed. T. Navarro Tomás, 3rd ed., 1922 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 1). *The Letters of Santa Teresa*, translated and annotated by the Benedictines of Stanbrook, London, 1919–1924, 4 vols. *The Interior Castle*, by the same translators, N. Y., 1912.—See Mrs. G. Cunninghame Graham, *Santa Teresa: Her Life and Times*, London, 1894, 2 vols.H. de Curzon, *Bibliographie Térésienne*, Paris, 1902. Miguel Mir, *Santa Teresa de Jesús, su vida, su espíritu, sus fundaciones*, 1912, 2 vols. E. Juliá Martínez, *La cultura de Santa Teresa y su obra literaria*, Castellón, 1922. H. Etchegoyen, *L'Amour divin*, Bordeaux, 1923. L. Bertrand, *Sainte Thérèse*, Paris, 1927.

The warmth of her inner life flames up in her mystical works, the *Camino de perfección* (written 1564?, printed 1583), the *Conceptos del amor de Dios o Cantares*, and especially in *Las moradas* (*El castillo interior*, written 1577, printed 1588), in which the Saint of Ávila, whose dreamy youth took delight in *Amadís of Gaul*, summed up in one curiously romantic conception all her rich experience of the life of the soul; she leads it upward stage by stage, from one ecstasy to another, through the seven chambers of the mystic Castle, to its final annihilation in the bosom of Divine Love. Here she is truly the *Doctora*, the teacher of the Doctrine of Love, " who wrote," said one of her companions, " with a shining countenance, and her hand moved so rapidly that it seemed impossible anyone could write naturally with such speed." The reader is impressed by her sincerity, her absolute naïveté; the phenomena she describes are subjective, hidden in the heart, and yet she is able to exteriorize these phenomena recognized as hidden. As to the reciprocal action of the physical and the spiritual, it can neither be denied nor scientifically determined in its limits and force.

Saint Teresa's style is her very mind and soul in action. She knew no art, especially in her early writing: rhetoric is quite absent. She uses popular and familiar words, the provincialisms of her region. " Her writings are the type of the familiar language of Old

Castile, as it was spoken by well bred people; a pure, genuine type of true Central Castilian, as far removed from academic, courtly *culteranismo* as from the *charro* and *sayagués* dialects." (Vicente de la Fuente). This popular speech is rich and racy, full of archaisms and idioms. With it the writer succeeded in expressing every delicate shade of thought. The worker mastered the tool, and Luis de León, who collected and published her writings in 1588, expressed in advance the judgment of posterity when he wrote: "In form of diction, in purity and ease of style, in grace and admirable arrangement of words, and in an untaught elegance that is wholly delightful, I doubt if any writing in our language is equal to this."

Saint Teresa was a poet only in prose. Her few authentic poems are mediocre, for there is no reason to attribute to her, as used to be done, the splendid sonnet *To the Crucified Christ:*

No me mueve, mi Dios, para quererte . . .[1]

10. *Luis Sarria,* called Fray **Luis de Granada** (1504–1588)[2] was born of humble parents at Granada; in 1524 he entered the Dominican monastery of Santa Cruz there, and after studying at the Colegio de San Gregorio in Valladolid (1529) returned to Granada to teach theology. For eight years he lived at the monastery of Scala Coeli, near Cordova, then passed to Sanlúcar, in the house of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, then to Evora in Portugal, at the behest of the Cardinal-Infante Enrique. He was chosen Provincial of Portugal in 1557, but declined the Archbishopric of Braga; made the mistake of supporting an *iluminada,* Sor María de la Visitación, retracted, and died on Dec. 31, 1588.

His voluminous works include sermons and exercises in ecclesiastical rhetoric; biographies (Juan de Ávila, Fray Bartolomé de los Mártires, Elvira de Mendoza, Melicia Hernández); translations (Thomas a Kempis, St. John Climax); and religious and mystical works (*El libro de la oración y meditación*, 1554; *Memorial de la vida cristiana*, 1556, etc). In the last category, the most important are: 1°, *La guía de pecadores*, which became so popular in Spain and without. It was first published at Lisbon in 1556–1557, then, in definitive form, at Salamanca, in 1567. With the *Libro de la oración* it was put on the Index in 1559; hence the revised version. The *Guía de pecadores* aims to "give counsel and rules for man to reach virtue." The first book shows the need of virtue and the blessings to be derived from it; the second treats of vices and virtues. 2°, *El Símbolo de la Fe* (1582) takes man in his natural state and gradually raises him to the mysteries of the Catholic faith. The first part treats of the creation of the world, and through the knowledge of his creatures leads us to knowledge of the creator; not unlike Fénelon, in the first part of his *Traité de l'Expérience de Dieu.* It is a résumé of the science of the author's time. The second part is historical and apologetic: since a religion is necessary, there is no more perfect one than Catholicism. In the third part, the mysteries of faith are examined in the light of natural reason (philosophy), and, in the fourth, in the light of faith (theology). The *Símbolo* is, accordingly, a kind of Catholic encyclopedia for the use of laymen, and is based on a double method, demonstrative (critical) and mystic.

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[1] Cf. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Rev. Hisp.*, II, 1895, 120–145, and VI, 1899, 56–57. *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, IX, 1922, 104, no. 11238.

[2] *Obras*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, VI, VIII and XI. Ed. Fray Justo Cuervo, 1906–1908, 14 vols.—See Fray Justo Cuervo, *Biografía de Fray L. de G.*, 1896. Id., *Fray L. de G. y la Inquisición*, in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, I, 733–743. Id., *Fray L. de G., verdadero y único autor del 'Libro de la oración,'* 1919. M. Llaneza, *Bibliografía de Fray L. de G.*, 4 vols., Salamanca, 1926–1928. Rebecca Schwitzer, *The Ciceronian Style in Fray L. de G.*, N. Y., 1927. J. Martínez Ruiz ("Azorín") discusses this author in *Los dos Luises y otros ensayos*, 1921, and *De Granada a Castelar*, 1922.

There is no originality in Granada as apologist or mystic. He has no doctrine of his own, nor could he have; his work is a systematization of the doctrines and methods of a few for the instruction of all. He was a popularizer, for he brought Saint Augustine and Cicero, Melchor Cano and Domingo de Soto, within reach of the uninformed. A popularizer he was also by reason of his vast erudition, the wise moderation of his doctrines, his expository method, in which scholastic apparatus is replaced by clear, simple, unpedantic demonstration; by his truly Ciceronian eloquence which expands magnificently into some of the fairest pages written in Castilian; and finally, by his style, which is fluent, oratorical, slightly diffuse, frequently crowded with tropes, and filled with novel and ingenious comparisons. His language is a model of purity and clearness. If he excelled as a popularizer, he was first of all a moralist, and in that rôle he has remained widely known. He was, perhaps, supreme in nothing; and Spain has certainly had theologians, mystics, preachers, even writers greater than he. Yet the rare union of qualities in his person make him one of the noblest, most perfect and most lovable figures of the 16th century.

11. Luis de León (1527?–1591; cf. above, p. 223)[1] was born at Belmonte in La Mancha, and died at Madrigal. At the age of six he went with his father to Madrid, then to Valladolid, passed to Salamanca to study canon law in 1542, began his novitiate with the Augustinians in the Convent of San Pedro in 1543, and took his vows the following year. In 1561 he obtained the Chair of St. Thomas at the University of Salamanca, and in 1565 that of Durando (*de prima de Sagrada Escritura*). He was denounced to the Inquisition by his colleagues León de Castro and Fray Bartolomé de Medina, and was arrested in March, 1572; the accusation was that he preferred rabbinical interpretations to those of the Vulgate of St. Jerome, that he showed slight respect for the latter version, and that he had translated the *Song of Solomon* into Spanish. He remained nearly five years in prison at Valladolid, but was acquitted Dec. 7, 1576. He did not return to the same University Chair, then held by another, but received one specially created and better paid. According to a legend of late origin, he began his first lecture with the words: *Dicebamus hesterna die*, "as we were saying yesterday." In 1578 he won in competition the regular Chair of Moral Philosophy, and in the following year, after a bitter contest, that of Scripture. He was elected Provincial of Castile on August 14, 1591, and died on the 23rd of the same month.

Luis de León's prose masterpiece is the work *De los nombres de Cristo* (1583, enlarged successively in 1585 and 1595). "All the perfections of God will be understood," said he, "if we understand completely the force and meaning of the names which the Holy Ghost gives Christ in the Divine Scriptures." So he undertakes, as had others before him, from Denis the Areopagite to Reuchlin, to explain the mystery of the fourteen sacred epithets (*Pimpollo, Cara de Dios, Camino, Pastor, Monte, Padre del siglo*

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[1] *Obras*, ed. A. Merino, 1804–1816, 6 vols. (reprinted 1885). Selected prose works in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXVII, also LIII and LXII. *La perfecta casada*, ed. E. Wallace, Chicago, 1903. *De los nombres de Cristo*, ed. F. de Onís, 1914–1922, 3 vols. (*Clásicos cast.*, vols. 28, 33, 41). *Exposición del Miserere*, facsimile of 1632 ed., N. Y., 1903.—See A. Coster, *L. de L.* in *Rev. Hisp.*, LIII, 1921, 1–468 and LIV, 1922, 1–346, Id., *Bibliographie de L. de L.*, in *Rev. Hisp*, LIX, 1923, 1–104. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Fray L. de L.*, Oxford, 1921. A. F. G. Bell, *Fray L. de L.: A Study of the Spanish Renaissance*, Oxford, 1925 (Spanish translation, Barcelona, 1927).

futuro, Brazo de Dios, Rey, Príncipe de Paz, Esposo, Hijo de Dios, El Amado, Jesús, Cordero). Each mystical dissertation is accompanied by delicate moral analyses, moving outbursts of piety, and poetic rhapsodies. The form is quite Platonic; it is a dialogue between three monks, *Marcelo* (Fray Luis himself), *Sabino* and *Juliano*, on the banks of the Tormes, amid the arbors of La Flecha, the Augustinian country-house near Salamanca. The superb nature-sketches are one of the great charms of the book. Mystic emotion and poetic enthusiasm form a happy corrective to arid discussion and passages of scholastic wire-drawing not to the modern taste. His philosophy, set forth still more clearly in the translation and commentary of the *Book of Job*, is a happy combination of Christian asceticism and stoicism, the latter always favored in Spain and especially so at this time. This double inspiration is ever to be felt in Luis de León, and particularly in his poems. Yet he had none of the arrogance of the Stoics; his heart is easily touched, and often a cry of human suffering escapes his lips.

He shows himself a moralist in the short and charming treatise of *La perfecta casada* (1583). It may be compared to certain earlier works of Fray Hernando de Talavera (1428–1507), the confessor of Isabel the Catholic (*De vestir y calzar, De como se ha de ordenar el tiempo para que sea bien expendido*), of Alfonso de Córdoba, Luis Vives (*De institutione feminae christianae*) and Alonso de Orozco (*Regla de vida christiana*, etc.). León's work is full of ingenious observations and shrewd remarks, like those about the beauties of early rising (ch. VII), the attitude of a mistress toward her servants (XI), cosmetics and perfumes (XII), silence and a peaceful disposition (XVI), the mother's obligation to nurse her own children (XVIII), and many another point of morals and domestic economy. Less of an orator than Granada, more of a poet, Luis de León has, in his harmonious prose, set one of the most perfect models of Castilian, just as his verse takes rank among the choicest of the Golden Age.

12. Another Augustinian, Fray **Pedro Malón de Chaide** (1530?–1596?),[1] wrote the *Libro de la conversión de la Magdalena* (1588), less classic and less pure in doctrine and form than León's, and yet vivid and intriguing. The author states that his intention is to combat profane reading, and in particular the vogue of the *Libros de caballerías*, "which might better be called *de bellaquerías;*" he will place the antidote beside the poison, and, if need be, sugarcoat the pill with a seductive layer of poetry. He makes a defense of the Castilian language which recalls the one prefaced to the third book of *De los nombres de Cristo*, and in this connection bears witness to that work's wide popularity. His plan (Magdalen innocent, Magdalen a sinner, Magdalen repentant, Magdalen purified and sainted) allows the author to cover every phase of the soul's life, and every aspect of worldly life. But the real interest of this rambling, over-crowded argument resides precisely in the digressions, contemporary allusions and parallels, satirical descriptions, excellent translations or paraphrases in verse of the Psalms, sonnets, *tercetos;* these all serve as a change and relaxation from tiresome erudition and thorny scholasticism, in which the author becomes frightfully embroiled (cf. III, §23, on predestination). The work embodies an eloquent Plotinianism, but its taste is dubious at times. The Magdalen is made to sing some very pretty *quintillas*, and, whether on account of its beauties or its defects, the *Conversión* was one of the most admired works of the close of the 16th century.

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[1] *La conversión de la Magdalena*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXVII.—See P. J. Pidal, *Estudios literarios*, II, 1890. Ricardo del Arco, *El Padre M. de Ch., nuevos datos para su biografía*, in *Estudio*, IV, 1919, 342.

The Jesuit **Pedro de Ribadeneyra** has already been mentioned (p. 259). By his treatise on *Tribulation*, his *Flos Sanctorum* and his edifying *Letters* he deserves a place among the mystics as well as among the historians.

In his *Triunfos del amor de Dios* (1590),[1] the Franciscan Fray **Juan de los Ángeles** (1536?–1609), less known than the preceding writers, follows, like them, in his interpretation of the *Song of Songs*, "the doctrine of the divine contemplative Denis (the Areopagite) and of Plato in the *Symposium*, because they, among all who have discussed the matter, deserve the palm." His suave eloquence may be admired also in the *Diálogos de la conquista del espiritual y secreto reino de Dios* (1595). Other minor treatises which may be cited are the *Historia de la Reina Sabá* (1565) and other devout works of Fray **Alonso de Orozco** (1500–1591), almoner of Isabelle de Valois, and the three works of Fray **Diego de Estella** (1524–1578),[1] *Tratado de la vida de San Juan* (1554), *Tratado de la vanidad del mundo* (1574) and *Meditaciones devotísimas del amor de Dios* (1578).

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[1] Recast in the *Lucha espiritual y amorosa entre Dios y el Alma* (1600). *Obras místicas*, in *Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XX (1912) and XXIV (1917).—See J. Domínguez Berrueta, *Fray J. de los A.*, 1927.

The subject of mystic writings is by no means exhausted. Our last words may be for the preacher **Hortensio Felix Paravicino y Arteaga** (1580–1633), and the Jesuit **Juan Eusebio Nieremberg** (1595–1658). The former [2] might better, perhaps, be classed with the Gongorists, for his eloquence was in detestable taste, or among the poets, for his collected verse, printed in 1641 with the title *Obras pôstumas divinas y humanas,* is worthy of an enthusiastic disciple of the Góngora of the *Soledades.* In his sonnets and other poems the wonted darkness of mystical inspiration is intensified by the admixture of cultist riddles; his sermons (*Oraciones evangélicas y panegíricos funerales*, 1641) show what becomes of the pious subtleties of an Alcántara or an Ávila when they fall into the hands of a man whose cleverness is greater than his common sense. As for Nieremberg,[3] chronologically he belongs to the following period, but, as he would be quite alone there, it seems better to group him with his immediate intellectual predecessors. The treatise *De la hermosura de Dios* (1641) simply rehandles themes often before treated, and the same is true of the *Diferencia entre lo temporal y eterno.* Nieremberg at least relieves his banal amplifications by a style relatively simple for its period. He had begun with a work of very different nature, which enjoyed great popularity: *Obras y días, manual de señores y príncipes* (1627), in which, like many contemporaries, he attempted to lay down rules for good government. His *Epistles* can still be read with interest and profit.

13. Didactic Prose

Nieremberg's last-mentioned work leads us directly to the study of various prose-writers who devoted themselves to the description or reform of the manners of their time. They sought, in various forms (not mystic or religious) to popularize the precepts of moral philosophy for the guidance of rulers or ruled. Spain certainly needed such advice and precepts. She received them in prodigal quantities. But they do not seem to have been of great service to her; the disease throve, apparently, the more doctors and quacks flocked to her bedside.

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[1] *De la vanidad del mundo*, 2 vols., 1908. *Meditaciones*, ed. R. León, 1920.

[2] Poems, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XVI and XXXV.—See Alfonso Reyes, *Las dolencias de P.*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, V, 1918, 293–297.

[3] *Obras espirituales*, 1890–1892, 6 vols. *Epistolario*, ed. N. Alonso Cortés, 1915 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 30).

Such treatises were published by Ribadeneyra, already twice mentioned, and P. **Juan Márquez** (1564–1621). The former's *El príncipe cristiano* (1595) and the latter's *El gobernador cristiano* (1612) both represent an effort to deduce from the Bible the principles of a truly Christian governmental system. Probably Machiavelli was the antagonist they had in view. These two works are written in a pure and classic style. *El embajador* (1620) of **Juan Antonio Vera y Zúñiga** (p. 117) is a pleasing book, in which he gives the reader the fruit of his experience as Spanish minister in Venice. And, as it was right and proper that favorites (the real rulers in Spain during that period) should have their special manual, **Pedro Fernández Navarrete,** minister of Philip III, wrote for them *El perfecto privado* (1625).

Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa (1571?–1645?) [1] addressed a less limited public in *El pasagero* (1617). It represents a journey from Madrid to Barcelona, and each evening, after each of the ten stages or *Alivios*, the four travelers offer *advertencias utilísimas a la vida humana*, interesting in their variety. Figueroa, who resided in Italy from 1588 to 1604, is also the author of an encyclopedia, *Plaza universal de todas ciencias y artes* (1615), largely translated from the Italian. His epic poem has been mentioned (p. 245), and his pastoral novel, *La constante Amarilis*, appears below (p. 293). He gained an unpleasant notoriety by reason of his difficult character and a spirit of bitter satire which gave cause for complaint to many, among them Cervantes and Alarcón.

The Valencian **Sebastián Mey** published an agreeable collection of fifty-seven prose fables (*Fabulario*, 1613), [2] which deserves at least a mention among the didactic works of this period.

14. The most illustrious polygraph and moralist of the first half of the 17th century is **Francisco Gómez de Quevedo y**

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[1] *El pasagero*, ed. F. Rodríguez Marín, 1913. Ed. R. Selden Rose, 1914 (*Biblióf. Esp.*, 38).—See J. P. W. Crawford, *The Life and Works of C. S. de F.*, Philadelphia, 1907 (Spanish transl. by N. Alonso Cortés, Valladolid, 1911). N. Alonso Cortés, *Sobre C. S. de F.*, in *Misc. vallisoletana*, 4ª serie, Valladolid, 1926, 41–54.

[2] In Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, IV.—See *ibid.*, II, pp. xcix–cxvi.

Villegas (1580–1645).[1] Born in Madrid of a good family from La Montaña (province of Santander), left an orphan early, he studied at Alcalá, and followed the court to Valladolid (1601–1606), where he began to gain a reputation for bright and lively satires in verse and prose. A duel forced him to leave Spain (1611), and he took service with the famous Duke of Osuna, Pedro Téllez Girón, first in Sicily, later at Naples. Osuna gave him difficult missions in Nice, Genoa and Milan, and he played some dangerous rôle, as yet ill known, in the conspiracy against Venice (1618). When Osuna fell (1620), Quevedo, in disgrace, was exiled to his La Manchan estate of La Torre de Juan Abad. He tried to curry favor with Olivares, Philip IV's favorite, but did not well succeed. Accused, rightly doubtless, of having slipped into the King's napkin a satirical *Memorial* in verse, in which he exposed the ambition and cupidity of that same Count-Duke (1639), he was imprisoned in the old Convent of San Marcos at León, and released only after the fall of Olivares (1643). Broken in health, he died Sept. 8, 1645.

His literary activity was tremendous, and he attempted nearly every genre. His poems have already been mentioned (p. 237); to them might be added a few unimportant dramatic efforts (especially *entremeses*). His prose works include:

1°, didactic treatises on **politics,** such as the *Política de Dios* (1626), still another attempt to base political science on the teachings of the Scriptures. Grave tone and solemn critical apparatus do not quite conceal the satire and allusion of these pages carelessly strung together by a whimsical, irregular plan. *Marco Bruto* (composed in 1631, printed in 1644) is not essentially different from the *Política* in its secret intent. It is an ingenious and subtle commentary on certain passages in Plutarch's life of Brutus. Unfortunately, Quevedo, in writing it, yielded to the influence, deadly to a Spaniard, of the Italian conceptist Virgilio Malvezzi, whose notorious *Romulo* (1629) he had just translated (1631). To these works may be added a number of pamphlets on contemporary politics; Quevedo, who had a real journalist's temperament, turned them out in abundance all his life long. Such are the *Grandes anales de quince días* (1621), a narrative of the palace revolution which coincided with the accession of Philip IV, and most instructive to the reader, despite the author's reticences and circumlocutions; *Mundo caduco* and *Lince de Italia*, propaganda to aid or justify the tortuous course of the Duke of Osuna in Italy; *El chitón de las taravillas* (*Stop-mouth for Chatterers*, 1630), a defense of the financial measures of Olivares, whom he was soon to attack so bitterly; the *Carta del rey D. Fernando el Católico;* the *Rebelión de Barcelona;* the *Manifiesto de Braganza;* the *Carta a Luis XIII;* all these are topical screeds, full of demonstrative patriotism that savors strongly of the professional courtier.

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[1] Prose, ed. A. Fernández Guerra, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXIII and XLVIII. Poems, ed. F. Janer, *ibid.*, LXIX. *Obras completas*, ed. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, Sevilla, 1897, 1903, 1907 (incomplete: *Bibliófilos Andaluces*, vol. 20). *España defendida*, ed. R. S. Rose, 1916. *Los sueños*, ed. J. Cejador, 1916–1917 (*Clásicos cast.*, vols. 31 and 34). *La vida del Buscón*, ed. R. S. Rose, 1927. *Id.*, ed. Américo Castro, 2nd ed., 1927 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 5). *Páginas escogidas*, ed. A. Reyes, 1916 (Calleja). —See E. Mérimée, *Essai sur la vie et les oeuvres de F. de Q.*, Paris, 1886. Symposium on *El Buscón*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XLIII, 1918, 1–78. J. Juderías, *Don Fr. de Q. y V.*, 1923.

2°, **moral** and **religious** works which reveal Quevedo as philosopher and stoic. The most important is the *Providencia de Dios* (written 1641, published in 1700–1713). It treats of the immortality of the soul, and of the mysteries of his providence. He strikes a mean between a purely philosophical demonstration and the commonplaces of the Christian pulpit, but the book is not of a calibre to win its author standing as a "deep thinker and very original philosopher," as Spaniards too readily claim. Quevedo's philosophy corresponds quite exactly to the intellectual and scientific status of his time; it faces toward the past, not the future, and does not bear within it any germ of rejuvenation or progress. But though his philosophic theory is sterile, his writings upon practical ethics contain noble encouragements to patience, resignation and stoicism. Such are the teachings found in *La constancia y paciencia del Santo Job* (third part of the *Providencia de Dios*, 1713), the *Vida de San Pablo* (1644), and the translations from Phocylides, Seneca, Epictetus, and Saint François de Sales. These men are true saints to him, and from them he draws inspiration for *La cuna y la sepultura* (printed 1635) and *Las cuatro pestes con las cuatro fantasmas* (or *Virtud militante*, 1651). The biography of the great Archbishop of Valencia, *Vida de Fray Tomás de Villanueva* (1620) and the curious *Memorial por el patronato de Santiago* (1628) complete this series; the latter is a defense of the traditional privileges of the Patron Saint of Spain, threatened by the partisans of St. Teresa.

3°. We have already had occasion to mention (p. 230) the part taken by Quevedo in the quarrels over *culteranismo*. To his **literary pamphlets** must be added the *Cuento de cuentos* (1626), a mere collection of idioms and popular ways of speech which the author burlesques, and *La perinola* (*The Teetotum*, written 1633, published 1788), a violent diatribe against the *Para todos* of Montalván, Quevedo's dearest enemy.

4°. But his surest title to fame is found in his **burlesque** and **satirical** works, *Los sueños* (*The Dreams*, 1627) and *El Buscón*. Quevedo had made a hit early in his life with clever and amusing satires, the *Pragmáticas* (not printed till 1845), and drolleries like the *Cartas del caballero de la Tenaza* (1625), *Capitulaciones de la vida de corte* (*Articles of Court Life*, printed 1845), and a sheaf of other whimsies that he bound together later in *Juguetes de la niñez* (*Youthful Playthings*).

La vida del Buscón, composed about 1607 (?) and printed in 1626, is a picaresque novel which will be discussed later (p. 317). *Los sueños*, written soon after, form a series of satires under the convenient fiction of a visit to Hell. There are six: *El sueño del juicio final* (or *de las calaveras*, 1607?), *El alguacil alguacilado* (or *endemoniado*, 1607–1608), *El sueño del infierno* (*Las zahurdas de Plutón*, 1608), *El sueño del mundo por de dentro* (1610–1612?), *El sueño de la muerte* (*La visita de los chistes*, 1622), and *El discurso de todos los diablos* (*El entremetido, la dueña y el soplón*, 1628). Add *La hora de todos y la fortuna con seso* (1635? published in 1650). *La casa de locos de amor* is of doubtful authenticity.

Nothing could be funnier than the procession of odd fish that Quevedo's comic muse discovers in the Infernal Regions. He presents a highly malicious caricature of society, outwardly so solemn and stiff in the days of Philip III and Philip IV. The satirist takes a malign pleasure in laying bare all its blemishes, vices and hypocrisy. With his arrows, keen-tipped as wasp-stings and thick as hail, he pursues the types which form his usual game: judges, lawyers, doctors, *arbitristas*, tradesmen, tailors, landlords, poets, barbers, French peddlers and Genoese bankers, coquettes, ladies of fortune, duennas and so on and on. There are perhaps only two classes of society unrepresented in Quevedo's Hell, paupers and soldiers; the omission is characteristic, and very Spanish. In spite of the many faults of his own conduct, he speaks at times in the tones of a free man and a citizen. No bolder and more vigorous words were penned in this period than the speech of "a certain red-haired lawyer"[1] in *La hora de todos.*

Quevedo's style was never more sprightly, biting and animated than in these light fantasies, and in his *Correspondence,* which is very interesting. Indeed, his style, like his own genius, bends to the most diverse themes, according to circumstances and the passion of the moment. In his ascetic and political works it can be grave, solemn, almost stilted, draped with ingeniously wrought conceptism, while in the burlesques it touches the nadir of cynicism and nakedness.

With like inconsistence, the stoic who expiated his civic courage in a dungeon acts and speaks at times like a courtier. For his great lack is measure, the just sense of proportion and decency, trained taste and respect for his own talent. He possessed a clear vision of the ridiculous, extreme sensitiveness to impressions and the imagination which gives life to mental concepts. His talent as a stylist was perhaps superior to that of Cervantes, and his learning far greater, but he lacked the other's firm good sense, his perfect moral equilibrium and his reason ever master of itself. So, in spite of his brilliant qualities, Quevedo must remain of second rank.

15. Diego de Saavedra Fajardo (1584–1648),[2] four years younger than Quevedo, visited the chief countries of Europe in the capacity of diplomat. He summed up the political experience gained in thirty-four years of travel and negotiation in a work which he wrote, according to his own statement, day by day, as he journeyed. The *Idea de un príncipe político christiano* or *Empresas políticas* (1640) contains, in 101 chapters, a manual of politics for the use of the prince. Each chapter is illustrated with an 'emblem' (*empresa,* allegorical design) after Alciati's fashion. The style is gravely concise, modeled on that of Tacitus: "*estilo levantado sin afectación, y breve sin oscuridad,*" as he says himself. His crowded pages doubtless smack too strongly of erudition to suit our taste, but after all they are worthy of a real statesman, of one who has seen much and pondered deeply, and who, writing in the midst of affairs, has managed, despite his natural subtlety, to avoid the *afectación* of thought and style which most of his contemporaries sought.

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[1] [*Un letrado bermejo;* perhaps "red-bearded." *Rubio* or *bermejo* connoted deceit and treachery; see M. Herrero García in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, XII, 1925, 158–163. Quevedo may have meant to salve his boldness by putting the words in the mouth of an unreliable character.]

[2] *Obras,* in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXV. *República literaria,* ed. V. García de Diego, 1923 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 46). *Idea de un príncipe político christiano,* ed. V. García de Diego, 2 vols., 1927 (*Clásicos cast.*, vols. 76 and 81).—See Conde de Roche y J. P. Tejera, *S. F.*, 1884. "Azorín," in *De Granada a Castelar,* 1922, 79–136.

Saavedra has been proven the author of an interesting bit of literary criticism, *La república literaria*, written about 1612, revised toward 1640, and published as the work of Claudio Antonio de Cabrera in 1655. Saavedra's opinions of Spanish writers are frequently enlightening. His *Corona gótica* (1645) was propaganda in behalf of Spain intended to influence the Congress of Münster, which concluded the Treaty of Westphalia.

16. In his conceptism, the brilliant shrewdness of his mind and some of the themes he treated, the Jesuit **Baltasar Gracián** (1601–1658)[1] reminds one of Quevedo, and he continued the latter's tradition, with some easily recognizable differences in matter and form. He left few works, but those laboriously planned and whetted; in them some readers have found only pretentious commonplaces, while others, numerous especially beyond the Rhine, discover the fruits of an esoteric genius, inaccessible to the vulgar. In *El Héroe* (1637, first extant ed. 1639), published under the name of Lorenzo Gracián, he attempted to draw the portrait of a sort of Christian superman, whom, alas! he hoped to find in real life in Philip IV, about whose character Quevedo, at least, nourished no illusions. That fact, it would seem, gives the measure of the author's doctrine. It is true that in *El Político* (1640), the hero becomes Ferdinand the Catholic. *El Discreto* (1646) enumerates with minute subtlety the twenty-five superior qualities (*realces*) which, in the author's theory, make up a well bred man, while the *Oráculo manual* (1647) was to be the bedside companion of whoever desires to become such: it contains some three hundred maxims, a quintessence of wisdom which lightens the labor of worldly development for anyone who understands them aright. Schopenhauer did not think it beneath him to translate the *Oráculo.*[1]

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[1] *El Discreto*, *Oráculo manual*, *El Héroe*, ed. Ad. de Castro, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXV. *El Héroe*, *El Discreto*, ed. A. Farinelli, 1900. *El Héroe*, text of ed. of 1639, ed. A. Coster, Chartres, 1911. *El criticón*, ed. J. Cejador, 2 vols., 1913–1914 (Renacimiento). *Tratados* (*El Héroe*, *El Discreto*, *El oráculo*), ed. A. Reyes, 1918 (Calleja). —See A. Coster, *B. G.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXIX, 1913, 347–752. A. F. G. Bell, *B. G.*, Oxford, 1921.

El arte de ingenio (1642, revised as *Agudeza y arte de ingenio,* 1648) is the most significant of Gracián's works from the point of view of literary doctrine. For him *agudeza* (fine distinction, ingenuity), is the supreme art, the sign of genius. With great subtlety he defines all its varieties, species and sub-species, with supporting examples, with recipes and ingredients for compounding this epicure's ragout according to the correct formula. The author deduces his theory of art from the works of famous writers, especially poets, but his selections expose his taste: he always prefers Gongorists and conceptists. Other names are almost excluded in their favor. These two classes are cited without discrimination, and the mingling demonstrates the relationship between the two currents and the ease with which they were confused. So this great admirer of the forgotten Paravicino did much to foment bad taste in the branch of letters where it seems most strangely out of place, namely, sermons. This scourge raged a long time. More than a century later another Jesuit, the author of *Fray Gerundio,* was needed to demonstrate its folly and impropriety.

El criticón is perhaps Gracián's greatest work. It is a philosophical novel divided into three seasons (youth, maturity, old age), published respectively in 1651, 1653 and 1657.[2] Here the author made a more genuine and deserving attempt to think with originality. Though the basic idea of the work is not new, for it appeared at the very beginning of didactic-allegorical literature, yet the working out is ingenious. The virgin soul of a savage, Andrenio, is brought in contact with all the inventions and refinements of civilization, so that its reactions may be observed, and its judgments recorded. Critilo, the man of experience, instigates and directs the inquiry, a sort of inventory of human knowledge. The conclusions are pessimistic. Schopenhauer must have enjoyed them. The plan allowed the author to pass in review every question which might interest a moralist, a scholar or a statesman. The book met with great success in Spain and abroad.

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[1] A. Morel-Fatio, *Gracián interprété par Schopenhauer,* in *Bull. Hisp.,* XII, 1910, 377–407. A. Hämel, *Arturo Schopenhauer y la literatura española,* Granada, 1925, 17 ff.

[2] The first part was published under the anagram García de Marlones; the other two, as well as the *Héroe, Discreto, Oráculo,* and *Arte de ingenio,* under the name Lorenzo Gracián.

Gracián certainly possessed a supple, clever and shrewd mind, he had *savoir* and *savoir-faire*, but he lacked the moral probity and the solid judgment which characterize a truly superior spirit. His real qualities as a writer were spoiled by his everlasting quest for subtlety; even when the ideas involved were the simplest and most ordinary, he loved to give them a mysterious, transcendental air. His style is wilfully sententious, and sometimes descends to a perverse, affected obscurity which makes it very difficult and tiring to read. Gracián, in short, the super-stylist, the delicate alchemist of quintessences, was a sure artisan of decadence.

17. Philosophers. In some ways Gracián may pass as a philosopher, especially in a country where philosophy is considered by specialists in the subject a negligible quantity. It is certain that the names given to Spanish literary history by philosophy are rare, even during the great era.[1] One of the best known is **Juan Huarte,** (1530?–1591?), of St. Jean Pied-de-Port, a physician at Baeza and author of the famous *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* (1575).[2] It reveals penetrating insight and an original method quite new at that time; Huarte's style is agreeable and his mind extraordinarily free from prejudice. Twelve years later (1587) appeared the *Nueva filosofía de la naturaleza del hombre* under the name of Doña **Oliva Sabuco de Nantes Barrera** (b. 1562);[3] the work is properly to be attributed to her father **Miguel.** It would be easy to cite from it extremely interesting and curious pages. **Pedro Simón Abril** (1530?–1595?),[4] translated Aristotle (1584), some dialogues of Plato and several Latin classics; he was one of the first to discuss philosophical subjects in the vulgar tongue, in his *Apuntamientos de como se deben reformar las doctrinas* (1589). His was a sound and well poised mind.

[1] *Obras escogidas de filósofos*, ed. Adolfo de Castro, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXV.

[2] Ed. Castro, in the volume just cited. Ed. F. Climent Terrer, Barcelona, 1917. There are English translations of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.—See J. M. Guardia, *Essai sur l'ouvrage de J. H.*, Paris, 1855. Id., *Philosophes espagnols: J. H.*, in *Rev. philosophique*, XXX, 1890, 249–294. R. Salillas, *Un gran inspirador de Cervantes*, 1905. A. Hämel, *Arturo Schopenhauer y la literatura esp.*, Granada, 1925, 9–10.

[3] *Obras*, ed. O. Cuartero, 1888. Two *Coloquios* in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXV.—See J. M. Hidalgo, *Doña Oliva de Sabuco no fué escritora*, in *Rev. de Archivos*, VII, 1903, 1–13.

[4] Aristotle's *Éticas y Morales*, ed. Bonilla, 1918 (*Bibl. Acad. de Ciencias morales y políticas*, I). See M. Marfil, *P. S. A.: sus ideas políticas y sociales*, in *Nuestro Tiempo*, VIII, 1908, 195–205. J. Mario Hidalgo, in *Rev. Arch.*, XVIII, 1908, 385–415.

To explain the apparent poverty of Spain in philosophical literature, one must remember, first, that most of the thinkers of that time were still using Latin as their medium. So the great Valencian polygraph **Juan Luis Vives** (1492–1540; he belongs to the preceding period),[1] whose sage eclecticism touched upon so many regions of knowledge; **Sebastián Fox Morcillo** (1526?–1559?)[2] (*De natura philosophiae, seu de Platonis et Aristotelis consensione*) 1554, etc.), a laudable attempt to reconcile the doctrines of the two Greeks; the physician **Gómez Pereira** (b. 1500) (*Antoniana Margarita*, 1554); **Francisco de Valles** (1524–1592),[3] another doctor, a professor at Alcalá (*Philosophia sacra*, 1587); **Francisco Sánchez** *el Escéptico* (1550–1623),[4] a professor of medicine at Toulouse, one of Spain's most remarkable thinkers, who seems to have anticipated Descartes and the future *Discours de la Méthode* (*De multum nobili, prima et universali scientia, quod nihil scitur*, 1581); **Pedro de Valencia** (1555–1620)[5] (*Academica*, 1596); and the Aragonese heterodox **Miguel Servet** (1511?–1553); **Michael Servetus**), who avoided the fires of the Inquisition only to be burned by Calvin (*Christianismi restitutio*, 1553).

Second, we must remember that Spain's real effort in the domain of speculation was put forth in theology and the study of the Bible. The nation was proud then of such names as Melchor **Cano,** Francisco de **Vitoria,** Luis de **Carvajal,** Alfonso de **Castro,** Benito **Arias Montano,** Francisco **Suárez,** Gabriel **Vázquez,** Luis de **Molina,** Diego **Laínez,** Alfonso **Salmerón,** Juan **Maldonado,** Domingo de **Soto,** Domingo **Báñez,** Bartolomé **Carranza,** etc., etc. They contributed a rich chapter to the history of Peninsula thought, but it scarcely falls within the limits of our subject or our competence. We can do no more than point out the existence of a flood of works, then universally known and passionately discussed. Some of them have real historical importance.

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[1] *Diálogos*, Sp. transl. C. Coret y Peris, 1817, 1922. *The Dialogues*, Eng. transl. by Foster Watson, London, 1908. *On Education* (transl. of *De tradendis disciplinis*) by Foster Watson, Cambridge, 1913.—See A. Bonilla y San Martín, *L. V. y la filosofía del Renacimiento*, 1903. F. Watson, *V. and the Renaissance*, London, 1912. Id., *L. V., el gran Valenciano*, Oxford, 1922. R. Michaud, *L. V. and Rabelais' Pedagogy*, in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass. Am.*, XXXVIII, 1923, 419–424.

[2] See P. U. González de la Calle, *S. F. M.*, 1903. Id., *Ideas económicas del filósofo hispalense S. F. M.*, in *Rev. Arch.*, XXIX, 1913, 217–224.

[3] See A. Bonilla y San Martín, *El divino V.*, 1914. Ortega and Marcos, *Los grandes filósofos españoles: F. de V. (El Divino)*, 1914.

[4] *Que nada se sabe, trad. cast.*, 1923.—See H.-P. Cazac, *L'espagnol Don Fr. S.*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, V, 1903, 326–348.

[5] See M. Serrano y Sanz, *P. de V.*, in *Rev. Arch.*, III, 1899.

18. Scholars and Erudites

During the Golden Age erudition and the sciences reached their peak, *pari passu* with literature. The nation then held an honorable place in every branch of knowledge. Proof of this fact may be found in Menéndez y Pelayo's *Ciencia española* (3rd. ed., 1887–88), or A. Fernández Vallín's *Cultura científica de España en el siglo XVI* (1893), or simply in Altamira's *Historia de España* (3rd ed., 1913–14, III, 531–653). All that can be done here is to set down a necessarily dry enumeration of the principal names.

Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598),[1] edited the famous *Polyglot Bible* of Antwerp and wrote works on Hebrew and Greek literature. **Simón Abril** (p. 281) figures here with a Latin grammar and a Greek grammar. **Juan de Vergara** (1492–1557) translated some works of Aristotle. His brother **Francisco** wrote a Greek grammar and translated Saint Basil. **Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas,** *el Brocense* (1523–1600),[2] close friend of Luis de León, wrote many grammatical works, and also edited classic and Spanish authors with commentaries. **Alvar Gómez de Castro** (1516?–1580) was a poet as well as scholar. **Pedro Chacón** devoted himself to Roman antiquities. **Luisa Sigea de Velasco** (1530?–1560)[3] was famous for her erudition, her Latin poems and her beauty (*Cintra, Duarum virginum colloquium de vita aulica et privata,* 1552, *Correspondence* in Latin). **Hernán Núñez de Guzmán or de Toledo** (1478?–1553),[4] was called *el Pinciano* because born in Valladolid, and *el Comendador griego* because he was a Commander in the Order of Santiago and a Greek scholar; he edited and translated many classic texts, St. Basil, Moschus, Seneca, etc. (cf. also p. 192). **Juan de Guzmán,** professor at Salamanca and Alcalá, wrote a *Rhetorica* (1589). **Gon-**

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[1] See A. F. G. Bell, *B. A. M.*, Oxford, 1922. Rújula and del Solar, *Doctor B. A. M.*, 1927.

[2] See P. U. González de la Calle, *F. S., su vida profesional y académico; ensayo biográfico*, 1923. A. F. G. Bell, *F. S. el Brocense*, Oxford, 1925. N. Alonso Cortés, in *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, I, 1925, 790–793.

[3] See Serrano y Sanz, *Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritoras españolas*, II, 1905.

[4] See J. Ortega Rubio, *F. N. de Guzmán (El Pinciano), estudio biobibliográfico*, in *Revista contemporánea*, CXXIV, 1902, 513–525. P. Groussac, *Le commentateur du 'Laberinto,'* in *Rev. Hisp.*, XI, 1904, 164–224. N. Alonso Cortés, in *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, I, 1925, 783–790.

zalo Argote de Molina (1548–1596) [1] of Seville published Juan Manuel's *Conde Lucanor* (1575), including a *Discurso sobre la poesía castellana*, and wrote the valuable genealogical *Nobleza de Andalucía* (1588). **Antonio Agustín** (1517–1586),[2] was a legal expert, Archbishop of Tarragona, and author of *Diálogos de medallas, inscripciones y otras antigüedades* (1587). **Alonso López** (d. after 1627),[3] likewise called *el Pinciano*, issued his dialogued *Filosofía antigua poética* in 1596; it is one of the best treatises on poetics of that day. A similar work less rich in theory is the *Arte poética española* (1592) of the Jesuit **Diego García Rengifo,** published under the name of his brother **Juan Díaz Rengifo,** and often reprinted, with additions by Joseph Vicens. **Bartolomé Jiménez Patón** (1569–1640) published a treatise on rhetoric, *Elocuencia española en arte* (1604) and a Spanish grammar (no date). **Sebastián de Covarrubias y Horozco** (d. 1613) [4] issued in 1611 a dictionary, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*, which despite its gaps and imperfections is an indispensable guide to the language of the period. In its second enlarged edition (1674–1673) it was joined to the dissertation of **Bernardo de Alderete** (d. 1641), *Del origen y principio de la lengua castellana . . .* (1606).

Gonzalo Correas (cf. p. 287) attempted a comparative grammar of Greek, Latin and Castilian (*Trilingüe de tres artes de las tres lenguas*, 1627), a premature effort which was accompanied by a project of spelling reform. **Vicente Mariner** translated many Greek writers, and the poems of Auzias March. **Francisco Cascales,** of Murcia, published there his *Tablas poéticas* (1617) and *Cartas filológicas* (1634). **Jusepe Antonio González de Salas** (d. 1654), Quevedo's friend, left a commentary, independent in spirit, upon Aristotle's *Poetics*, in his *Nueva idea de la tragedia antigua* (1633).

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[1] *Discurso sobre la poesía castellana*, ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, in *Antol. poetas líricos cast.*, V, 72–82.—See Comte de Puymaigre, *Un savant espagnol du XVIe siècle*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, II, 1895, 146–180. F. Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos datos*, 45–55 and 361–384. A. Millares Carlo, *La biblioteca de G. A. M.*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, X, 1923, 137–152.

[2] See R. del Arco, *Escritos inéditos del célebre A. A.*, in *Est. Eruditos a Bonilla*, I, 545–581.

[3] *Filosofía antigua poética*, ed. P. Muñoz Peña, Valladolid, 1894.

[4] *Tesoro*, ed. 1611, microphotographic reproduction, N. Y., Hispanic Society, 1927.—See John M. Hill, *Index verborum de Covarrubias Orozco*, etc., Bloomington, Ind., 1921. A. González Palencia, *Datos biográficos del licenciado S. de C. y H.*, in *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, XII, 1925. Id., *Adiciones . . , ibid.*, XVI, 1929, 111–120. A. F. G. Bell, *A Spanish Lexicographer*, in *Bull. Mod. Humanities Research Ass'n*, II, 1928, 84–91.

Finally, the prolix polygraph **José Pellicer de Salas y Tovar** (1602–1679), *cronista* of Castile and León, literary critic, poet, lawyer, genealogist, filled the first half of the seventeenth century with his publications. In genealogy his work was continued and surpassed toward the end of the century by **Luis de Salazar y Castro** (1657–1734), who compiled a *Historia genealógica de la Casa de Silva* (1685), and a *Historia genealógica de la Casa de Lara* (4 vols., 1696, 1697, 1694).

In an era when a large portion of the inhabited world was still to be explored and converted, travelers and missionaries were in process of gathering an immense store of geographical, historical, scientific and philological material, which was later to be classified by critical scholars. This special literature must be mentioned, since it is of importance in the history of civilization, but a detailed account of it would be out of place. As an example of a very complete type of such narrations we may cite the *Viaje del mundo* (1614) and the *Relaciones verdaderas de la China, Cochinchina y Champaa* (1628) of **Pedro Ordóñez de Cevallos,**[1] who, after having roamed every quarter of the globe for forty years, related his long Odyssey in a style much praised for its purity and elegance.

19. Epistolary Literature [2] is not so rich in Spain as in France, yet there are a few writers known chiefly for their letters. And the correspondence of Philip II reveals that sovereign in an unexpected light as a very different being from the one the ordinary histories present. During his reign the celebrated **Antonio Pérez** (1540?–1611) [3] was a power in Spanish politics, and his *Letters* and *Aforismos*, together with his *Relaciones* (1598) and *Memorial* brought him extraordinary repute in his day. The many *Letters* show great variety and are full of wit and penetration, despite a tendency to a rather childish preciosity.[4] They had tremendous vogue, in France even more than in Spain, and greatly stimulated in the former country the popularity of Castilian and the spread of *bel esprit.* Their action was somewhat the same as that of the letters of Antonio de Guevara (p. 185).

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[1] *Viaje* and *Relaciones*, ed. M. Serrano y Sanz, 1905 (*Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, vol. 2).

[2] *Epistolario español*, ed. Eug. de Ochoa, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XIII and LXII.

[3] *Cartas*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XIII. *Lettres . . . écrites pendant son séjour en Angleterre et en France*, ed. A. Morel-Fatio, in *L'Espagne au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle*, Heilbronn, 1878, 269–314. See id., *ibid.*, 257–268. *Col. documentos inéditos*, XII, 1848; XIII, 1848; XV, 1849; LVI, 1870. A. González Palencia, in *Rev. Arch.* XXXVIII, 1918; XXXIX, 1918; XL, 1919; XLI, 1920; XLII, 1921. Julia Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *A. P.*, Oxford, 1922.

[4] G. Lanson, *A. P. et les origines de la préciosité*, in *Rev. d'hist. litt. de la France*, III, 1896, 47–52.

Eugenio de Salazar (b. ca. 1530, d. after 1601),[1] a son of Pedro de Salazar, chronicler of Carlos V, left five celebrated prose letters, which are, to be sure, scarcely letters except in name: *On Life at Court; On the Militia of an Island* (Tenerife); *On a Sailor's Life; On Solicitors* (*los catarriberas*); and *On a Town in Asturias.* Witty and well informed, they shed very interesting light on the manners of the time. Eleven other letters, published later, are no less lively.

He had prepared a *Silva de poesía* for the press (p. 227), but most of it is still unpublished. Among the extracts given by Gallardo is an *Epístola a Fernando de Herrera,* written from Mexico.

The correspondence of Sister **María de Jesús de Ágreda** (María Coronel y Arana, 1602–1665) [2] with Philip IV began in 1643 and lasted till her death; it has political and social value and sheds light on the character of the King. She wrote also a sort of pious novel, *La Mística Ciudad de Dios* (1670).

The eight letters written in July 1616 by Don **Juan de la Sal,** Bishop of Bona,[3] to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, concerning the religious hallucination of a certain fanatical priest of Seville, Padre Méndez, are witty, bold and in excellent Castilian. Other *Letters* which deserve mention for their richness and importance are those of Santa Teresa, in every way of the highest interest, of Ribadeneyra, Quevedo, Bartolomé L. de Argensola, Gracián, Juan de Ávila, Lope de Vega with the Duke of Sessa, and the vast correspondence of the Jesuit Fathers, an inexhaustible mine of information. All have some historical or documentary interest, but most add little to the literary fame of their authors.

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[1] *Cartas* (5), in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXII. Ed. Gayangos, 1866 (*Biblióf. Esp.*, 1). *Cartas inéditas* (11), ed. Paz y Melia, in *Sales españolas*, II, 1902, 211–276. *Silva de poesía,* in Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, cols. 326–395. See *ibid.*, cols. 325–326. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña*, III, 469–470.

[2] *Cartas*, ed. F. Silvela, 1885–1886, 2 vols. *Mística Ciudad*, ed. Ozcoidi y Udave, Barcelona, 1914. *Id.*, Eng. transl. by G. J. Blatter, So. Chicago, Ill. and Hammond, Ind., 1914.—See M. Serrano y Sanz, *Apuntes para una bibl. de escritoras esp.*, I, 571–601. J. Sánchez de Toca, *Felipe IV y Sor M. de A.*, 2nd ed., 1924.

[3] *Cartas*, 7 in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXVI. 8 in Juan Mir, *Frases de los aut. clásicos esp.*, 1899, 790–798.

20. Interest in popular **proverbs** (**refranes**) (p. 191) did not flag. The most valuable collection, though not published till our day, is the *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales*, etc., of the Maestro **Gonzalo Correas** (d. 1631);[1] for all its disorder, which the latest, reclassified edition does not wholly remedy, it is indispensable. The famous French teacher of Spanish **César Oudin** (d. 1625) issued an often reprinted volume to aid his instruction: *Refranes o proverbios españoles traduzidos en lengua francesa* (Paris, 1605). Interest in proverbs was shown by the *Lugares comunes de conceptos, dichos y sentencias* of **Juan de Aranda** (1595), the *Proverbios morales* of **Alonso de Barros** (1598) and the *Aforismos sacados de la historia de Cornelio Tacito* of **Arias Montano** (1614; cf. p. 283). In 1616–1615 Dr. **Juan Sorapán de Rieros** issued his *Medicina española contenida en proverbios vulgares de nuestra lengua*, "very useful for all sorts of professions, for philosophers, doctors, theologians and jurists."[2]

21. Oratory

In Spain, in the 16th and 17th centuries, eloquence could scarcely mean anything else than religious eloquence. And it is almost impossible for us to form an exact idea of what it was like. A speech, when not fixed by writing, evaporates and disappears; and when it is written down, loses thereby most of its best qualities. We can have small doubt, however, if we trust contemporary testimony, that many of the mystics or theologians already enumerated, Alcántara, Ávila, Juan de los Ángeles, Luis de León, Melchor Cano, and especially Luis de Granada, were noteworthy orators. Vivid eloquence, full of imagination, fire and action, is a natural product of Spanish soil, and such men as Raimundo de Peñafort, Pedro Pascual and Vicente Ferrer must have had worthy successors. We are not in a position to judge, for the fullest documentation and the most exact testimony date from the century which spans from Fray Hortensio Paravicino to the *Fray Gerundio*, precisely the time, that is, when the pulpit was ruined by the most deplorable taste. The sermons of the Dominican Father **Alonso de Cabrera** (1549?–1598), preacher to Philip II, published after his death (1601, 1609, etc.) [1] give us an idea of what sacred eloquence was in the sixteenth century. If not of a nature to inspire great enthusiasm in the reader, at least it is not unprofitable pabulum. This, apparently, was the opinion of that brazen continuer of the *Guzmán de Alfarache,* Luján de Sayavedra, for he missed no chance to pillage the voluble Dominican.

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[1] *Vocabulario*, ed. R. Acad. Esp., 1906, 2nd ed., 1924. *Arte grande de la lengua castellana* (1626), ed. Conde de la Viñaza, 1903.—See Conde de la Viñaza, *Dos libros inéditos del Maestro G. C.*, in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, I, 1899, 601–614. E. Marcos, *Datos para una biografía de G. C.*, in *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, VI, 1919 and VII, 1920.

[2] Ed. J. M. Sbarbi, *Refranero general español*, III, 1875.

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[1] *Sermones*, ed. M. Mir. 1906 (*Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, vol. 3).

CHAPTER III

THE NOVEL[1]

During the great classic era imaginative literature in prose took three chief forms, if we leave out of account the Romances of Chivalry, which, as we know, reached their apogee in the preceding era and continued to be produced well toward 1600. The first of the three is the *pastoral novel,* the continuation of the *Diana* tradition. The second, much less abundant, the *Moorish novel,* borrowed its themes from the warfare, deliberately poetized, between Moors and Christians. The third, the most original as well as the richest, includes all the novels which aimed to depict manners in a more or less realistic fashion; they received the name *picaresque novel,* although the strict application of this term belongs only to the earliest. Beyond and above all these works, in a genre of its own, stands the most famous and most original book in all Spanish literature, *Don Quijote.*

1. The Pastoral Novel[2]

There were many sequels to Montemayor's *Diana,* but only one is worthy of the model: *La Diana enamorada* (1564) of the Valencian **Gaspar Gil Polo** (d. 1591).[3] The woeful lovers Sireno and Diana, mercilessly separated by Montemayor, are finally united by Gil Polo, thanks to the magic wiles of the fairy Felicia. But the merit of the novel owes nothing to the mediocre plot; it lies in the style and more especially in the numerous and varied poems which are inserted. Several of these pieces are justly regarded as classics (*Canción de Nerea, Canto de Turia,* etc.). The book is a rich repertory of all the metrical forms then known, and the author added new ones imitated from Provençal and French. The *Diana enamorada* was translated into Latin by Kaspar von Barth in 1625, a fact which demonstrates the author's fame and the translator's courage.[1]

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[1] Many of the important texts to be discussed in this chapter may be found in the *Tesoro de novelistas españoles antiguos y modernos,* ed. Eugenio de Ochoa, Paris, 1847 (*Colección de los mejores autores esp.*, vols. XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII; "Collection Baudry"); in *Novelistas anteriores a Cervantes,* ed. Aribau, 1849 (*Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, vol. III); *Novelistas posteriores a Cervantes,* ed. C. Rosell, 1851–1871 (*Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, vols. XVIII and XXXIII); and in Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela,* II, 1907. See E. B. Place, *Manual elemental de novelística española,* 1926.

[2] Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela,* I, 1905, pp. cdxi–dxviii. H. A. Rennert, *The Spanish Pastoral Romances,* Philadelphia, 1912.

[3] Ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes,* II, 337–398.

The Salamancan doctor **Alonso Pérez,** a friend of Montemayor, published *La Segunda Parte de la Diana* in the same year (1564). At the time it was far more popular than the sequel of Gil Polo, but its success was undeserved, today it is forgotten, and posterity has confirmed the severe judgment of the curate in *Don Quijote:* "*acompañe y acreciente el número de los condenados al corral.*" **Jerónimo de Tejeda,** a teacher of Spanish in Paris, wrote another *Diana* (1627), which is nothing but a slightly disguised imitation, or rather plagiarism, from the two previous sequels. Long before (1582) the Cistercian Fray **Bartolomé Ponce,** who was acquainted with Montemayor, had issued a *Clara Diana a lo divino*, in order to edify the reading public with the same stuff which too often was for them, he says, a cause of scandal.

Cervantes's *Galatea* (1585)[2] was obviously suggested by the *Dianas.* At any rate, this *égloga*, as the author calls it, does not differ in any respect from the other pastorals. Its characters have been taken to represent real persons, and in fact it is highly probable that Tirsi, Meliso and Astraliano are, respectively, Francisco de Figueroa, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and Don Juan de Austria. It has been thought also that Lauso, Damón, Elicio and Galatea are Luis Barahona de Soto, Pedro Laínez, Cervantes himself and his fiancée Catalina de Palacios Salazar y Vozmediano; but other identifications have been proposed, which in itself is enough to make one distrust any of them. The author, it is true, has lent color to the *roman à clef* interpretation by declaring in his preface that "many of the disguised shepherds are shepherds only in dress." Unfortunately, for it might have added interest to the story, the personal allusions fade out when it comes to details; the shepherds have no individuality; they are as alike as peas. In vain do some critics try to interest us in the love-story by telling us that it is really the narrative of Cervantes's own courtship and marriage.

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[1] The year before (1624) von Barth had issued a Latin version of the *Celestina.*

[2] Ed. Aribau, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, I. Ed. Schevill and Bonilla, 2 vols., 1914. English transl. by Oelsner and Welford, Glasgow, 1903 (vol. 2 of *Complete Works of M. de C.*, ed. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly).

That is improbable, for there was nothing of a Galatea about Catalina de Salazar, who played so small a part in her husband's life. If Cervantes really gossiped about her at such length in his novel, he made up for it later, for he never mentioned her again; she is to us nameless and unknown, so far as he is concerned. At most, the pre-wedding Galatea appears ever after as a good provincial bourgeoise, very anxious to keep her patrimony in her own family and quite indifferent to the trials and literary efforts of her husband.

The romantic events of the *Galatea* offer no novelty in their wearisome, monotonous labyrinth. This beginner's work (*primicias de mi corto ingenio*) would be today forgotten, were it not signed Cervantes. Its most interesting features are the style (though its excellence has been exaggerated), the metrical variety of the often mediocre verse, and some episodes: Timbrio's captivity among the Barbary Moors (an allusion to the author's own misadventures), the story of Silena, the romantic history of Grisaldo and Rosaura. Cervantes repeatedly promised a second part of the *Galatea*, but it never appeared.

Lope de Vega's *Arcadia* came out in 1598, for, like Cervantes, Lope must do a pastoral. Like him, he related, under the guise of idyllic adventures of shepherds and shepherdesses, events of his own life or of his friends', in particular of Antonio Duke of Alba (*Anfriso*). The author assumed the name *Belardo*, which he had used before and continued to use all his life. Like Cervantes again, he wrote the book on the eve of his wedding, for he was about to marry Isabel de Urbina. The *Arcadia* owes much to Sannazaro's like-named pastoral, to the *Dianas* and perhaps to the *Galatea*. Like the last, it bears witness to the false taste then obtaining, and proves, in its turn, that genius was not above yielding to it. The success of the *Arcadia* compensated at the time for this unconscious sacrifice, which we of today scarcely appreciate. False sentiments, unlikely happenings, in which magic and incantations play a stereotyped part, a dragging narrative, abuse of classical erudition and mythological allusion, these are a high price to pay for a few graceful passages and Lope's customary elegance in verse.

Although Lope de Vega's *Dorotea*[1] is in no way a pastoral, it may conveniently be mentioned here, in connection with the *Arcadia*, since it also contains, under fictitious names, many autobiographical details. Lope worked upon this creation at various times in his life, and did not publish it till 1632. Here the romantic adventures offer much variety, the dialogue is easy, the many episodic verses graceful, and these virtues, transmitted through a perfected style, bring this novel of actuality, full of genuine passion, into the foremost rank. It is certainly one of the best of all the dialogued novels modeled after the *Celestina*, which it recalls in several respects. The Dorotea of this romance is the actress Elena Osorio, and D. Fernando is Lope de Vega himself.

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[1] Ed. Hartzenbusch, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXIV. Ed. A. Castro, 1913. Cf. Rennert and Castro, *Vida de Lope de Vega*, 1919, cap. iii: *Valor autobiográfico de 'La Dorotea.'*

2. Minor Pastorals

Where Cervantes failed, the "Sardinian soldier" **Antonio de Lofrasso** (or **Lo Frasso**) had little chance of succeeding. In truth *Los diez libros de fortuna de amor* (1573) constitute, in the opinion of Cervantes's curate, "one of the absurdest books ever composed." Ill conceived and ill written, almost its sole interest lies in the details it gives about Sardinia, where there was a large Catalan colony (at Alghero), and about Barcelona, whose ladies the author praises and whose beauty he describes.

Of similar rank are *El desengaño de los celos* (1586) of **López de Enciso,** *Ninfas y pastores de Henares* (1587) by the Canary Islander **Bernardo González de Bobadilla,** and *Los pastores de Iberia* (1591), by **Bernardo de la Vega.**

Luis Gálvez de Montalvo (1549?–1591?) wrote a pastoral far superior to these wretched botches. *El pastor de Fílida* (1582) [1] is another *roman à clef:* Siralvo = Montalvo, Mendino = Enrique de Mendoza y Aragón, Coelio = the painter Alonso Sánchez Coello, Arciolo = Ercilla, Tirsi = Figueroa (Cervantes? according to Mayans), etc. Fílida, the shepherdess beloved of Siralvo, was perhaps Doña Magdalena Girón; Mendino's Elisa has not yet been identified. All these plots and sub-plots smack of the salon rather than the grove, but at that time the reader substituted real names for false, and Montalvo's contemporaries, as we know from the praise of Cervantes and Lope, were greatly pleased with the adventures narrated in an easy, discreet style, the verse written partly in the conceptist manner of the day, partly in the short national meters, Castillejo-fashion; they enjoyed the praise of court ladies (*Canto de Erión*), the landscapes in which a few realistic notes set off the conventional elegance, and the academic discussions concerning the comparative merits of Castilian and Italian meters. Montalvo published in 1587 a translation of Tansillo's *Lagrime di San Pietro*,[1] and he is said to have made a translation (now lost) in *redondillas* of Tasso's *Gerusalemme.*

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[1] Ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes*, II, 399–484.—See F. Rodríguez Marín, *La Fílida de G. de M.*, 1927 (*Discurso en la Acad. Hist.*).

El prado de Valencia (1600),[2] by **Gaspar Mercader,** is another pastoral *à clef;* its characters represent the chief Valencian contemporary poets. Many of their verses are inserted, and the plot, staged on the banks of the Turia, is a mere framework to hold them. As a curious local anthology the book has a distinct value.

There remain still two pastorals which deserve special mention in this crowded procession of novels. First, *Siglo de oro en las selvas de Erífile* (1608),[3] by **Bernardo de Balbuena** (1568–1627; cf. p. 245); divided into twelve *églogas*, it is warranted by the author "a close and agreeable imitation of Theocritus, Vergil and Sannazaro." Despite the rich imagination displayed and its laudable brevity, the book did not, apparently, meet with much success. A year later (1609) **Suárez de Figueroa** (cf. p. 274), trained for bucolic exercises by a translation of Guarini's *Pastor Fido* (1609, if not 1602), published his *Constante Amarilis,* according to the classical recipe. In it he celebrates the marriage of his patron D. Juan de Mendoza with Doña María de Cárdenas. Various pastorals of later date deserve only the barest mention: *El premio de la constancia y pastores de Sierra Bermeja* (1620),[4] by **Jacinto de Espinel Adorno;** *El pastor de Clenarda* (1622), by the Portuguese **Miguel Botelho;** *Amor con vista* (1625), by **Enríquez de Zúñiga;** *Experiencias de amor y fortuna* (1626),[5] by **"Francisco de las Cuevas,"** a pseudonym of Francisco de Quintana; *La Cintia de Aranjuez* (1629), by **Gabriel de Corral;** and *Los pastores del Betis* (1633), by **Gonzalo de Saavedra.**

The pastoral had run to seed. Readers were sick of shepherds and shepherdesses. Cervantes had already given a critique of the genre in *Don Quijote* (I, 6; II, 67 and 73) and in *El coloquio de los perros*. Public taste had deserted the rural novel for the novel of manners.

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[1] *El llanto de San Pedro*, ed. Justo de Sancha in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXV.

[2] Ed. Henri Mérimée, Toulouse, 1907.

[3] Ed. R. Acad. Esp., 1821, together with Balbuena's *Grandeza mejicana* (1604).

[4] Ed. Marqués de Jerez de los Caballeros, Sevilla, 1894.

[5] ["'The Experiences of Love and Fortune' should, however, be expunged from the list of pastoral romances in which it has so long figured, for it is a romance of adventure simply." Rennert, *op. cit.*, p. 191.]

3. The Moorish Novel

But before beginning the story of the novel of manners, a book must be mentioned which at that date represented, alone, and brilliantly, an entire genre. That is the *Historia de los bandos de los Zegríes y Abencerrages,* better known as *Las guerras civiles de Granada* [1] (*1ª Parte,* 1595; *2 ªParte,* 1604), by **Ginés Pérez de Hita** of Murcia. It is really a cross between history and novel, for in part it is based on real events, which the author either knew from good sources or had himself witnessed, and in part it relates the fictitious adventures of characters drawn from the author's imagination. The *First Part* turns on the fall of Granada in 1492. Hita evokes the poetic city of El Rey Chico, calling up the fascinating figures of Ferdinand and Isabella, surrounded by the flower of Christian chivalry, and over against them he sets the Granadine heroes, Gazul, Muza, Aliatar, Abenámar, Reduán; the grand ladies of the Christian court have their place beside Zaida, Fátima, Xarifa and the rest. The more historical *Second Part* narrates the great rebellion of the Moriscos in Granada and the Alpujarras during the years from 1568 to 1571, which was ended by the victories of Don Juan de Austria. In this war Hita served under the orders of Don Luis Fajardo, Marqués de los Vélez. The tragic and terrible dramas which marked this supreme struggle are interwoven with the loves of Benalguacil and Zahara, or of El Tuzani, so that the whole forms a finished picture, a masterpiece of local color and poetic narrative. The action takes place in Andalusia. Granada with its architectural marvels and its magnificent *vega* is painted against a background of the snowy peaks of the Alpujarras. The two opposed races give rise to contrasts such as one finds in the old legend of the Infantes de Lara and Mudarra, and in the late revival of it by the Duke of Rivas, *El Moro expósito.* Hita has given a brilliant chronicle of all Hispano-Moresque Spain. The color is heightened still more by the inclusion of admirable frontier ballads

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[1] Ed. Aribau in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, III. Ed. Paula Blanchard-Demouge 2 vols., 1913–1915, with excellent prefaces.

(*romances fronterizos*), which Hita collected with care and set in the framework of the first part; those which adorn the second he seems to have composed himself in imitation of the others. The local color is so rich that readers have sometimes persisted in taking literally the assertion of the author who, after the fashion of that day, declared that he was merely translating the narrative of a Granadine Moor, Aben Hamín. This Moorish historian, needless to say, belongs to the same family as Cervantes's Cide Hamete Benengeli.

The first part of Hita's novel profited by the passing rage for the artistic Moorish ballads (*romances moriscos*), for it went through nearly forty editions in the seventeenth century alone. If it was not more imitated, that was doubtless because the public soon grew weary of *tanta Zaida y Adalifa,* as the parodies by Góngora and Quevedo show. But the *Guerras civiles* put forth new shoots in French literature for years to come; Mlle. de Scudéry's *Almahide* (1660), Mme. de Villedieu's *Galanteries grenadines,* Mme. de Rocheguilhem's *Aventures grenadines,* Mme. de La Fayette's *Zaïde* (1670), Florian's *Gonsalve de Cordoue* (1791) and Chateaubriand's *Les Aventures du dernier Abencerrage,* are all direct descendants of the Zegríes and Abencerrages of Pérez de Hita.

Hita drew upon frontier ballads for his stories. **Antonio de Eslava** [1] borrowed chiefly from Italian chivalric traditions, which he worked over for the stories which he published collected as *Noches de invierno* (1609). Charlemagne, Roland, King Chlodomir, Queen Telus of Tartary are the protagonists of some; others, like the *Pastoral de Arcadia,* belong to the rural type. One, the *Historia de Nicéphoro y Dárdano,* has a plot similar to that of Shakespeare's *Tempest,* but there is no closer relation.

4. Cervantes [2]

Spain's greatest novelist forms a natural transition between the purely imaginative pastorals and the novels of real manners. His work marks, also, the culminating point of all the literature which we are studying.

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[1] See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela,* II, pp. cxxi–cxxxvii.

[2] General bibliography in L. Ríus, *Bibliografía crítica de las obras de C.*, 3 vols., 1895, 1899, 1905. For Germany, J. J. A. Bertrand, *Cervantès et le romantisme allemand,* Paris, 1914.

General works of criticism (see also below, under *Life*): Ch. Émile Chasles, *Michel de C. S.*, etc., Paris, 1866. R. León Máinez, *C. y su época,* Jerez de la Fron-

Life. [1] Cervantes's biography long remained obscure at certain points, and some are not yet cleared up. The position of effacement which he occupied in a society where literary merit alone counted for little explains the scarcity of contemporary information. On the other hand, the posthumous fame of the author of *Don Quijote* gave rise later to all sorts of legends which it has taken some courage to uproot. Recent criticism has been devoting itself to this task, with an insistence which is more truly respectful than the indiscreet idolatry of yore.

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra was baptized October 9, 1547, in the church of Santa María la Mayor of Alcalá de Henares. He was the fourth of seven children of Rodrigo de Cervantes Saavedra (d. 1585) and Leonor de Cortinas. The father was a needy physician, somewhat deaf, whose lineage was better than his fortune. He was sued for debt in Valladolid in 1552–1553, and again in Seville in 1564; of the family as a whole we know only that they were in Madrid in 1561. In 1568 Miguel was a student in the city school of Madrid under Juan López de Hoyos, a Latin teacher, who edited an elegiac volume (1569) on the death of Queen Isabel de Valois (1568). To it Cervantes contributed a sonnet, an elegy and five so-called *redondillas castellanas* (actually *coplas reales*). At the end of December, 1569, he was in Rome. Then or later he was for a time in the service of Giulio Acquaviva, who had been papal delegate to Spain in 1568. Had he gone to Italy to seek his fortune?

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tera, 1901. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Cultura literaria de M. de C.*, in *Rev. Arch.*, XII, 1905, 309–339. E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Efemérides cervantinas*, 1905. J. Cejador y Frauca, *La lengua de C.*, 2 vols., 1905–1906. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, in *Chapters on Spanish Lit.*, London, 1908, 120–162. Id., *Prefaces* in *The Complete Works of M. de C. S.*, Glasgow, 1901–1903 (this translation, originally planned for 12 vols., reached only seven, i.e. vols. 2–8; *La Galatea*, *Don Quijote*, *Novelas Exemplares*). G. Reynier, *Le roman réaliste*, etc., Paris, 1914, cap. iv. M. A. Buchanan, *C. and Books of Chivalry*, Baltimore, 1914. J. de Armas, *C. en la literatura inglesa*, 1916. A. Bonilla y San Martín, *C. y su obra*, 1916. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *C. and Shakespeare*, London, 1916. A. Bonilla y San Martín, *De crítica cervantina*, 1917. F. A. de Icaza, *Supercherías y errores cervantinas*, 1917. Cesare de Lollis, *C. secentista*, Roma, 1919. Id., *C. reazionario*, Roma, 1924. E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Últimos estudios cervantinos*, 1920. Giuseppe Toffanin, cap. xv in *La Fine del Umanesimo*, Torino, 1920. G. T. Northup, *C.'s Attitude toward Honor*, in *Mod. Philol.*, XXI, 1924, 397–421. Américo Castro, *El pensamiento de C.*, 1925 (cf. n. 3, p. 309).

[1] Fernández de Navarrete, *Vida de M. de C. S.*, 1819. C. Pérez Pastor, *Documentos cervantinos hasta ahora inéditos*, 2 vols., 1897–1902. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *C., A Memoir*, Oxford, 1913 (Spanish transl., Oxford, 1917). Paolo Savj-López, *C.*, Napoli, 1913 (Spanish transl. by A. G. Solalinde, 1917). F. Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos documentos cervantinos*, 1914. N. Alonso Cortés, *C. en Valladolid*, 1918. R. Schevill, *C.*, N. Y., 1919.

Was he fleeing from Spanish justice? On September 15, 1569, a warrant of arrest was issued for a "Miguel de Cervantes," accused of "having inflicted certain wounds" on a man. It is possible that the identity of name is a mere coincidence, but adventures of the sort were not at all rare. Quevedo, Lope de Vega, Guillén de Castro were compelled to leave Madrid or Valencia in haste after similar mishaps.

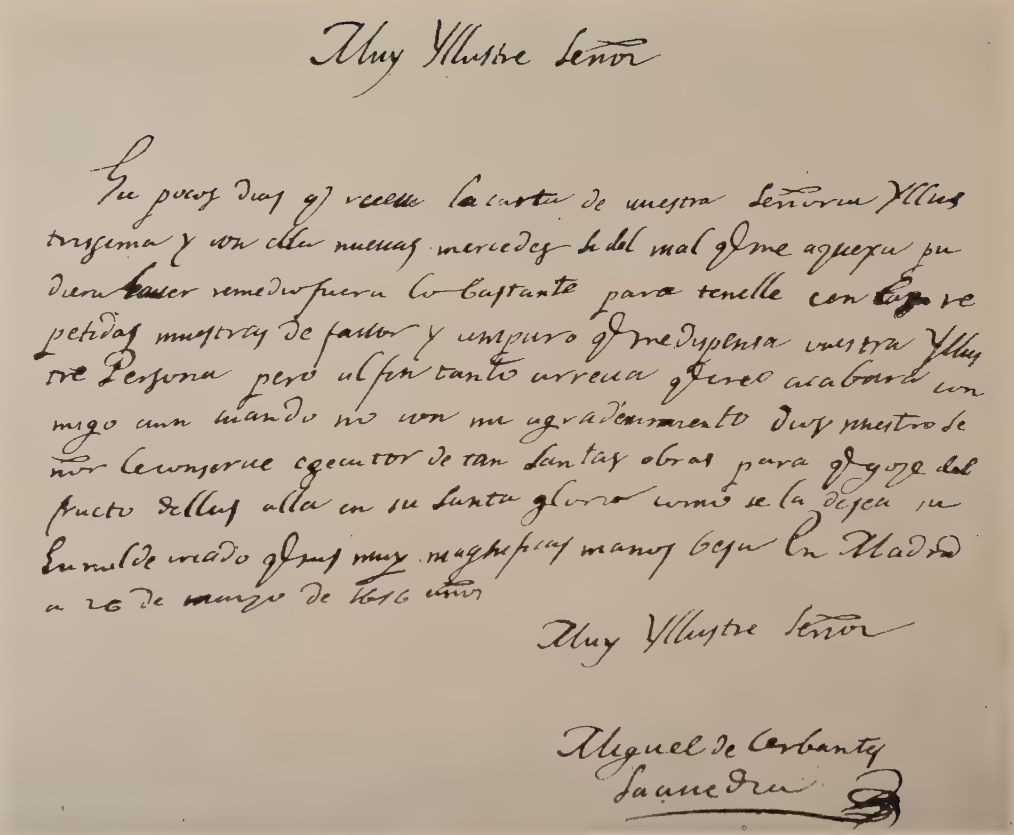
Cervantes is next found enlisted, probably in 1570, in the Spanish regiment of Miguel de Moncada, company of Diego de Urbina, in Italy. On October 7, 1571, he participated in the famous naval battle of Lepanto, where he behaved gallantly and lost the use of his left hand. He spent the following winter in hospital, but upon recovery he reëntered active service. He was present at the demonstration before Navarino (1572) and fought at La Goletta (Tunis, 1573). In 1574 he was in Palermo, perhaps elsewhere also. But next year, as he was returning to Spain on the galley *El Sol* with his brother Rodrigo, likewise a soldier, the vessel was taken by Barbary pirates in the Gulf of Lyons, September, 1575. The surviving Christians were carried as prisoners to Algiers. Miguel remained there five years as a slave. His captivity was diversified by romantic incidents, love intrigues, five attempts to escape; he alludes to them often in his works. From Algiers, in 1577, he wrote (if it is authentic) a rhymed *Epístola* to Mateo Vázquez, secretary to Philip II, setting forth his services and asking protection. On September 19, 1580, he was ransomed for five hundred gold crowns by the Trinitarian monk Fray Juan Gil; he heard of his release when he was in chains on a galley about to leave for Constantinople. He landed in Spain at Denia, was in Valencia in November, and reached Madrid December 18. Did he reënlist for military service? He went on an errand for the King to Oran in 1581, but the supposition that he served in the Azores expedition of the same year is probably unfounded. In June he was in the city of Cartagena. Then there is a gap, not filled by the publication of a few poems of circumstance in other men's books (1583 to 1585). On December 12, 1584, Cervantes was married to Doña Catalina de Palacios Salazar y Vozmediano in her native village of Esquivias, near Madrid. In the same year, probably, his illegitimate daughter Isabel de Saavedra was born; the mother was Ana Franca de Rojas.

From then on Cervantes turned his energies toward literature.

He published the *Galatea* in 1585, and composed, he says, between twenty and thirty plays in the years immediately following: *La batalla naval, El bosque amoroso, La Jerusalén, La gran Turquesca, Arsinda, La Amaranta,* and *La confusa;* for the last he signed a contract on March 5, 1585, to be delivered in eight days. It is possible that his only early plays preserved, *El trato de Argel* and *La Numancia*, are of this same period.

Compelled to earn a living by other means than literature, in 1587 Cervantes obtained a post in Andalusia as commissary under the orders of Diego de Valdivia, and later of Antonio de Guevara. During the two following years he traveled about the different southern towns, Écija, Marchena, Carmona, etc., requisitioning wheat and oil for the Invincible Armada. Controversies with recalcitrant communities kept him in hot water; once he was excommunicated for seizing cereals belonging to the Church. In May, 1590, disgusted with his work, he petitioned the King for a post in the Indies. It was not granted him, and he then tried to make money by play-writing (1591–1592). But in September, 1592, he was for a short time in jail at Castro del Río on account of an illegal seizure of wheat. His wandering existence carried him to Seville, Llerena, Villagarcía, and doubtless to many other towns; the *proveedor* Pedro de Isunza was then his chief. At that time his pay was ten reals a day (equal to about $4.00). His mother died in 1593. In 1594 he acted as collector of overdue taxes in the Granada district. During the following years, which are still obscure, he composed verse for certain books and prize contests, but his life must have been penurious and cheerless. In September, 1597, he was again imprisoned, this time at Seville; his accounts had been found short by 79,804 maravedís (nearly a thousand dollars). His troubles with the Treasury did not soon cease; in 1602 he was probably again in jail; at least, a letter signed by Domingo Ipenarrieta, January 24, 1603, states that orders had been given for his release, and for his appearance in Valladolid (then the capital) that his accounts might be finally examined. His brother Rodrigo had been killed, July 2, 1600, in the Flanders war. The first part of *Don Quijote* which he doubtless brought with him in manuscript to Valladolid went to press during 1604 and was published at Madrid in January, 1605.

On June 27 of the latter year a young nobleman of the court,



Muy Yllustre Señor

Ha pocos dias q recebi la carta de vuestra Señoria Yllus
trisima y con ella nuevas mercedes si del mal q me aqueja pu
diera haber remedio fuera lo bastante para tenelle con las re
petidas muestras de fabor y amparo q me dispensa vuestra Yllus
tre Persona pero al fin tanto arrecia q creo acabara con
migo aun cuando no con mi agradecimiento Dios nuestro Se
ñor le conserve egecutor de tan Santas obras para q goze del
fructo dellas alla en su Santa gloria como se la desea su
humilde criado q sus muy magnificas manos besa En Madrid
a 26 de marzo de 1616 años

Muy Yllustre Señor

Miguel de Cervantes
Saavedra

THE LAST PRESERVED EXAMPLE OF CERVANTES'S HANDWRITING

A Letter Addressed to D. Bernardo de Sandoval, Archbishop of Toledo

From the Manuscript in the Possession of the Real Academia Española (See opposite page)

«Muy Yllustre Señor Ha pocos dias q(ue) receui la carta de uuestra Señoria Yllustrissima y con ella nueuas mercedes Si del mal q(ue) me aquexa pudiera hauer remedio fuera lo bastante para tenelle con las repetidas muestras de fauor y amparo q(ue) me dispensa vuestra Yllustre Persona pero al fin tanto arrecia q(ue) creo acabara conmigo aun cuando no con mi agradecimiento Dios nuestro Señor le conserue egecutor de tan Santas obras para q(ue) goze del fructo dellas alla en su Santa gloria como se la desea su humilde criado q(ue) sus muy magnificas manos besa En Madrid a 26 de marzo de 1616 años

Muy Yllustre Señor
Miguel de Cerbantes Saauedra»

"Most Illustrious Sir:

A few days since I received your letter, and with it fresh mercies. If there could be any remedy for the disease which assails me, it would be found in the repeated tokens of favor and protection which you vouchsafe me; but its attacks increase so that I think it will make an end of me, though never of my gratitude. May Our Lord preserve you to continue such holy works, and at last to enjoy their fruit in Heaven; such is the wish of your humble servant, who kisses your most excellent hands. Madrid, March 26, 1616.

Most Illustrious Sir,
Miguel de Cerbantes Saauedra."

Don Gaspar de Ezpeleta, was killed near the house occupied by Cervantes, not far from the market-place of Valladolid, in the Calle del Rastro. All those living in this house were thrown into prison and subjected to an interrogatory. The house has now been made a national monument, and the documents of the inquiry are extant. They furnish pitiful details about the wretched life of the author and the sordid environment which cloaked him and his family, consisting at that time of his daughter Isabel, his two sisters Andrea and Magdalena de Sotomayor, and his niece Constanza de Figueroa, Andrea's daughter. No proof existing against him, Cervantes was released on his own recognizance on July 2. It is true that certain Valladolid memoirs of the day mention a Cervantes who patronized gambling resorts: *parroquiano de las casas de juego;* but the name Cervantes was common and there is no real evidence that the gambler and the unfortunate great man were the same person.

The capital was moved back to Madrid in February, 1606. An unverified tradition has it that Cervantes moved there at the same time. His daughter Isabel was first wed to Diego Sanz del Águila; in August, 1608, she appears as a widow with an eight-months-old daughter and is called Cervantes's *hija legítima;* on March 1, 1609, she was married to Luis de Molina; she died in 1652, without children by her second husband. Most of the information we possess with regard to Cervantes's life in Madrid relates to his joining the Brotherhood of Slaves of the Holy Sacrament (1609) and the literary society called the *Academia Selvaje* (1612), or to the publication of his various works, the *Novelas ejemplares* in 1613, the *Viaje del Parnaso* in 1614, the *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses nuevos* and the *Second Part* of the *Quijote* in 1615. On April 19, 1616, Cervantes, mortally stricken with dropsy, signed the touching dedication of *Persiles y Sigismunda* to the Conde de Lemos; on the 23rd he died, at the age of sixty-nine. His wife lived till 1626.

The Works of Cervantes, not including "Don Quijote" and the "Novelas ejemplares"[1]

It may be affirmed frankly that if Cervantes had not written the

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[1] *Obras*, ed. Aribau, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, I (without the drama). Ed. Schevill-Bonilla, 1914–1929, 15 vols. published (critical texts with commentary). Ed. R. Acad. Esp., 1917, 6 vols. (facsimiles of príncipes); vol. 7, ed. F. Rodríguez Marín, 1923. *Obras completas*, 1 vol., 1928.

Quijote and a few *Novelas* his name would be known today only to a small number of scholars and specialists, for none of his other works were of a nature to demand the attention of posterity. *Don Quijote* was an accident, or, if one prefers, a special grace, a stroke of genius, a miracle in Cervantes's literary life. Before it he had essayed nearly every type of writing. In some he was a flat failure, in others his success was not notable. He himself did not realize the fact, for he seems never to have perceived clearly the immense superiority of his masterpiece.

His verse may be set aside at once. It is usually mediocre, not on account of eccentricities, but from paucity of ideas, lack of inspiration and weakness of form. As a lyric poet Cervantes ranks below many of his contemporaries. When he undertook to rhyme, the God remained away.[1]

Drama [2]

Cervantes's first long work, *La Galatea*, has already been described (p. 290). After the pastoral, it was the theatre which tempted him. Drama was the great fashion of the day, and in a way the great novelty—and the only productive branch of letters. Twice he tried his hand at the stage, first about 1585, and later, when he prepared his *Eight Plays and Eight Interludes*. Of the first series there are extant two plays and eight more titles.[3] Lost is *La confusa*, "*buena entre las mejores*," if we are to believe its author; lost is *La batalla naval*, theme dear to the glorious *manco de Lepanto*, and this loss, truly deplorable, is only partially compensated by the vigorous tiercets of the *Epístola a Mateo Vázquez*. *El trato de Argel* (*Life at Algiers*) has no interest except by reason of its historical and biographical details and for the rôle of the slave Saavedra, who is as like the author as a brother; it is valueless as a work of art. *La Numancia*[1] has at least the merit of a theme tragically great. Some scenes are striking and even terrifying, like the one between Marquino and the Corpse, or the final scene, in which, over smoking ruins and heaps of bodies, Scipio announces the *Pax romana.* The love-story of Lira and Marandro gives a softer touch to these horrors; the epic figures of Spain and the River Duero, of Hunger, Disease and War are not without their grandeur. But for all these qualities the play never succeeded on the stage, because it is weakly constructed, the interest is scattered and its merits are scarcely of a dramatic order.

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[1] [Mention should be made, however, of the satirical *Soneto al túmulo de Felipe II en Sevilla*, the ending of which is justly celebrated.]

[2] Special editions: *Teatro completo de C.*, 1896–1897, 3 vols. (*Bibl. clásica*). *Entremeses de M. de C.*, ed. Bonilla y San Martín, 1916. *Entremeses*, ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, in *Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XVII. *Los rufianes de C.; El rufián dichoso y El rufián viudo*, ed. J. Hazanas y La Rúa, Sevilla, 1906.—See Armando Cotarelo y Valledor, *El Teatro de C.*, 1915.

[3] The preface to the *Ocho comedias* named *Los tratos de Argel*, *La destruyción de Numancia* and *La batalla naval*. The *Adjunta* to the *Viaje del Parnaso* repeats these names and adds *La gran Turquesca*, *La Jerusalem*, *La Amaranta o la del Mayo*, *El bosque amoroso*, *La Única*, *La bizarra Arsinda*, and *La confusa*. *El trato* (as it is there called) *de Argel* and *La Numancia* are found only in a MS. of about 1700; they were not printed till 1784.

Even after the *Quijote,* Cervantes did not renounce the laurels of the stage. In 1615, with little life before him, he published *Eight Comedias and Eight New Interludes,* which he had "stuck away in a chest," and printed after he had given up hope of seeing them performed. They brought him a few ducats from the publisher Villaroel, but no glory from the world. The full-length plays vary considerably in type. Some are romantic and full of adventure: *El gallardo Español,* a Moorish story; *La casa de los celos y selvas de Ardenia,* described by Menéndez y Pelayo as "a sequence of extravagant and unrelated visions," in which Charlemagne, Roland, Reynaldos, shepherds and shepherdesses, Cupid, Fear, Good Fame and Ill Fame, Castile, etc., elbow one another in singular confusion. *La gran Sultana, doña Catalina de Oviedo* is still more wildly improbable. *Los baños de Argel* approaches closer to reality, and is in a way a replica of *El trato. El rufián dichoso, Cristóbal de Lugo* is of the very Spanish type represented by *El condenado por desconfiado* and Calderón's *La devoción de la cruz.* The best, in my opinion, is *Pedro de Urdemalas,* not only for certain charming descriptions, like that of St. John's Eve in the first act, but also because the author found himself in his proper element when he undertook to brush in rapid sketches of Bohemian life, full of realism and imagination together.

For the same reason his *entremeses* can be read with more pleasure than his *comedias.* Some of these unpretentious *tranches de vie* are brimming with savor and exact observation, and they are fluently executed in a clean free style. Such are *El retablo de las maravillas, La guarda cuidadosa, La elección de los alcaldes de Daganzo, La cueva de Salamanca, El rufián viudo llamado Tram-*

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[1] Eng. transl. by James Y. Gibson, London, 1885.

pagos, and *El juez de los divorcios*. The other two are *El vizcaíno fingido* and *El viejo celoso;* the second contains some of Cervantes's boldest and most realistic writing. There is certainly nothing in these pieces to threaten Lope's supremacy, but in their own humble genre this little world of diverting marionettes is animated with a liveliness and fun which remind one of the *Novelas*, if not of *Don Quijote*. It is not easy to fix the chronology of the *Interludes*, some of which are in verse and some in prose. Other *entremeses* have been attributed to Cervantes without definite proof (*Los dos habladores, La cárcel de Sevilla, El hospital de los podridos*).

In fine, the very favorable judgment which Cervantes rendered with regard to his dramatic writing, in the *Adjunta al Parnaso* and the preface to the *Ocho comedias*, has not been sustained by posterity. Taken as a whole, his dramatic work leaves the impression that he possessed neither a clear notion of what the stage demands, nor the talent of making created characters live and move upon the boards in a well knit action. As regards theory, he hesitated; at first he censured the innovators severely, but in his second series he followed their lead blindly, so blindly, in fact, that Nasarre (1749) even maintained seriously that his plays were parodies of the work of Lope de Vega.

"Viaje del Parnaso." "Persiles"

There is little more to be said of the *Viaje del Parnaso* (cf. p. 255).[1] This laborious allegory monotonously enumerates nearly a hundred and fifty poets and many illustrious unknowns. It interests the reader only at the rare intervals when Cervantes talks of himself with his wonted good humor and when he forgets the sorry devices of his model Caporali and writes to please himself.

But the *Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*[2] demands closer attention. The book is one more striking proof of how utterly ignorant a writer can be of his own powers and limitations. The chronology of this *historia setentrional* is as weird as its geography. Its heroes first appear in a vague region of ice, and drag their weary adventurous way through Portugal, Spain, France and

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[1] Translation in English tercets by James Y. Gibson, London, 1883.

[2] English translations: London, 1619, anon. London, 1854, by Louise D. Stanley. Cf. R. Schevill, *Persiles y Sigismunda*, in *Modern Philology*, IV, 1906, 1–24 and 677–704; and in *Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, XIII, 1908, 475–548.

Italy to Rome. In my opinion, this story has neither sense nor meaning nor philosophic value, nor even interest. In truth, it is impossible to tell what the author aimed at. Was he simply trying to outdo Heliodorus, as he says? Perhaps so, though after the *Quijote*, the notion of resuscitating the Byzantine novel seems anything but happy. Or is this a Romance of Chivalry stripped of the old paraphernalia which he had ridiculed in *Don Quijote*, an example, in short, of what a modern novel could be? Such a claim has been made for the *Persiles*,[1] but those who make it ought to demonstrate in what way the extravagant adventures and the no less improbable customs of these fantastic northerners are less ridiculous or more instructive than those of Amadís or Primaleón. To be sure, the character of the work shifts abruptly after the first two books, in rather inexplicable fashion. The plot, so complicated up to that point, slips to the background, and serves thenceforth only to string together at random a series of romantic tales in the Italian style, and pictures of contemporary manners; this last is the only part of the book that has life today. The ten seventeenth century editions seem to indicate that the *Persiles* was much read then, but since that time editions and translations have been few. And yet it was the author's favorite, the work which in his last moments he relied on, more perhaps than on the *Quijote*, to save his name from oblivion! "It will be either the worst book or the best, that was ever written in our language . . .; and I repent of having said the worst, for my friends assure me it will attain the limit of possible goodness." (Dedication of *Second Part* of *Don Quijote*.) Such friends are not many now. Yet there are still a few who can assert that the *Persiles* is "a beautiful book, exquisite, admirable . . ., there are few so alive and so modern."[2] Their ingenious special pleas ought to be read, if only to correct the disrespectful frankness of the personal opinion here set forth. As regards the style alone, all agree that this is one of Cervantes's best written works.

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[1] This is, I believe, the conclusion of Paolo Savj-López, in his excellent book on Cervantes. The reader may find in his last chapter all the good that can be said of the *Persiles*. The Italian critic has properly distinguished the two currents of inspiration in the book, the one novelesque (or already *romantic*, if you like), which seems at times "a fevered dream," and the other, the "novel of real life," which marks a vigorous return to Cervantes's true path of genius, except that it lacks the logic and the intrinsic unity of the *Quijote*.

[2] "Azorín," *Al margen de los clásicos*, 1915, 109–146. Cf. A. Farinelli, *El último sueño romántico de Cervantes*, 1922. [A conservative judgment would be that Books I and II are negligible, while Books III and IV contain passages of the most rewarding Cervantes.]

The "Exemplary Novels"[1]

The *Novelas ejemplares* (1613) alone can take rank not far from the *Quijote*, if below it. They are twelve in number. Following are their titles, with approximate dates of composition, though these are far from certain: 1°, *La Gitanilla* (after 1606), a charming tale, very romantic and very realistic at the same time, of Preciosa, a Spanish girl carried away by gypsies. 2°, *El amante liberal* (before 1604?). 3°, *Rinconete y Cortadillo* (1601–1602?), an admirable sketch of the underworld of Seville, painted from life. 4°, *La española inglesa* (1606?), a story of adventure, pretty if improbable, and elegantly narrated. 5°, *El licenciado Vidriera* (1597?), the story of a genial lunatic full of common sense (Cervantes was fond of this type) who expresses shrewd philosophy in jocular guise. 6°, *La fuerza de la sangre* (between 1599 and 1604), in which the melodramatic element prevails. 7°, *El celoso extremeño* (*The Jealous Extremaduran*), a variation on the old and fertile theme of the *Barber of Seville:* old husband, young wife, and lover. 8°, *La ilustre fregona* (*The Illustrious Kitchen-Maid;* after 1599), a curious document upon the *apicarado* tastes of the young men of that day, in a narrative sparkling with movement and life. 9°, *Las dos doncellas* (before 1600?). 10°, *La señora Cornelia*, one of the latest. 11° and 12°, *El casamiento engañoso* (*The False Marriage*) and *El coloquio de los perros* (before 1609). In the second of these two connected stories Cipión and Berganza, two dogs of the Hospital de la Resurrección, relate their experiences of life, and these pages are some of the juiciest and ripest Cervantes ever wrote. As for the boldly picaresque *Tía fingida*, its text formerly existed in a manuscript collection (now lost) of stories, including *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, which was made up between 1606 and 1610 for the delectation of a Sevillan archbishop, Don Fernando Niño de Guevara, who must have been more lettered than squeamish. It was published by Arrieta in 1814 as of Cervantes, and more accurately reproduced in 1818 by Franceson and F. A. Wolf. Its authenticity has been discussed at length, without a definite conclusion being reached.[1]

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[1] Special editions: *Novelas ejemplares* (seven only), ed. F. Rodríguez Marín, 2 vols., 1914–1917 (*Clásicos cast.*, vols. 27 and 36). *Cinco novelas ejemplares*, ed. R. J. Cuervo, Strasbourg, 1908 (*Bibl. romanica*). *Rinconete y Cortadillo*, ed. F. Rodríguez Marín, Sevilla, 1905, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1920 (with long introduction and full notes). *El casamiento engañoso* and *El coloquio de los perros*, ed. A. G. de Amezúa, 1912; ed. F. Rodríguez Marín, 1918. *El licenciado Vidriera*, ed. N. Alonso Cortés, Valladolid, 1916. *La ilustre fregona*, ed. F. Rodríguez Marín, 1917. *La tía fingida*, ed. J. Apraiz, 1906; ed. A. Bonilla y San Martín, 1911; ed. J. T. Medina, Santiago de Chile, 1919. English transl. by Don Diego Puede-Ser (James Mabbe), London, 1640; by N. Maccoll, 2 vols., Glasgow, 1902 (vols. 7 and 8 of *Complete Works of M. de C.*, ed. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly). See also F. Rodríguez Marín, *El Loaysa de "El celoso extremeño,"* Sevilla, 1901.

Several of the *Novelas* undoubtedly add to Cervantes's glory. The best are those which impinge most closely on real life, and which give fullest expression to the author's practical philosophy and rich personal experience. As the finest I should name the most genuinely picaresque, *Rinconete y Cortadillo*,[2] and the ones in which observation of reality is mingled, in varying proportions with imagination, such as *La gitanilla, La ilustre fregona;* and, by their side, *El coloquio* and *El licenciado Vidriera*, where the absence of plot is compensated by abundance of good humor and stoic wisdom. The last-named two sum up—it is well to repeat it—in distilled essence all the moral philosophy of the author's rich and often sorrowful experience.

The others, more romantic and of a more Italian cut, appear less perfect and might be taken for the work of many another writer. Nor do they all deserve the title of *exemplary* which their author bestowed upon them. It is hard to see what "*sabroso y honesto fruto*" is to be derived from *El celoso extremeño* or *El casamiento engañoso*, not to mention *La tía fingida* (which, to be sure, is not in the exemplary collection). But we must admit that the Italian *novelle* were usually still less "*medidos con la razón y discurso christiano*." As to the author's claim to be "the first to write *novelas* in Castilian," original *novelas*, that is, not translated or imitated, it might perhaps be contested. Yet on the whole he is probably right; for, excepting servile imitations or anecdotes like Timoneda's, the short novel had produced nothing important in

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[1] [The latest editors, Schevill and Bonilla, believe it by Cervantes. The most positive opinion on the other side will be found in F. A. de Icaza, *De cómo y por qué la "Tía fingida" no es de Cervantes*, 1918. See also R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Étude sur la "T. F.,"* in *Rev. Hisp.*, VI, 1899, 255–306; the editions cited (p. 295, n. 2); J. Apraiz, *D. Isidoro Bosarte*, 1904; and Bonilla, *Cervantes y su obra*.]

[2] [Menéndez y Pelayo denied that Cervantes ever wrote in the picaresque style, and so does Américo Castro. Cf. the latter's *Pensamiento de C.*, p. 263, n. 1, end. One's opinion depends upon the definition of "picaresque."]

Spain. It is obvious, too, that Cervantes did much to stimulate the genre there. **Diego de Agreda y Vargas** doubtless had him in mind when he wrote his *Doce novelas morales* (1620), "*útiles por sus documentos.*" Agreda, nevertheless, though his *Viejo enamorado* recalls *El celoso extremeño,* borrowed largely from the Italians, who were still the acknowledged masters of the story. The first of his tales, *Aurelio y Alejandra,* is Bandello's theme of Romeo and Juliet. Lope de Vega, indeed, seems to have profited by Cervantes's *novelas* in order to write his own, judging by his words at the beginning of the first, *Las fortunas de Diana.* As for Suárez de Figueroa, Salas Barbadillo, Liñán y Verdugo, Tirso de Molina, Ambrosio de Salazar, Francisco de Lugo y Dávila, Camerino and many others, they are all indebted to Cervantes, at least for having shown them the way. Lugo in particular borrowed much from him for his *Teatro popular, novelas morales* (1622).[1]

"Don Quijote"[2]

One can only guess at the date of composition of *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote*[3] *de la Mancha.* It may have been conceived during one of the author's too frequent sojourns in an Andalusian jail, for there is no basis for the legend which gave Don Quijote a cradle in a cell of the La Manchan village of Argamasilla. The *First Part* was completed when Cervantes reached Valladolid in 1603 or 1604. He sold the manuscript to the Madrid bookseller Francisco de Robles, who had it printed during 1604 by Juan de la Cuesta. It was placed on sale in January, 1605. We do not know the amount Cervantes received for it, but it cannot have been large; he sold the *Galatea* for 1336 reals (about $530.00), and the *Novelas* brought him but 1600 ($640.00).

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[1] Ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, 1906 (*Colección selecta de antiguas novelas esp.*, I).

[2] Facsimile reprint, Hispanic Society, N. Y., n. d., 3 vols. Ed. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly and J. Ormsby, London, 1899–1900, 2 vols. Eds. with important commentary: D. Clemencín, 1833–1839, 6 vols., 2nd ed., 1894; C. Cortejón, 1905–1913, 6 vols.; F. Rodríguez Marín, 1911–1913, 8 vols. (*Clásicos cast.*, vols. 4, 6, 8, 10, 13, 16, 19 and 22); F. Rodríguez Marín, 1916–1917, 6 vols.; 2nd ed., revised and enlarged, 1927–1928. English translations: By Thomas Shelton, *First Part*, London, 1612?; *Second Part*, London, 1620; reprinted in Tudor Translations, London, 1896. By Peter Motteux, London, 1700; reprinted in Everyman's Library, etc. By John Ormsby, London, 1885, 4 vols.; reprinted Glasgow, 1901, as vols. 3–6 of *Complete Works of M. de C.*, ed. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly. By H. E. Watts, London, 1888, 5 vols.

See C. A. Sainte-Beuve, *Don Quichotte*, in *Nouveaux Lundis*, VIII, 1864, 1–65. A. Bonilla y San Martín, *D. Q. y el pensamiento esp.*, 1905. F. Rodríguez Marín, *El "Quijote" y D. Q. en América*, 1911. Havelock Ellis, *D. Q.*, in *The Soul of Spain* Boston, 1913. "Azorín," *La ruta de D. Q.*, 1915. V. García Calderón, *Une enquête littéraire: Don Quichotte à Paris et dans les tranchées*, Paris, 1916. L. Pérez Rubín, *La literatura del Q.*, Valladolid, 1916. F. A. de Icaza, *El Q. durante tres siglos*, 1918. W. P. Ker, *Two Essays, I. D. Q.*, Glasgow, 1918. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Un aspecto en la elaboración del "Q.,"* 1920, 2nd ed., 1924. Miguel de Unamuno, *Vida de D. Q. y Sancho*, 1922. J. Ortega y Gasset, *Meditaciones del Q.*, 1914, 2nd ed., 1921. Ramiro de Maeztu, *El Q., Don Juan y la Celestina*, 1926. E. Gómez, *El Q. y los libros de caballerías*, Barcelona, 1926. Salvador de Madariaga, *Guía del lector del Q.*, 1926. Id., *Our D. Q.*, in *Hispania*, XI, 1928, 91–118.

[3] Spelled with an *x* in Cervantes's day, and the *x* pronounced possibly still like *sh* in *ship* (cf. Xerez =sherry). The modern English-speaking reader may pronounce in modern Castilian fashion, *Quijote*, or Anglicize to *Quicksot*.

The *First Part* made a hit; it ran through ten editions before 1615, and its popularity went on increasing. In 1614 there appeared at Tarragona a *Second Part of Don Quijote* signed with a pseudonym: **Alonso Fernández de Avellaneda,** of Tordesillas.[1] All sorts of hypotheses have been put forward as to the identity of this author, but the mystery remains. There is no profit in a wearisome discussion of all the attributions proposed: Fray Luis de Aliaga, Bartolomé L. de Argensola, Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, Alarcón, Alfonso Lamberto, Juan Martí, Mira de Amescua, Cristóbal de Fonseca, etc. Whoever Avellaneda was, he paid tribute to the success of *Don Quijote,* and tried to take advantage of it. His pastiche is not always so bad as some exasperated Cervantophiles assert, but he did crudely travesty the admirable characters of the kindly knight and his faithful squire; he put them through adventures that are simply grotesque or repugnant. He annulled all their poetry and moral sense. His best accomplishment, beyond question, was to compel the indolent Cervantes to complete and publish the genuine *Second Part,* which had been dragging in his hands; it finally appeared at Madrid in 1615. At once the false one was forgotten.

If we try to form an idea of the genesis of *Don Quijote,* we might suppose that at first Cervantes thought merely of adding a *novela* to the others he was then composing; he would amuse his readers with a description of a strange type, which perhaps he had observed in the course of his wanderings. It is possible, too, that he had read a certain *Entremés de los romances* (before 1602?), which exhibited a very similar case of madness, and it may have stimulated his imagination, for in the early chapters of the *Quijote* the heroes of the *Romancero* are stirring in the *hidalgote's* misty brain in close proximity to the heroes of chivalry.[1] We must remember, besides, that at the time when Cervantes was probably elaborating his masterpiece, satire and parody were in the air. The obscure interlude just mentioned, the burlesque ballads ridiculing the *romances moriscos*, the *jácaras* which exalted the heroes of banditry (real knights-errant after their fashion), the picaresque novels waxing in number, the decline of the pastoral, attested by the last chapters of the *Quijote* itself, these are all proof enough. But whatever was the initial stimulus of his inspiration, the author, once started, was not slow to see that he had uncovered a precious vein. He dug ahead, and the trend of his satire became apparent to him: it was nothing less than to overthrow the literature of chivalry by means of ridicule ("*derribar la máquina . . . destos caballerescos libros*"). Every critic has observed this first broadening of the initial thought. In itself the enterprise was not so useless as has sometimes been said. The Romances of Chivalry were, to be sure, in full decadence by the year 1600, but the spirit which they had created and made popular still persisted. Otherwise the success of the satire would be incomprehensible. A parody has no sense and no point, it is an impossibility, unless, on the one hand, the types ridiculed are still current, and unless, on the other, the public is prepared to understand their weak side. The caricature came at the right moment. The great crisis was past, but it had been serious and a dangerous relapse was possible. Cervantes's book rid men's minds forever of all the folly, extravagance and nonsense which had clogged them to the point of fever. To accomplish this work of public sanitation Cervantes needed, surely, no model, and it is useless to seek one in Folengo (Merlin Coccai), Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto, or in the Spanish novels *El caballero Cifar* and *Tirant lo Blanch*, even though these present some points of resemblance to *Don Quijote*. Cervantes seems to have been well acquainted with Italian literature, but his work is thoroughly Spanish; it owes nothing to foreign influence. Its originality resists all comparisons.

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[1] *Segundo Tomo del Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha.* Ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XVIII. Ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, Barcelona, 1905. For discussion and bibliography of Avellaneda, see the latter ed., and A. Baig Baños, *¿Quién fué el licenciado A. F. de A?,* 1915. J. T. Medina, *El disfrazado autor del "Quijote,"* etc., Santiago de Chile, 1918. N. Alonso Cortés, *El falso "Quijote" y Fr. Cristóbal de Fonseca,* Valladolid, 1920.

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[1] See R. Menéndez Pidal, *Un aspecto en la elaboración del Quijote*, 2nd enlarged ed., 1924. [The *entremés* may be read in E. Cotarelo, *Colección de entremeses*, I, 1911, 157–161. Some scholars believe that the *entremés* (printed in 1612) is later than the *Quijote*, and a parody of it.]

Nothing is more idle and even more stupid than the various interpretations of a supposed mystery hidden in the novel (satire against Philip II, against the Church, against the Virgin Mary, against one or another politician, etc.). They will not be enumerated here. It cannot be stated too strongly, the book holds no esoteric meaning, no riddle to be solved; it is simply a diverting and marvelously merry story of human foibles, despite the tears which Sainte-Beuve thought he found in it, and despite the heart-rending "sadness" which some insist upon seeing;[1] a story written by a wise and experienced man, who invites us to distrust *la loca de la casa*[2] (who had perhaps played more than one trick on him), to take things for what they are, and men for what they are worth, and life for what it holds. There is no need to crack the bones of Don Quijote to extract his marrow; it is freely offered, abundant, tasty, nourishing. Many generations of the most diverse sorts have taken delight in this meat, for it suits all ages, all conditions, all temperaments and all races. It has agreed with all of them, for, judging by the number and extraordinary variety of the translations, they do not weary of it.

Don Quijote is both very Spanish and very human. It is very Spanish, because it incarnates the essential types of the race and the two chief traits of the national soul: spirit of adventure, megalomania, visionary and mystic idealism, on one side, and on the other the practical, positivistic spirit, which does not exclude, however, the fatalism that counts on luck and the lottery to become, overnight, King of Barataria. The book unites *Amadís* and the *Celestina:* in it the two great currents which we have watched flowing, separate, through the whole literature join and mingle. It is very Spanish, too, because it embodies faithfully the average ideas, even the current prejudices, of Spain in matters of religion, politics and morals, for in these regards Cervantes was not at all superior to his contemporaries;[3] and finally, because *Don Quijote* makes the Spain of that century live again in a series of intensely vivid pictures that bring together all the classic types in a picturesque medley.[1] To assert, as Byron and others before him did, that this satire on the Spain of chivalry was treason, that it wrecked her ideas of honor, sacrifice and heroic devotion, to make the author responsible, in short, for Spain's decadence, is to display strange ignorance of the meaning of the work. Cervantes does not destroy any noble ideas; he purifies them and rids them of the dregs and dross which darkened and dishonored them; he restores them to their first state of eternal truth. Strip him of his madness, and the poor hidalgo is the flower of nobility and generosity; it is impossible not to love and respect him.

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[1] G. Martínez Sierra, *La tristeza del Quijote* (in *Motivos*, 1905, 109–123). But Anatole France held a different opinion: "C'est à cette lecture que je dois une forte part de la gaieté que j'ai encore aujourd'hui dans l'esprit." *Le livre de mon ami*, Paris, n. d., p. 260.

[2] "The madwoman of the household," a Spanish phrase for "imagination."

[3] [The brilliant study of Américo Castro (*El pensamiento de Cervantes*, 1925) aims to disprove this statement. His thesis, briefly, is that Cervantes, fortified by

Far from damaging his country, this purification of the chivalric ideal was precisely its salvation, and in that, though the author did not realize it, lies the profound meaning of the work. If it were nothing but a literary satire, its scope would be singularly narrow. But in the long view it acquires a national, historical and social meaning which notably broadens the horizon stretching behind the lean silhouette of the Ingenious Gentleman. The most striking feature of the internal and external politics of Spain in the 16th and 17th centuries is the wilful blindness of a people obstinately wrapped up in a dream of superhuman grandeur, unwilling to open its eyes to reality or to understand that the world about it is changing, and that if it persists in pursuing an outworn ideal, in sweeping back the ocean's tide, it runs

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wide reading in the liberal thought of the 16th century, underwent the influence of Erasmism to a much greater extent than has been supposed; that his ideas were more advanced than those of the average contemporary Spaniard on the Church, nationalism, the *pundonor*, the Moriscos; that the unity of his thought is revealed in all his works alike, and gives him a place among Spain's aristocratic and distinctive thinkers; that the Counter-reformation forced him, as it did others of his beliefs, to conceal them under veiled allusions and ironies which most readers have mistakenly taken in their literal sense; that Cervantes, in short, practised a systematic and righteous hypocrisy. For Cervantes's philosophy, as interpreted by Sr. Castro, the reader must be referred to his book.

That Cervantes's ideas of family honor were more generous than those of his contemporaries had been shown by Professor Northup (cf. p. 295, n. 2, end). Sr. Castro may have failed at times to distinguish between the author and his characters, he may now and then have interpreted Cervantes's words in accordance with a theory, but he has developed the theory with great learning and acumen. For a contrary opinion, see Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne du Don Quijote*, pp. 154, 157.]

[1] A. Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne du Don Quijote*, Taylorian lecture, 1894, in *Studies in European Lit.*, Oxford, 1900, 149–208; also in *Études sur l'Espagne, 1^e série*, 2d ed., 1895, with the title *Le Don Quichotte envisagé comme peinture et critique de la société espagnole du XVI^e et du XVII^e siècle.*

the risk of disaster. Between the real weakness of this nation and the inordinate ambition which it advertises, between the emptiness of its thought and the solemn pomposity of its language, between the poverty of the vegetating common people and the gorgeous stage setting devised to screen them and deceive the public, there is a contrast naturally comic. Don Quijote pursues phantoms which exist nowhere outside his heated imagination; he is tossed in the air by a windmill that the first breeze sets in motion. He fights for some vague chimera of universal unity, he tries to make everyone he meets proclaim the unique and sovereign beauty of Dulcinea; and at each turn in the road he receives a bitter lesson. This philosophy can be detected in the book without any forcing, and it far transcends the restricted limits of a literary satire. Is it enough to make us admit, as Menéndez y Pelayo did, "the latent but never ceasing ferment of that free, mordant and penetrating group of Erasmists?" Perhaps so, but to Cervantes himself their influence remained indirect and unperceived.

Yet at the same time, by a miracle that has rarely been accomplished, no book is more human and more easily accessible to all than this essentially Spanish book. In that lies the explanation of its extraordinary popularity. The philosophy concealed within, the moral which one may detect, these are the rare essence of this universal book, these form its exquisite, precious heart. Its philosophy does not belong to any sect, school or dogma; it is simply human.[1] It is optimistic, courageous, more stable than Rabelais's, less narrow and dry than La Fontaine's, less embittered than that of Molière or La Rochefoucauld, less flexible and undulating than that of Montaigne, Voltaire or Renan. It is an every-day philosophy, intended for use in life, not for theory.

Such richness in psychology and morals has a natural effect upon the form. First of all, on the characters: on the character of Don Quijote, so original and so true to life. Crazy he is, to be sure; but how lucid when his hobby is not touched! That aside, his intelligence is so clear, his will is so sound! tactful, pure as a child, invincibly candid despite his romantic passion, he exhibits exquisite politeness toward all, whether they be peasants, paupers, thieves or women of the street. He dabbles in every matter, and on occasion he can talk so sensibly that all stand agape to listen to him, *embobados y suspensos*, while he describes the Golden Age or traces a parallel between Letters and Arms, or boasts the charms of Liberty, or speaks of education, poetry and government. "Woe to him who is not sometimes a Don Quijote, and who never took windmills for giants! This great-souled Don Quijote was his own enchanter. He put nature on an equality with his own soul. That is not being duped! The dupes are they who see before them nothing beautiful or great."[1] Neither insult nor buffoonery has the power to debase him. Neither the beatings which frequently fall to his lot, nor the coarse touch of Maritornes, nor the grotesquely shocked modesty of the duenna Rodríguez, nor the mockery of the brazen Altisidora, nor the unworthy practical jokes of the nobles who cruelly make sport of him, nor the bulls that knock him down, nor the swine that splash him with mud, none can disturb the nobility of his soul, clouded by madness, but recovering, at the moment of death, its supreme beauty and gleaming then with a divine reflection.

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[1] [This statement may require modification in the light of Sr. Castro's research (cf. p. 309, n. 3), but he is careful to insist upon the self-contradictory nature of Cervantes's utterances. One may still assert with safety that the author of the *Quijote* was too big to be bound tightly to any one view of life.] Cf. Unamuno, *En torno al casticismo*, 1902, 53–54: "A ese arte eterno pertenece nuestro Cervantes. . . . A ése pertenece porque de puro español llegó a una como renuncia de su españolismo, llegó al espíritu universal, al *hombre* que duerme dentro de todos nosotros. . . . Y es que el fruto de toda sumersión hecha con pureza de espíritu en la tradición es arrancarnos a nosotros mismos, . . . lanzarnos de la patria chica a la humanidad."

Opposite him plays Sancho, the fun-maker of the book, the burlesque hero, and no truer type can be found in Shakespeare or Molière or Rabelais; coarse, credulous, timid, gluttonous, a bit of a liar, a bit of an egotist, but, like his master, natural, candid and human. He too is a philosopher after his manner; full of good earthy sense, he has plucked from his familiar furrows the bouquet of proverbs which lend their fresh perfume to his rustic speech. His thick common sense constantly clashes with the hidalgo's ambitious madness; then, by a diverting reversal, Sancho in his turn begins to wander in his wits. But, as someone has said, "the madness of one serves to measure exactly the madness of the other." A strange and charming situation comes about: when Sancho, after he has rudely brought to earth his master's cloud-soaring imagination, puts on the fool's-cap in his turn, it is the crack-brained Don Quijote who talks sense to him, preaches to him, and gravely pricks his bubbles. Beneath the Spanish sun which melts men's brains the symbolic pair, inseparable forever, wander along the dusty roads of La Mancha and Aragon, and each of the two visionaries spies under every bush his favorite chimera, which the other quickly causes to vanish in thin air.

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[1] Anatole France, *Le livre de mon ami*, Paris, n. d., 271–272.

I shall not attempt to describe the influence of the *Quijote* on universal literature; the theme is inexhaustible though it has often been treated. The book acted upon the most diverse peoples, and upon minds of opposite character. The testimony of Anatole France has just been cited; and one may add to it that of Flaubert: "I find my own origins in that book which I knew by heart before I knew how to read." That is great praise. But does not Ortega y Gasset assert that "Mme. Bovary is a Don Quijote in skirts?" [1] And that joyous Tartarin de Tarascon, is he not an authentic descendant of Don Quijote, transplanted from La Mancha to Provence?

There are books about which one can never hope to say all that might be said. Space is lacking to continue the study of the characters in *Don Quijote;* they are many and varied, and full of historical truth and moral import. Neither can I stop to show the flexibility of the plan, and the diversity of the knight's adventures, which Cervantes, probably to avoid monotony, thought it necessary to make still richer by means of independent stories and tales (*Ill-advised Curiosity*, *The Captive*, *The Wedding of Camacho*, etc.). It would be profitable, also, to study the style of the *Quijote;* it is careless, loaded with incidental clauses and repetitions, and reveals, in a word, every trace of improvisation and negligence; yet with all that it remains an inimitable model of naturalness and easy grace. Smiling, supple and free, Cervantes's phrase lends itself to every tone; it is full of color and picturesque idiom, it is simple and frank in an era when the sense and taste for simplicity were being lost. This unstudied quality, this naïve savor of spontaneity was a very rare trait when every writer was elaborating a style for himself, when the language, wrenched and tortured, was in a way to lose its strength and clearness. And so it is that despite the flaws and signs of carelessness which pedants cruelly catalogue, this incomparable text will always be the great fountain of Castilian, just as it will always prove in case of need a very Bible for lessons in practical wisdom.

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[1] *Meditaciones del Quijote,* 1914, p. 203.

5. The Picaresque Novel.[1]—"Guzmán de Alfarache"

The origins of the picaresque novel were discussed in connection with *Lazarillo de Tormes* (p. 201). The genre was brilliantly revived by the Sevillan **Mateo Alemán** (1547–after 1613),[2] in his *Guzmán de Alfarache,* known to his contemporaries as *El Pícaro.* The son of a prison doctor, Alemán studied at Seville, Salamanca and Alcalá, and was then employed for some twenty years as *contador de resultas* in the *Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas* (Auditor's Office) at Madrid. There is no direct proof that he was ever a soldier in Italy, as has been asserted, though his works seem to show that he knew that country well. He was jailed for debt in 1580 and again in 1602. His first known literary activity was a preface to the *Proverbios morales* (1598) of Alonso de Barros. In 1599 he published the first part of the *Guzmán,* which was immediately successful and went through fifteen editions before 1615. As was the case with Cervantes, his success brought forth a counterfeit. A spurious second part appeared in 1602, signed **Mateo Luján de Sayavedra,** probably a pseudonym of the Valencian lawyer Juan Martí, a native of Orihuela (1570?–1604).[3] The authentic second part was printed at Lisbon in 1604, and in the same year appeared a singularly contrasting work by Alemán, a life of Saint Anthony of Padua (*San Antonio de Padua*). The announced third part was never issued. After this Alemán is lost sight of till 1608, when he sailed to Mexico to seek his fortune. In Mexico City he printed a curious *Ortografía castellana* (1609), and, in 1613, a biography of Fray García Guerra, Archbishop and later Viceroy of New Spain. After that no more is known of him.

The two parts of the *Vida de Guzmán de Alfarache, atalaya de*

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[1] Cf. p. 202, n. 1. Most of the novels about to be mentioned are printed in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* III, XVIII and XXXIII.

[2] *Guzmán de Alfarache,* ed. Aribau, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* III. Ed. F. Holle, 2 vols., Strasbourg, n. d. (*Bibl. romanica*). Ed. S. Gili y Gaya, 3 vols., 1927–28 (*Clásicos cast.,* vols. 73, 83 and 90. English transl. by James Mabbe, *The Rogue,* 1623; reprinted in Tudor Translations, London, 4 vols., 1924. *Odas de Horacio,* ed. M, Pérez de Guzmán, Cádiz, 1893. *Sucesos de don Frai García Gera,* ed. Alice H. Bushee in *Rev. Hisp.,* XXV, 1911, 359–457.—See F. Rodríguez Marín, *Discurso de ingreso en la R. Acad. Esp.,* 1907. U. Cronan, *M. A. and M. de Cervantes Saavedra,* in *Rev. Hisp.,* XXV, 1912, 468–475. G. Reynier, *Le roman réaliste au XVIIe siècle,* Paris, 1914, ch. ii. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Bibliographie de M. A.,* in *Rev. Hisp.,* LXII, 1918, 481–556. F. A. de Icaza, *Sucesos reales que parecen imaginados de Gutierre de Cetina, Juan de la Cueva y Mateo Alemán,* 1919.

[3] Foulché-Delbosc (*Bibliographie de M. A.*) does not accept this identification, but it seems fairly certain. The false *Segunda Parte* is reprinted in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* III.

la vida humana form the autobiography of a Sevillan adventurer whose life carries him through every sort of social condition; he is kitchen-boy, street-porter, in Toledo a gallant, in Italy a soldier, in Florence a beggar, at Rome a cardinal's page, servant in the house of the French ambassador, buffoon and procurer; robbed by a man named Sayavedra, a thief himself in Milan, betrothed in Genoa, in love in Saragossa, in business in Madrid, student at Alcalá, where he marries and gets rich, thanks to the beauty of his wife, who deserts him in Seville. He ends his career in the galleys for having fleeced a rich widow. In his forced retirement, so well deserved, he writes his memoirs.

These memoirs comprise three elements: 1, the narrative, 2, the moral, and 3, the stories inserted in the novel. The author conceived the idea of placing after each adventure a long moral,—the antidote beside the poison. This strange plan is certainly not artistic, but at least it satisfies every taste. Readers who prefer the poison have every opportunity to neglect the remedy. Others, on the contrary (a minority, I presume), read only the morals, and they are persons of discernment, for no one ever moralized more agreeably, nor displayed more variety, imagination and fecundity in that thankless genre. Alemán's diffuse good sense, his subtlety which is dilute yet seasoned with proverbs and *bons mots*, might come from some erudite Sancho whose wisdom had been sharpened and enriched in a University, or from some popular Montaigne, not so keen or so sceptical as the real Frenchman, but unpretentious and allowing his memories to slip from his pen with condescending comradeship. In the course of his long confessions he touches on themes grave and trifling, he skims the most diverse matters, and vouchsafes his opinion on all the questions of the day. He has given us a brisk and well informed journal of actuality, a miscellany where each can find his taste. The author wished to unite the useful and the pleasing; he did, but they are side by side, not fused as in the *Quijote: non omne tulit punctum. . . .* The book should be read in small doses and by sections. It lends itself to such treatment, for it contains many detached tales, such as the story of Ozmín and Daraja (I, I, 8), the tale of Dorido, a gentleman of Naples, and Clorinia (I, III, 19), the anecdote of Álvaro de Luna (II, I, 4), and the *novela* of Micer Jacobo and his children.

Alemán's style is rich and copious; his language obviously overflows the bounds of an academic dictionary. It is frankly popular, a Cervantes-style with less art and genius, but with like carelessness and like unevenness. I should be tempted to say that in vocabulary it is even richer.

6. "La Pícara Justina"[1]

"The diverting book of the *Pícara Justina,* in which beneath pleasant discourse are hidden beneficial warnings" appeared at Medina in 1605, under the name of **Francisco López de Úbeda,** *natural de Toledo.* A tradition, confirmed by Nicolás Antonio, saw in this name a pseudonym of Fray Andrés Pérez, of León, a Dominican, much as the *Lazarillo* had been ascribed to a Hieronymite. It seems to be demonstrated that the real author was a Toledan doctor whose name was actually Francisco López de Úbeda.[2] To correct the bad taste of the public, addicted now, he says, to nothing but licentious stories, this homeopathic doctor has compounded a remedy of the quintessence of the *Celestina,* Momus, *Lazarillo,* Guevara, *Eufrosina,* the *Patrañuelo,* and the *Golden Ass.*

At the close of each feat of his sorry heroine, Justina, the author places a little moral, *aprovechamiento,* with intent to counteract the bad example, as a bitter quinine pill arrests a fever. A summary, in verses of unusual variety, begins each chapter. The plot is commonplace. Justina, daughter and granddaughter of innkeepers, barbers and puppet-showmen, takes to the picaresque life and makes sundry dupes and victims until she marries a military man named Lozano. The novel is in four books, and the scene is laid near León. At the close the author promises a second part, never published, which shall show the widowed heroine married to Guzmán de Alfarache. The style is most involved; it marks the introduction of conceptism into the picaresque novel. Displays of wit, comparisons either ingenious or meant to be, fine-spun paraphrases, the jargon of preciosity, and puns form a whole that is obscure, wearisome and even painful.

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[1] *Libro de entretenimiento de la Pícara Justina, en el qual debaxo de graciosos discursos, se encierran provechosos avisos.* Ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XXXIII. Ed. J. Puyol y Alonso, 1912, 3 vols. (*Biblióf. madrileños,* 7, 8, 9).—See R. Foulché-Delbosc, *L'auteur de la "Pícara Justina,"* in *Rev. Hisp.,* X, 1903, 236–241.

[2] Foulché-Delbosc, *op. cit.* But Puyol y Alonso still favors the first attribution (see his ed. of *La Pícara Justina,* III, cap. v). The matter cannot be regarded as settled. Another López de Úbeda (Juan), a Toledan like Francisco, wrote a *Cancionero general de la doctrina christiana* (1579).

7. "El Buscón," of Quevedo (cf. p. 277).

The *Buscón*, or, as it came to be called, *El gran tacaño* (*The Great Knave*),[1] was written not long after the *Pícara Justina*, but was not published till 1626. Like his grandfather Lazarillo and his brother Guzmán, Pablo de Segovia issued from the dregs of the people. The reader follows him through many strange or dubious social strata: the famine-stricken boarding-house of the licenciate Cabra, students' gaming-dens at Alcalá, highways crowded with adventurers and vagrants of every kidney, styes of hangmen or shabby hidalgos, gangs of beggars and thieves unionized like Monipodio's fellows, strolling players, Seville *valientes*, and many more.

No style could be more clean-cut, incisive and sinewy than that of *El Buscón*, but it is the most difficult of all to understand. Quevedo reproduces every sort of idiom: familiar turns of speech, peculiarities of the people, and sometimes thieves' jargon. He throws in for good measure his own plays on words, puns, allusions and *agudezas*. His sharp and glistening thought dazzles and blinds by its perpetual glitter. His inexhaustible wit quickly tires even those readers who are able to enjoy its savor. The aftertaste is painful, the philosophy is full of bitterness. In this world there are none but hypocrites and liars. This sad truth, developed a hundred times by Quevedo in his other works, is here presented in a new light with insistent, never-wearying ingenuity. He knows no moderation in his jesting; disdaining nuance, he lays the color thick, he forces lines and loads shadows till each portrait becomes a caricature. His gaiety is strained; there is gall and sarcasm in it. His shrill laugh and the strident shriek of his watchman's whistle did not fail to startle the society he scourged. Quevedo won many enemies, nor cared a rap; "for," said he, "I am a slanderous scorpion, a proper offspring of those sandy snake-engendering plains."

8. Very different is the *Vida del escudero Marcos de Obregón* (1618),[2] by **Vicente (Martínez) Espinel** (1550–1624), of Ronda (cf. pp. 226 and 254). The author's life was a real picaresque romance in itself, and he had only to tell it in order to write Obregón's; so his personal recollections form a large part of the story. It is certain that he himself had visited all the lands (Spain, Italy, Flanders) through which he carried his hero Marcos, and had been present at the events that Marcos witnessed. He studied and gave music lessons in Salamanca (1570–1574), journeyed interminably through Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, was in Madrid toward 1583, then in Andalusia, was ordained in Malaga, obtained a "half-benefice" in Ronda, visited Granada, where he saw the Alhambra burn (1589), published his *Rimas* (1591), and was appointed chaplain of the Hospital Real de Santa Bárbara in Ronda. The vicissitudes of his life and the complaints which arose on every side against his unedifying conduct give a very fair notion of the merry rogue that he was. Like Villon, he confessed his weakness: "In my stormy youth I had few virtues and many vices; I have not always been temperate; I have followed the call of Bacchus and Ceres, and made joyous sacrifices to the Cyprian goddess." A substitute was appointed to perform his functions in Ronda; Espinel came to Madrid (1598), took the degree of Master of Arts at Alcalá (1599), and from that year on was chaplain and choirmaster for the Bishop of Plasencia, in Madrid.

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[1] *Historia de la vida del Buscón, llamado Don Pablos; Exemplo de vagamundos y espejo de tacaños.* For editions see p. 275, n. 1.

[2] *Marcos de Obregón*, ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XVIII. Ed. J. Pérez de Guzmán, Barcelona, 1881 (*Prólogo* contains authoritative life of Espinel). Ed. S. Gili y Gaya, 2 vols., 1922–1923 (*Clásicos cast.*, vols. 43 and 51).—See Léo Claretie, *Lesage romancier*, Paris, 1890, 203–261.

Marcos de Obregón, an old squire of dames (*rodrigón*), relates to a hermit near Madrid his adventures, which much resemble those of Espinel himself. There are three *Relaciones*, each of which is divided into numerous chapters or *descansos* (rests). The whole forms autobiographic memoirs that contain many real and historical elements. The general tone of the work is modest and discreet. Its teachings are sound, and that in itself is a sort of originality. The moral is summed up in the *descanso último* which is a eulogy of patience, *conformidad*, an eminently picaresque and Spanish virtue. *Marcos de Obregón* includes a store of individual tales, often romantic, and sometimes tragic, like the *novela* of Cornelio and Aurelio. Both in matter and form it is certainly one of the best Spanish novels. Lesage drew on it freely for *Gil Blas*.

9. Few novelists have written as copiously as **Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo** (1581–1635; cf. also p. 362),[1] who was born and lived in Madrid. Despite his title *criado del rey*, he was dependent on his pen for a living. His talent for satire got him into trouble with the law. He wrote verse, *comedias* of a picaresque order (*La escuela de Celestina, El gallardo Escarramán*), and many other plays and interludes, some being inserted in the novels *La casa del placer honesto* (1620), *Las fiestas de la boda* (1622) and *Coronas del Parnaso* (1635). But above all he was a fertile novelist: *La hija de Celestina* (1612), enlarged in 1614 as *La ingeniosa Elena; El sutil cordobés, Pedro de Urdemalas* (1620), the story of the rascalities of Pedro and his pretended sister Marina who open in Valencia a salon for elegants, a literary *academia*, which permits the introduction of rhymed tales; *El necio bien afortunado* (1621); *La sabia Flora malsabidilla* (1621), a dialogued novel devoted largely to satirizing fashionable vices and foibles; *Don Diego de Noche* (1623), the love adventures of a gallant who fails in all his enterprises during nine successive nights; and, besides others, the genial and witty satire, *El curioso y sabio Alejandro* (1634). The best known of all is probably *La ingeniosa Elena.* The heroine is an admirable specimen of female Tartuffe; with her accomplice Montúfar and her duenna La Méndez she journeys to Seville and sets up there as a saint. There is one fine scene which probably inspired some passages of Molière's *Tartuffe*, through the medium of Scarron's translation *Les hypocrites* (1655). In short, the abundant production of this witty novelist has highly interesting moments and deserves more attention than it has yet received.

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[1] *Obras*, ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, 2 vols., 1907–1909 (contains, I, *Corrección de vicios* and *La sabia Flora malsabidilla*, II, *El caballero puntual y los prodigios del*

The Segovian physician **Jerónimo de Alcalá Yáñez y Ribera** (1563–1632), author of two pious works, published in two parts (1624 and 1626) a picaresque novel, *Alonso, mozo de muchos amos*[1] (*Alonso, Servant of Many Masters*). This dialogued novel assumed in later editions the title *El donado hablador* (*The Talkative Lay-brother*); it characterizes the hero excellently, for his loquacity and preaching tax the reader's patience. It falls to the lay-brother's lot

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amor). *El curioso y sabio Alejandro*, ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXIII. *La hija de Celestina*, ed. J. López Barbadillo, 1907. *La hija de Celestina y La ingeniosa Elena*, ed. F. Holle, 2 vols., Strasbourg, 1912 (*Bibl. romanica*). *Dos novelas* (*El cortesano descortés* and *El necio bien afortunado*), ed. F. R. de Uhagón, 1894 (*Biblióf. esp.*, vol. 31). *La peregrinación sabia* and *El sagaz Estacio*, ed. F. A. de Icaza, 1924 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 57). *La casa del placer honesto*, ed. E. B. Place, Boulder, Colo., 1927. *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLII. *Galán tramposo y pobre* (comedia), in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLV.—See E. B. Place, *Introduction* to *La casa del placer honesto.* Id., *S. B. Satirist*, in *Romanic Rev.*, XVII, 1926, 230–242.

[1] Ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XVIII.

to point the right path to soldiers, students, authors, true believers, and others, and his unwearying verbiage is equal to the task.

The book is cut exactly to the traditional picaresque pattern. Its chief merit lies in its morality, an honest, middle-class morality, enlivened by stories and fables.

Alonso de Castillo Solórzano (1584–d. before 1648; cf. also p. 385) [1] was born at Tordesillas, in Old Castile. It appears that, like Salas Barbadillo, he frequently wrote to earn money, though he was in the service of the Count of Benavente (1620), of the Marqués del Villar (1622–1623), and, as majordomo (*maestresala*), in that of the fourth Marqués de los Vélez, Viceroy of Valencia (1628). At the death of the last, he continued in service with his son, the fifth Marqués de los Vélez, and accompanied him to Saragossa (1635–1637), and perhaps to Rome when his master was appointed ambassador there (1642). His last works were published in 1649. He wrote plays, interludes, verse, pious works (*Sagrario de Valencia*, 1635), short stories and novels. Among the last, all in the picaresque order, the most important are *Las harpías en Madrid y coche de las estafas* (1631), *La niña de los embustes, Teresa de Manzanares* (1632), *Aventuras del bachiller Trapaza* (1637), a sequel to the preceding, and a second sequel, *La garduña de Sevilla y anzuelo de las bolsas* (1642). The last has proved the most popular of Solórzano's novels; yet the swindles of the heroine Rufina are identical with those of Barbadillo's Marina or Úbeda's Justina. At least Solórzano wrote better than the latter. Some of the short stories inserted (*Quien todo lo quiere todo lo pierde; El conde de las legumbres*) are diverting. But deficiencies of form betray only too plainly the author's haste in writing.

The Checkered Fortunes of the Soldier Píndaro (*Varia fortuna del soldado Píndaro* (1626), of **Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses** (1585?–1638) [2] is an estimable work, which recalls *Marcos de*

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[1] *La garduña de Sevilla, La inclinación española*, and *El disfrazado*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXIII. *La garduña de Sevilla*, ed. F. Ruiz Morcuende, 1922 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 42). Various novels edited by E. Cotarelo y Mori, in *Colección selecta de antiguas novelas españolas*, as follows: *La niña de los embustes* (III, 1906), *Noches de placer* (V, 1906), *Las harpías en Madrid* and *Tiempo de regocijo* (VII, 1907), *Tardes entretenidas* (IX, 1908), *Jornadas alegres* (XI, 1909). *Comedias* (*El mayorazgo figura* and *El marqués del Cigarral*), ed. Mesonero Romanos, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLV. *Entremeses*, ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, in *Colección de entremeses*, I, 1911 (*Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XVII).

[2] *El español Gerardo y desengaño del amor lascivo*, and *Fortuna varia del soldado Píndaro*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XVIII. *Historias peregrinas y ejemplares*, ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, 1906.

Obregón in its general tone and its unexceptionable morals, but is inferior to it in the labored style, dragging narrative and overload of episodes. The same author had previously issued the *Poema trágico del español Gerardo y desengaño del amor lascivo* (two parts, 1615–1617). He wrote also historical studies; the *Historia apologética* of events in Aragon in 1591–1592 (1622) was censured for its rebellious tone, and the *Historia de Felipe IV* (1631) corrected his standing. He had no educational advantages, and his life was agitated.

The memoirs of the adventurer **Diego Duque de Estrada** (1589–1647?), written at various times during his life, were not published till the 19th century (*Comentarios del desengañado de sí mismo, o sea Vida del mismo autor*[1]). They show what a large autobiographical element the novels of the time were likely to contain. This Duque was a sort of d'Artagnan or Sigognac in the service of the Duke of Osuna, who employed him for sundry jobs. He relates his own exploits with the utmost verve, but his style is not equal to that of Alexandre Dumas or Théophile Gautier.

Equally frank and picaresque is the *Autobiography* of Captain **Alonso de Contreras** (1582–1641?),[2] a friend of Lope de Vega who in 1625 dedicated a play to him (*El rey sin reino*). His adventures carried him from one end to the other of the Mediterranean, and placed him now in posts of responsibility, now in disgraceful predicaments.

Fantasías de un susto (*Images Caused by Fright*, 1630?) by **Juan Martínez de Moya** demonstrates how badly the current type of picaresque novel needed new blood. The author imagines himself riding in a carriage which is being dragged toward a precipice; under the shock, his imagination brings before him a series of lightning-like memories and impressions, which he retains and relates. This conception, based very likely on an observed fact, reminds one a little of the manner of Poe or Hoffmann.

The picaresque novels already named are far from exhausting the supply. I shall add but one more, a very attractive book, the aim of which was precisely to warn the innocent and ignorant against the trickery of the *pícaros.* The first title was lengthy; it has been abbreviated to *Guía y avisos de forasteros que vienen a la corte* (1620). The author was given as the licentiate **Antonio Liñán y Verdugo,** [1] perhaps a pseudonym, since nothing more is known of such a person. From allusions in the book it appears that the writer was born probably in the middle of the 16th century, of a good La Manchan family, that he studied with the Jesuits in Belmonte, then at the University of Alcalá, spent most of his life in Madrid, and wrote his book in old age. Each one of his moral warnings (*escarmientos*) is accompanied by a *novela.* Thanks to an attractive style, the *Guía y avisos* makes as a whole amusing reading, and it is instructive too by reason of the exact details it furnishes about 17th-century Madrid.

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[1] Ed. P. de Gayangos, 1860 (*Memorial histórico esp.*, vol. XII).

[2] *Vida del capitán Alonso de Contreras*, ed. M. Serrano y Sanz, 1900. Anon. ed. Paris–Buenos Aires, n. d. English transl. Catherine A. Philips, London–New York, 1926.

Here ceases for the present the fertile history of the picaresque novel in Spain. Its last representatives will be considered in the following period.

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[1] Ed. in *Bibl. clásica esp.*, Barcelona, 1885. Ed. M. de Sandoval, 1923.—See J. Sarrailh, *Algunos datos acerca de D. A. L. y V.*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, VI, 1919, 346–363, and VIII, 1921, 150–160. Fr. Julián Zarco Cuevas, *¿ Quién fué el verdadero autor de la "Guía y avisos de forasteros" impresa en Madrid en el año 1620?*, in *Bol. Ac. Esp.*, XVI, 1929, 185–198. The last scholar suggests that the author was in reality Fr. Alonso Remón (d. 1632), historian of the Mercenarian Order; the local allusions tally with his life.

CHAPTER IV

THE DRAMA

Toward the beginning of the 17th century the drama, as has been said, proved to be the most popular and live of all the literary modes. The entire sixteenth century witnessed a marvelous outburst of the national dramatic genius, which tried out different forms in a search for the one best suited to it. The formation of a national dramatic type occupied the first part of the period now under consideration; outlined by Lope de Rueda, it was fixed definitively by the genius of Lope de Vega. Between the two, various experiments were made, in particular at Seville and Valencia. From them the *comedia española* gradually emerged. The type then became set, and was unanimously adopted by innumerable dramatists who will be grouped, for greater clearness as well as for chronological accuracy, about the two famous names of Lope de Vega and Calderón. Coming after the initial fumbling they represent respectively the climax, and the last brilliance of the great period of the drama.

I. FORMATION OF THE *COMEDIA*.[1]

1. Lope de Rueda and his School

The contemporaries of Cervantes and Lope de Vega considered that Spanish drama began with **Lope de Rueda** (1510?–1565).[2] "Who first drew the *comedia* from its swaddling-clothes?" asked Cervantes, and his answer was Rueda. And Lope repeated:

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[1] See Leandro F. de Moratín, *Orígenes del teatro esp.*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, II. J. P. W. Crawford, *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, Phila., 1922. A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Las Bacantes*, 1921. S. Griswold Morley, *Strophes in the Sp. Drama before Lope de Vega*, in *Homenaje Menéndez Pidal*, I, 505–531.

[2] *Obras*, ed. Fuensanta del Valle, 2 vols., 1895–1896 (*Libros raros o curiosos*, vols. 23 and 24). Ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, 2 vols., 1908. *Entremés del mundo y no nadie*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Rev. Hisp.*, VII, 1900, 251–255. *Comedia llamada discordia y questión de amor*, ed. F. R. de Uhagón, in *Rev. Arch.*, VI, 1902, 341–354. *Registro de representantes*, ed. Bonilla y San Martín, 1917. *Teatro*, ed. Moreno Villa, 1924 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 59).—See A. L. Stiefel, *L. de R. und das italienische Lustspiel*, in *Ztschr. f. rom. Philol.*, XV, 1891, 183–216, 318–343. L. Rouanet, in *Intermèdes esp. du XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1897, 10–14. Salvador Salazar, *L. de R. y su teatro*, Havana, 1911. H. Mérimée, *Théâtre esp.*, Paris, n. d. J. P. W. Crawford, *Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega*, Phila., 1922, cap. vi.

"*Comedias* are no older than Rueda, whom many now alive have heard."[1] But the facts presented above (pp. 143 ff., 207 ff.) prove that these statements must be interpreted in a very limited sense, for their authors seem never to have heard of Encina, Torres Naharro and Gil Vicente. It is, however, undeniably true that with Rueda the drama, leaving palaces and churches, descended boldly to the market-place and there became popular and in some ways national.

Rueda was a Sevillan. At first he followed the trade of gold-beater (*batihoja*), then he became an actor, author and manager of a troupe. With these three, perhaps four professions (for an actor often practised a trade at the same time) he traveled over Spain. His presence has been noted at Valladolid in 1551–1552 (in the latter year he was married to Mariana, a singer and dancer who had previously performed for the Duke of Medinaceli), at Benavente (1554), Segovia (1558), Seville (1559), Valencia (1560), (where, a widower, he married a widow, Rafaela Ángela Trilles), then at Toledo (1561), Madrid, Valencia again, and Seville, where a daughter, Juana, was born to him (1564). He made his will at Cordova, March 21, 1565, and was buried there in the Cathedral, according to Cervantes. If this be true, it proves that Spain was then less bigoted than France in the day of Molière. The creator of *Don Quijote* had seen Rueda perform, and, reviving with enthusiasm his early memories, gives a graphic description of the meagre apparatus and the rustic installation of the strolling troupe.

Rueda's works, collected and published at Valencia by his friend Timoneda (1567, 1570), include, in prose, four comedies (*Los engañados*, *Medora*, *Eufemia*, *Armelina*), two *Coloquios pastoriles* (*de Timbria*, *de Camila*), and ten *pasos:* seven in the collection *El Deleytoso*, 1567 (*Los criados*, *La carátula*, *Cornudo y contento*, *El convidado*, *La tierra de Jauja*, *Pagar y no pagar*, *Las aceitunas*), and three in the *Registro de representantes*, 1570 (*El rufián cobarde*, *La generosa paliza*, *Los lacayos ladrones*); in verse, the *Coloquio llamado prendas de amor*, the *Diálogo sobre la invención de las calzas*, and the doubtful *Discordia y questión de amor* (1617). The verse *Farsa del sordo* is probably not by Rueda.

Three distinct sources of inspiration can be detected in Rueda's drama: the classics, which furnish nothing but a few Plautinian types (e.g. the *Miles gloriosus);* Italy, whose influence is dominant in the comedies, all of which had Italian models (Boccaccio, Raineri, Cecchi, *Gl'Ingannati,* Arthemio Giancarli); and finally the popular national spirit, most evident in the charming *pasos* and *coloquios,* realistic sketches, brushed in with brisk and life-like strokes. It is they which give this "founder of the Spanish drama" his lasting fame. *Las aceitunas* has been called "the best one-act play written in Spain in the 16th century."

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[1] The former, in the *Prólogo* to *Ocho comedias*, etc. The latter, in the *Prólogo* to *Parte XIII* of his plays.

Rueda had numerous imitators, but many of their works have disappeared. Such was the fate of the numberless plays by the Sevillan humanist **Juan de Mal Lara** (1525?–1571);[1] we know the titles of a tragedy, *Absalón,* and a *Comedia Locusta,* played by Salamancan students in 1548; an epic, *La hermosa Psyche* is still in manuscript, and another, *Los trabajos de Hércules,* is lost; luckily his collection of proverbs (p. 192) was printed. Nor does anything but his name remain of Rueda's comrade **Alonso de Cisneros.** But one gets a notion of the drama of the period by some *comedias* and *farsas* which have been preserved; e.g. **Negueruela**'s *Farsa Ardamisa;*[2] **Andrés Prado**'s *Farsa Cornelia;*[3] the *Comedia de* **Sepúlveda,**[4] to which the author presumably gave his own name; the *Tholomea, Seraphina* and *Duquesa de la Rosa*[5] of **Alonso de la Vega** (d. before 1566), an actor in Rueda's troupe, who took the plot of his *Duquesa* (revived by Lope in *El gallardo Catalán*) from Bandello (II, 44); *La marquesa de Saluzia llamada Griselda,*[6] lifted from the *Decameron* by **Pedro Naharro** or **Navarro** (probably an actor); the *Florisea* (1551),[7] by **Francisco de Avendaño;** etc.

2. The Sevillan School of Drama[8]

At this moment Seville was one of the centers of dramatic production. Besides Lope de Rueda and Juan de Mal Lara, it witnessed the activity of **Juan de la Cueva** (1550?–1610?),[1] whose poetry has already been spoken of (p. 254). Cueva's importance as one of the founders of the *Comedia* is not to be disregarded. Not only did he formulate its theory earlier than anyone else in the *Exemplar poético* (whatever be his inconsistencies), but by way of attaining his ideal he undertook to apply his own principles in his plays. These were printed in Seville in 1583 (2nd ed. 1588). He was not, as he claimed, the first to reduce from five to four the number of acts, but that is a small matter. Without discarding themes from classical antiquity (*Muerte de Áyax Telamón, Muerte de Virginia, Libertad de Roma*), he steered the drama toward national themes, as in the *Siete infantes de Lara*, the *Reto de Zamora* and *Libertad de España por Bernardo del Carpio* (all 1579), three of the most tragic subjects in Spanish history, and toward recent events, like the *Saco de Roma* (1579). Perhaps he did not himself realize the importance of this innovation. At least he shook off the yoke of the pseudo-Aristotelians and tossed away the unities of time and place. He foresaw how popular poetry could add to the interest of the plot, and he was one of the first to draw freely upon the almost untouched treasure of the *Romancero* for inspiration. He was one of the first also to use Italian meters in conjunction with native Spanish ones.[2] In both respects Lope de Vega, Guillén de Castro and their rivals merely followed his example. Without the ballad-material, clumsily as it is used, his three Spanish historical dramas would scarcely have an excuse for being. But Cueva broke a path not only for the historical *comedia*,[3] but for the comedy of manners as well, in *El viejo enamorado* (1580), and in *El infamador* (1581), eminently Sevillan in theme, and sometimes considered one of the models of the *Burlador de Sevilla.*

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[1] *Obras,* Sevilla, 1876 (*Biblióf. andaluces*). *Poesías,* in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* vol. XLII. See La Barrera, *Catálogo,* 1860, 232–234. J. Gestoso y Pérez, *Nuevos datos,* etc., Sevilla, 1896. F. Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos datos biográficos,* 1923, 11–22, 405–406. Américo Castro, *J. de M. L. y su "Filosofía vulgar,"* in *Homenaje Menéndez Pidal,* III, 563–592.

[2] Ed. Léo Rouanet, 1900 (*Bibl. Hispanica*).

[3] Ed. C. Pérez Pastor in *La imprenta en Medina del Campo,* 1895.

[4] Ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, 1901.

[5] Ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, Dresden, 1905 (*Gesellschaft f. rom. Lit.,* vol. 6).

[6] Ed. C. B. Bourland, in *Rev. Hisp.,* IX, 1902, 331–354.

[7] Ed. Bonilla y San Martín, in *Rev. Hisp.,* XXVII, 1912, 398–422.

[8] J. Sánchez Arjona, *Noticias referentes a los anales del teatro en Sevilla desde Lope de Rueda hasta fines del siglo XVII,* Sevilla, 1898.

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[1] *Comedias y tragedias*, ed. F. A. de Icaza, 2 vols., 1917 (*Biblióf. esp.*, vol. 40). *El infamador, Los siete infantes de Lara y el Exemplar poético*, ed. F. A. de Icaza, 1924 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 60).—See A. Hämel, *J. de la C. und die Erstausgabe seiner "Comedias y tragedias,"* in *Ztschr. f. rom. Philol.*, XLIII, 1923, 134–153. F. Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos datos biográficos*, 1923, 513–516.

[2] Cf. S. G. Morley, in *Homenaje Menéndez Pidal*, I, pp. 520–521, 527, 530–531. Cueva employed only the single *redondilla*, among national meters, never *romance*, *quintilla* or *copla real;* of the Italian forms, chiefly *octavas reales* and *estrofas líricas.*

[3] The example was soon followed. In 1583 or 1585 an anonymous playwright took up the subject of the Infantes in *Los famosos hechos de Mudarra* (see R. Menéndez Pidal, *La leyenda de los infantes de Lara*, 1896, 126–127), only to be surpassed by Lope de Vega in *El bastardo Mudarra* (1612). Diego López de Castro wrote a tragedy in Cueva's manner, the last scenes of which have a certain tragic power (*Marco Antonio y Cleopatra*, ed. H. A. Rennert, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XIX, 1908, 184–237).

Joaquín Romero de Cepeda,[1] though born in Badajoz, may be reckoned among the Sevillans, as his two plays were performed and printed (1582) at Seville. The more important, the *Comedia Salvaje* (not to be confused with the *Comedia Selvagia* of Villegas Selvago, p. 212), testified to the popularity of the *Celestina,* as the first two acts of its four come from that source. The *Comedia Metamorfosea,* in three acts, offers a contrast to the horrors which end the former play. It is a pastoral, and its theme has a certain resemblance to that of Molière's *Le Dépit amoureux.*

Cueva in his *Exemplar poético* (III, 353–357) names a number of Sevillans as dramatists who observed the pseudo-classic unities: **Pero Mejía** (p. 181), **Gutierre de Cetina** (p. 166), **Guevara, Cozar, Fuentes** and **Ortiz,** besides Mal Lara; but their plays are without exception lost.[2]

3. The Valencian School of Drama [3]

In dramatic fertility Valencia rivalled Seville. As the latter city had its *Huerta de Doña Elvira,* its *Corral de Don Juan,* and its *Corral de las Atarazanas,* where local authors had their plays performed, so the town on the Turia boasted a *Corral de la Olivera,* which the Valencian *ingenios* kept filled. "Many troupes come to Valencia, and the public there delights in plays," wrote a contemporary. One of the earliest and most productive of the *ingenios* was Rueda's friend and publisher, **Juan de Timoneda** (d. 1583),[4] who was a tanner before he was a bookseller. He tried nearly every dramatic style and borrowed on every side, but he owes most to his master Rueda and in less degree to Torres Naharro. Three of his *comedias, Amphitrión, Cornelia* and *Los Menem-*

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[1] *Comedias,* ed. E. de Ochoa, in *Tesoro del teatro esp.,* I, Paris, 1838. *Una glosa de romances viejos,* ed. S. G. Morley, in *Rev. de la Bibl., Arch. y Museo,* I, 1924, 349–361. See Gallardo, *Ensayo,* IV, cols. 254–259.

[2] [Unless Ortiz is the author of the *Comedia Radiana* (p. 211).]

[3] Henri Mérimée, *L'Art dramatique à Valencia,* Toulouse–Paris, 1913. Id., *Spectacles et comédiens à Valencia (1580–1630),* Toulouse–Paris, 1913.

[4] *Obras completas,* ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, I, *Teatro profano,* Valencia, 1911 (no more published; this vol. contains *Las tres comedias* and *La Turiana*). *Los Menemnos* and *Los* [*sic*] *ciegos y el mozo,* ed. L. F. de Moratín, in *Orígenes del teatro esp.* (*Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* II). *Autos,* ed. González Pedroso, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* LVIII. *El patrañuelo* and *El sobremesa,* ed. Aribau, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* III. *El buen aviso,* ed. R. Schevill, in *Rev. Hisp.,* XXIV, 1911, 171–254. *Romances,* ed. Durán, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* X and XVI. *Cancionero llamado Villete de amor,* ed. A. M. Huntington, N. Y., 1903.—See Menéndez y Pelayo. *Orígenes de la novela,* II, pp. xli–lviii. R. Schevill, *Some Forms of the Riddle Question,* in *Univ. Calif. Publ. Mod. Philol.,* II, 1911, 183–237. J. P. W. Crawford, *Notes on the "Amphitrion" and "Los Menemnos" of J. de T.,* in *Mod. Lang. Rev.,* IX, 1914, 248–251.

nos were printed in 1559; the second is in the Italian taste, the others, despite their antique titles, follow rather the national manner. All three are in prose. The *Cornelia* (or *Carmelia*) (written after 1555) gives evidence of imitation from Ariosto's *Il Nigromante*, but in some ways it foreshadows the future *comedia española.* In 1565 Timoneda printed a collection called *Turiana,* containing six full-length plays (*Comedias* and *Farsas*) and five short farces (one *Entremés*, and four *Pasos*), all in verse. It is thought none of them are by Timoneda. The *Paso de dos ciegos y un mozo* and the *Auto de la oveja perdida* (published in the first of the two *Ternarios espirituales*, 1575) have proved the most popular of Timoneda's publications; the former is the familiar farce of two blind men robbed by their boy guide.

Aside from his work for the stage, Timoneda issued a collection of stories and anecdotes, *El sobremesa y alivio de caminantes* (1563, and perhaps earlier); it begins with twelve brief stories attributed to one "Juan Aragonés," and then, in two parts, offers 161 anecdotes and *bons mots.* This collection was followed by another similar, *El buen aviso y portacuentos* (1564, with 174 anecdotes). The *Patrañuelo* or *Primera Parte de las Patrañas* (1566, the second part never appearing) is slightly different. It contains twenty-two longer tales, mostly borrowed from Italian authors, the *Gesta Romanorum* or previous collections.

In his turn Timoneda was imitated and even pillaged. He afforded a public supply of stories, anecdotes and witticisms. Thus, many of the tales in the *Alivio de caminantes* are to be found in the compilation called *La silva curiosa* (Paris, 1583) [1] by the Navarrese **Julián de Medrano.** Remodeled in 1608 by the language teacher César Oudin, and enriched by the addition of Cervantes's *Curioso impertinente*, the *Silva* served as a Spanish text in France. There were in fact many anecdote-books at this time, such as **Melchor de Santa Cruz**'s popular *Floresta española* (1574), [2] and **Luis Zapata**'s *Miscelánea*,[3] far more entertaining than his *Carlo famoso* (p. 245). Similarly, *Las seiscientas apotegmas* (1596) [4] of **Juan Rufo** had doubtless many more readers than his *Austriada* (p. 245).

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[1] Ed. Sbarbi, in *Refranero general*, vol. X, 1878.
[2] Ed. P. Oyanguren, 2 vols., 1910–1911 (*Biblióf. madril.*, vols. 3, 4).
[3] Ed. P. de Gayangos, 1859 (*Memorial hist. esp.*, vol. XI).
[4] Ed. A. G. de Amezúa, 1923 (*Biblióf. Esp.*, vol. 42).

Timoneda, a shrewd collector and a keen man of business, published several anthologies, such as the *Rosas de romances*, in four parts (*Rosa de amores, Rosa española, Rosa gentil, Rosa real*, all 1573; cf. p. 175), which bring together many ballads, some old, some original, and edited several *Cancioneros* (*Billete de amor*, ca. 1565, containing *canciones*, a *villancico*, tiercets, *coplas; Dechado de colores, Enredo de amor, Guisadillo de amor*, all undated; *El truhanesco*, 1573). Timoneda, it is clear, could make his bookshop show a profit by his personal production.

Andrés Rey de Artieda (1549–1613) [1] was a native of Valencia, spent part of his life there, and there he died, so that he belongs properly in the Valencian group. Like Cervantes, he was wounded at Lepanto, but, more fortunate if not more brave than he, reached the rank of captain during his forty-seven years of service, which did not prevent him from gaining the degree of doctor *in utroque jure. Los amantes* (1581) is his only extant drama; the traditional theme was treated some thirty years later by Yagüe de Salas (p. 251). Bibliographers mention titles of lost plays: *El príncipe vicioso, Amadís de Gaula;* and Rojas in *El viaje entretenido* alludes to his *Encantos de Merlín.* It is not easy to know whether Artieda's slurring allusions to Lope de Vega were due to differences of opinion or jealousy, but his *Epístola al Marqués de Cuéllar sobre la comedia* leaves no doubt about his feeling. The *Discursos, epístolas y epígramas de Artemidoro* (Saragossa, 1605) is a selection of his random poems, some of which serve as interesting documents for contemporary manners. Others are the lyrics which as early as 1585 (*La Galatea, Canto de Calíope*) had won him a place among Spain's good poets. One sonnet "*Como a su parecer la bruja vuela . . .*" enjoys relative fame.

A second Valencian captain, **Cristóbal de Virués** (1550–1609?) [2] has already been noticed as an epic poet (p. 242). He was also a lyric and tragic poet (*Obras trágicas y líricas*, 1609). As a dramatist, he boasted of having been the first to fix the number of acts of the *Comedia* at three, and his friend Lope de Vega admitted his claim to this innovation, which became the rule.[1] His five dramas, written perhaps between 1580 and 1586, *La cruel Casandra, La infelice Marcela, Atila furioso, La gran Semíramis* and *Elisa Dido*, are however scarcely of the true type of *Comedia*, especially the classical *Elisa Dido*, the best of them, which is in five acts with choruses. The rest are wild extravaganzas, woven of horrors and incredible events. Violent deaths multiply in fearful fashion beneath the pen of this bloodthirsty captain. Some descriptive and satirical poems of Virués are still cited, such as his amusing letter to his brother on crossing the St. Gotthard Pass (June 17, 1605).[2]

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[1] *Los amantes*, ed. F. Carreres y Vallo, Valencia, 1908, with essay on life and works by F. Martí Grajales. *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXV and XLII.—See E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Sobre el origen y desarrollo de la leyenda de Los amantes de Teruel*, 2nd ed., 1907. F. Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos datos biográficos*, 1923, 489–494.

[2] *La gran Semíramis*, London, 1858.—See E. von Münch-Bellinghausen, *Virués' Leben und Werke*, in *Jahrbuch f. rom. und engl. Lit.*, II, 1860, 139–163. F. Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos datos biográficos*, 1923, 443–444.

The Valencian canon **Francisco Agustín Tárrega** (1555?–1602) [3] a friend of Lope de Vega, was writing for the stage at the moment when that genius was rising to its supremacy. Cervantes speaks of him (*Don Quijote*, I, 48), and praises his heroic drama *La enemiga favorable;* it is in three acts, preceded by a *Loa in Praise of Homely Women* and the *Baile de Leganitos*, a jolly curtain-raiser. *La fundación de la Orden de la Merced por el rey D. Jaime* is a religious play much like Cervantes's *El rufián dichoso*, or some of Calderón's *comedias de santos.* This play and two others (*El cerco de Pavía, La duquesa constante*) are included in a collection (*Norte de la poesía española*, Valencia, 1616) with four pieces by Aguilar, four by Ricardo de Turia and one by Boyl. A similar earlier collection (*Doce comedias famosas de cuatro poetas naturales de Valencia*, Valencia, 1608) contained, beside work by Aguilar, Guillén de Castro and Beneito, six *comedias* of Tárrega (*El prado de Valencia*, a comedy of Valencian manners, *El esposo fingido, El cerco de Rodas, La perseguida Amaltea, La sangre leal de los montañeses de Navarra, Las suertes trocadas y torneo venturoso*).

Gaspar (Honorat) Aguilar (1561–1623),[4] besides lyrics and topical poems (*Fiestas nupciales del rey don Felipe III*, 1599; *Fiestas por la beatificación del Santo Fray Luis Beltrán*, 1608; *Expulsión de los moros de España*, 1610; etc.), wrote some nine *comedias*, preceded by *loas*. The most esteemed is *El mercader amante* (in the *Norte de la poesía española*, 1616); *La suerte sin esperanza* is an absurd medley of improbable adventures. Others are *Los amantes de Cartago, La gitana melancólica, La nuera humilde, La fuerza del interés*, and *El gran Patriarca Don Juan de Ribera.*

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[1] [Virués's claim was made in the prologue to *La gran Semíramis;* the passage from Lope is in the *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias.* Although there were actually at least three plays in three acts before 1580, it seems likely that Virués deserves most credit. See S. G. Morley, *op. cit.*, 522, notes 3 and 4.]

[2] Böhl de Faber, *Floresta de rimas antiguas*, III, Hamburg, 1825, no. 772.

[3] *Comedias* (four) ed. Mesonero Romanos, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLIII. *Los moriscos de Hornachos*, ed. Caroline B. Bourland, in *Mod. Philol.*, I, 1903, 547–562 and II, 1904, 77–96.—See J. Serrano Cañete, *El Canónigo Francisco-Agustín T.*, Valencia, 1889.

[4] *Comedias* (three), ed. Mesonero Romanos, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLIII. *Poesías*, ed. E. Mele, in *Bull. Hisp.*, III, 1901, 330–335. *Fiestas nupciales de Felipe II*, ed. F. Martí Grajales (with biographical notice), Valencia, 1910.—See Gallardo, *Ensayo*, I, cols. 39–48. Henri Mérimée, *Sur la biographie de G. A.*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, VIII, 1906, 393–396.

The most exact testimony concerning poetic activities in Valencia is to be found in the minutes of the *Academia de los Nocturnos*,[1] from October 4, 1591 to April 13, 1594; they contain many compositions of all sorts. In them mention is often made of **Carlos Boyl** (1577–1617),[2] of whom but one play, though that is excellent, is known, *El marido asegurado* (1616). He founded, shortly before 1600, a second Academy, that of the *Adorantes*. A sword-thrust from an unknown hand cut his life short. **Ricardo de Turia** was the pseudonym adopted by a Valencian lawyer and counselor, Pedro Juan Rejaule y Toledo (1578?–after 1638),[3] praised under his right name by Cervantes (*Viaje del Parnaso*); he published four *comedias* in the *Norte de la poesía española* (1616) and a *Discurso apologético sobre el juicio de las comedias.* The titles of the plays are: *La burladora burlada, La bellígera española, El triunfante martirio de San Vicente* and *La fe pagada.*

Of **Miguel Beneito** (d. 1600?),[4] a member of the *Academia de los Nocturnos*, only one play is known, *El hijo obediente* (1608).

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[1] Published in part by Salvá (*Catálogo*, I, 52–82). New edition revised and continued by F. Martí Grajales, 4 vols., Valencia, 1905–1906–1912. In this connection it may be noted that Academies of the type of the *Nocturnos* became numerous during the 17th century. Thus, Saragossa had one *de los Anhelantes* and one *de la Pítima;* Toledo, *del Conde de Mora;* Seville, *de Pacheco, de Torre, de Juan de Arguijo;* Madrid, *La Imitatoria, de Saldaña, La Selvage* and *La Mantuana.* This society and salon literature, fashioned after Italy, served as a stimulus rather than a check to the development of bad taste. But at least their minutes and résumés, when they are preserved, supply the place of our modern literary reviews. See J. Hazañas y la Rúa, *Noticia de las Academias . . . de los siglos XVII y XVIII*, Sevilla, 1888.

[2] *El marido asegurado*, ed. Mesonero, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLIII.—See Henri Mérimée, *Un romance de C. B.*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, VIII, 1906, 163–171.

[3] *La burladora burlada*, ed. Mesonero, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLIII. *Apologético de las comedias españolas*, ed. A. F. von Schack, in his *Geschichte der dram. Lit. und Kunst in Spanien*, 2nd ed., 1854, *Nachtrage*, 52–55. *Id.*, ed. Mesonero, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLIII. *Id.*, ed. A. Morel-Fatio, in *Bull. Hisp.*, IV, 1902, 44–51.

[4] See F. Martí Grajales, in *Canc. de la Acad. de los Nocturnos*, IV, 1912, 149–162.

4. The most famous dramatist of the Valencian group is **Guillén de Castro y Bellvís** (1569–1631).[1] He began with exercises read before the *Academia de los Nocturnos* (1592–1594), in which his name was *Secreto.* By 1600 his repute as a writer was considerable. In 1593 he was in charge of a company of the militia which defended the coast against pirates (*capitán de caballos de la costa*). By 1604 he had left Valencia, possibly as a result of romantic adventures. D. Juan Alonso Pimentel, Count of Benavente and Viceroy of Naples from 1603 to 1609, appointed him, June 1, 1607, governor of Scigliano, a fortress in upper Calabria. He wrote a number of poems at this time, but in 1609 he was back in Valencia, where he founded, in 1616, the short-lived *Academia de los Montañeses del Parnaso.* From 1619 on, his life was spent in Madrid, save for a few trips to Valencia. His literary patron was the Marquis of Peñafiel, of the Osuna family. In 1623 he was made a Knight of the Order of Santiago. He was twice married, once in 1595, and the second time in 1626. He died at Madrid July 28, 1631, in poverty, if not in extreme destitution, as has wrongly been supposed.

The best of Castro's dramatic works are contained in two volumes of twelve *comedias* each. The first appeared, with Castro's authorization, in 1618, and the second in 1625. In the "notice to the reader" of the latter, he stated that an earlier, unauthorized volume had appeared, with twelve of his *comedias;* it is not extant, but has been assigned to about the year 1614. Other plays exist in manuscripts, odd collections, or single prints; their total number, including some of doubtful attribution, is more than fifty. Among the most famous, first rank belongs to the *Mocedades del Cid* and its sequel, *Las hazañas del Cid*, based almost exclusively on ballads, old or recent. The former has received world-wide attention as the direct source of Corneille's *Le Cid.* Then come *El Conde Alarcos* and *El Conde Dirlos,* in which Castro continued to utilize popular ballads; *Los mal casados de Valencia* (*The Ill-Matched Couple of Valencia*), which has been thought, perhaps without reason, to contain allusions to the author's private life; *El curioso impertinente, La fuerza de la sangre* and *Don Quijote de la Mancha* (episode of Fernando and Dorotea), three plots taken from Cervantes; *La justicia en la piedad, El Narciso en su opinión,* the model for Moreto's *El lindo don Diego,* and *Ingratitud por amor.*

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[1] *Obras*, ed. E. Juliá Martínez, vol. I, 1925. *Comedias* (seven) ed. Mesonero Romanos, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLIII. *Las mocedades del Cid* and *Las hazañas del Cid*, ed. W. Foerster, Bonn, 1878; ed. V. Saíd Armesto, 1913 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 15). *Las mocedades del Cid*, ed. E. Mérimée, Toulouse, 1890. Ed. E. Lacroix, Paris, 1897. *El tao de San Antón* and *El renegado arrepentido*, ed. A. Schaeffer, in *Ocho comedias desconocidas*, Leipzig, 1887. *Ingratitud por amor*, ed. H. A. Rennert, Phila., 1899. *El pobre honrado*, ed. M. Serrano y Sanz, in *Bull. Hisp.*, IV, 1902, 219–246, 305–341. *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. Lo Rat-Penat, Valencia, 1905, with portrait (?) of Castro by Juan Ribalta. *El curioso impertinente*, ed. F. Martínez, Valencia, 1908. *El ayo de su hijo*, ed. H. Mérimée, Bordeaux, 1909. *Quien malas mañas ha tarde o nunca las perderá*, ed. E. Juliá Martínez, 1916. *La tragedia por los celos*, ed. H. Alpern, Paris, 1926.—See F. Martí Grajales, in *Canc. de la Acad. de los Nocturnos*, III, 1906, 119–188. H. Mérimée, *Pour la biographie de don G. de C.*, Montpellier, 1907. C. Pérez Pastor, in *Bibliografía madril.*, III, 344–362. Barbara Matulka, *The Cid as a Courtly Hero from the Amadís to Corneille*, N. Y., 1928.

Castro admired Lope de Vega and deliberately imitated him. His theory of dramatic art was based exclusively on the national popular taste, and in his general choice of themes, disposition of the plot and use of meters, he shows slight divergence from his model. His charm is less and his energy greater, but with him energy quickly lapses into brutality. Although he occasionally essayed comedy, in the main his peculiar bent is to be found in his fondness for dramatic situations, violent emotions, astounding adventures and intricate plots, set forth in a style of subtle preciosity. Fame is assured him from the two admirable dramas on the story of the Cid.

Since we have traced nearly to its goal the formation of the *Comedia española,* we must hasten to the man who personifies it more intimately than any other, to Lope de Vega. But first it is necessary to mention one or two dramatists who groped in various directions before Lope fixed the form.

Jerónimo Bermúdez (1530?–1599?) [1] was a Galician, a Dominican and a professor of theology at the University of Salamanca. He published at Madrid (1577) two tragedies, *Primeras tragedias españolas,* as he calls them, on the woes and posthumous triumph of Inés de Castro. The first, *Nise lastimosa,* is hardly more than a translation from *Inés de Castro* of the Portuguese Antonio Ferreira (1528–1569); it is therefore a play of merit. The sequel, *Nise laureada,* is original, and a wearisome tissue of horrors. Both were modeled on strictly classic lines, in five acts with choruses.

The characterization of him as *Divino* (an adjective sadly overworked in those days, it is true) and the hyperbolic praise of his contemporaries make one regret the loss of nearly all the works of **Miguel Sánchez Requejo** (d. after 1620),[1] perhaps of Valladolid. His mock-ballad of Gaiferos (quoted in the *Quijote*, II, 26), the *Silvas del inocente cordero* (1605), and two plays, *La guarda cuidadosa* (1615) and *La isla bárbara* (1638), can convey only a faint notion of this poet. His life is for us almost a blank; he was already writing in the last decade of the 16th century. His extant authentic work is of high quality.

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[1] *Nise lastimosa* and *Nise laureada,* ed. López de Sedano, in *Parnaso esp.,* VI, 1772. Ed. Eug. de Ochoa, in *Tesoro del teatro esp.,* I, Paris, 1838.—See J. P. W. Crawford, *The Influence of Seneca's Tragedies upon Ferreira's Castro and Gerónimo Bermúdez's Nise lastimosa and Nise laureada,* in *Mod. Philol.,* XII, 1914, 171–186.

The importance of the plays of Cervantes in the history of the Spanish drama has already been pointed out. The tragedies of **Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola** (p. 235), *La Isabela*, *La Alejandra*, presumably the lost *Filis*, mark, like those of Bermúdez, a current of approximation to the classic type. If we are to take Cervantes's statements seriously (*Quijote*, I, 48), the Argensola plays enjoyed tremendous success about 1585, but they were at once lost sight of, and when Sedano, in 1772, printed two of them, they appeared extravagant and cold. They employ choruses, and, though published in three acts, were originally written in four. They are full of melodramatic complications.

Among Lope's immediate predecessors was also **Juan de Quirós y Toledo** (d. 1606), *jurado* of Toledo, of whom there is preserved a play in three acts, mostly in *redondillas*, *La famosa Toledana*, dated 1591.[2] It was successful in its day.

II. THE TRIUMPH OF THE *COMEDIA*

5. Lope de Vega (1562–1635)

Life [3]

Lope Félix de Vega Carpio was born Nov. 25, 1562, at Madrid, of a family that came from the Valley of Carriedo, in the Asturian

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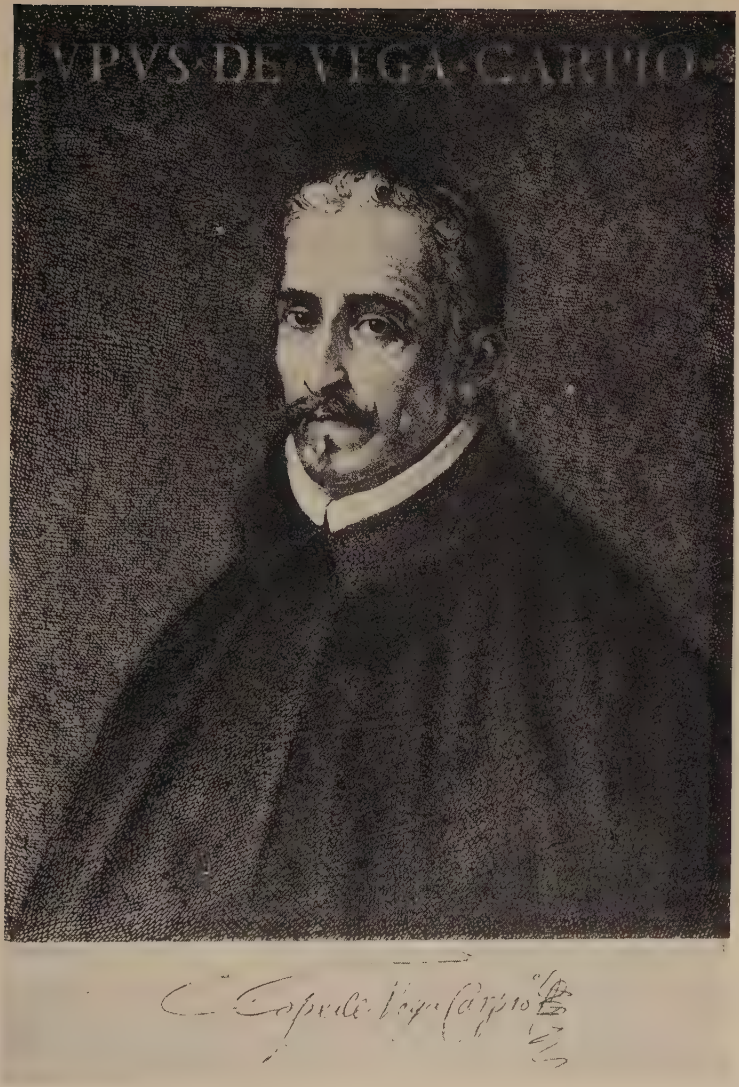
[1] *La guarda cuidadosa*, ed. Mesonero, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLIII. *La isla bárbara* and *La guarda cuidadosa*, ed. H. A. Rennert, Boston, 1896. *Romance de Gaiferos*, in Durán, *Romancero general*, I, no. 378. *Silvas del inocente Cordero* (=*Canción a Cristo crucificado*) in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXV, 292 and XLII, 39 (different texts). —See J. D. Fitz-Gerald, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIII, 1898, 100–108. N. Alonso Cortés, in *Miscelánea vallisoletana*, 3ª serie, Valladolid, 1921, 123–131. [The last-named scholar doubts that *La isla bárbara* is properly attributed to Sánchez Requejo.]

[2] Ed. Rachel Alcock, with study of the author, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XLI, 1917, 336–562. A *jurado* was a member of one of the two governing bodies of the city of Toledo, the other being that of the *regidores*.

[3] C. A. de la Barrera, *Nueva biografía de L. de V.*, 1890 (vol. 1 of *Obras*, ed. R. Acad. Esp.). H. A. Rennert, *The Life of L. de V.*, Glasgow–London–Phila., 1904; revised as: H. A. Rennert y Américo Castro, *Vida de L. de V.*, 1919. A. Castro, *Alusiones a Micaela Luján en las obras de L. de V.*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, V, 1918,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Lope de Vega Carpio

LOPE DE VEGA CARPIO

Engraving by Maura after a painting by Luis Tristán
in The Hermitage, Leningrad

Montaña. His people liked to be thought noble, but in reality his father Felices or Félix (d. 1578) was by trade an embroiderer (*bordador*). Lope was an extraordinarily precocious child. His studies, carried on, probably, at the Jesuit *Colegio Imperial,* were interrupted by an adventurous flight with a comrade to Segovia and Astorga. At the age of twelve, if we are to take his own words literally, he wrote a play, *El verdadero amante,* which would indicate a competence in poetry, and even in gallantry, far beyond his years. The thing is not impossible, but there is good reason to believe that the play, as we have it, had undergone much retouching. As for *Los hechos de Garcilaso de la Vega y moro Tarfe,* the only *comedia* in four acts by Lope that remains, it is no masterpiece, but if it was really written " at the age of eleven or twelve," (*Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*) the author well deserves the name of prodigy. He entered the service of the Bishop of Ávila, Jerónimo Manrique, and attended the University of Alcalá (1577–1582?), though his name has not been found on its roll. It must have been soon after leaving Alcalá that he took part in the naval expedition against the Portuguese in Terceira (1583). Back in Madrid, he entered the service of Don Pedro Dávila, Marqués de las Navas (1583–1588). It was then, or perhaps before the Terceira expedition, that he formed his connection with Elena Osorio, the *Dorotea* of the dialogued novel of that name, *Filis* in Lope's verse. She was the daughter of Jerónimo Velázquez, *autor* or manager of a troupe of players, and wife of an actor, Cristóbal Calderón. After she left him for another, Lope wrote violent satires against the Velázquez family, was tried for criminal libel, found guilty and sentenced (Feb. 7, 1588) to eight years of exile from Madrid and two from Castile. In 1595 Velázquez asked that the remaining time of exile be remitted. Lope chose to serve the second part of the sentence first, and in Valencia. Yet at some time before May 10, 1588, he was able to elope with Isabel de Urbina (*Belisa*), daughter of a king-at-arms, for on that date he was married to her by proxy, after having been threatened with trial for abduction. Immediately (May 29) he embarked upon the galleon *San Juan* of the Invin-

256–292. J. Millé y Giménez, *L. de V. en 'La Armada Invencible,'* in *Rev. Hisp.*, LVI, 1922, 356–395. F. A. de Icaza, *L. de V., sus amores y sus odios*, Segovia, n. d. F. Rodríguez Marín, in *Nuevos datos*, 1923, 69, 474–481, 512–513. E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Sobre quien fuese el raptor de la hija de L. de V.*, in *Rev. de la Bibl. Arch. y Museo*, III, 1926, 1–19.

cible Armada, found time on board to write *La hermosura de Angélica,* and came back alive, though his brother was killed. After a stay in Valencia to complete his exile from Castile, he entered the service of Antonio, Duke of Alba, in Alba de Tormes (1590–1595), and there he wrote *La Arcadia.* His wife Isabel died in 1595. He came to Madrid and became the secretary of the Marquis of Malpica, and then of the Marquis of Sarria, later Count of Lemos. Meanwhile, he formed a liaison with the actress Micaela de Luján (*Camila Lucinda*), by whom he had Marcela del Carpio (1605–1688), who in 1621 became a Trinitarian nun, Lope Félix del Carpio y Luján (1607–1634), and five more children. In 1598 he contracted a second marriage with Juana de Guardo, the well dowered daughter of a rich butcher. The pair had several children, among them Carlos Félix (1606–1612) and Feliciana (1613–1657), whose birth cost the mother her life. Feliciana married Luis de Usátegui in 1633. Lope was again in Valencia in 1599, for the double wedding *fiestas* of Philip III and his sister Princess Isabel; in Seville (1603); in Toledo almost steadily from 1604 till September, 1610;[1] then he settled in Madrid.

In 1609 he first called himself "Familiar of the Holy Office of the Inquisition," a purely honorary title. In the same year he joined the Congregation of Slaves of the Holy Sacrament, in the Oratorio del Caballero de Gracia, in 1610 the Oratorio de la Calle del Olivar,[2] in 1611 the Third Order of St. Francis, and was ordained priest in 1614. In 1615 he made a trip to Irún on the occasion of the double marriage of Anne of Austria to Louis XIII and of Isabelle of Bourbon to the future Philip IV of Spain. Lope's letters to his noble friend, and at times accomplice, the Duke of Sessa reveal that in spite of his age and his ecclesiastical garb he had by no means renounced his gallant intrigues. His liaison with Marta de Nevares Santoya (*Amarilis, Marcia Leonarda*) dates from 1616; she died in 1632, after a period of blindness. Lope continued up to his last days, which were embittered by severe family trials, to astonish the world with his literary productivity. He died August 27, 1635, at the age of seventy-three, and his funeral was worthy of royalty.

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[1] He had visited Toledo frequently before. Two of his children, Marcela and Carlos Félix, were born there, and the scene of many of his plays is laid there.

[2] These *Cofradías* were more like fashionable or middle-class clubs than religious bodies. See A. Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne du Don Quijote,* p. 162.

Such was Lope de Vega's life, a disconcerting mixture of romantic adventure, violent passion and domestic virtue. Certainly there is no unity in it. Who, knowing only the first part of his incoherent existence, would have predicted that this man could be the tender father of Marcela and *Lopito,* the peaceable bourgeois who limited his horizon to his little garden in the Calle de Francos, the priest trembling with fervor as he raised the Host, or the penitent who scourged himself till the walls of his room were flecked with blood? And how, on the other hand, could one discover beneath the ascetic a brilliant cavalier, duellist, exile, soldier of the Armada, a Don Juan the list of whose conquests almost rivals that of his plays? In this double aspect, Lope is the perfect type of his period, chivalric and mystical at the same time, gallant and pious, passionate and fickle. He experienced in turn, or even simultaneously, all the emotions known to men of his day; he lived many lives, and for that reason, doubtless, he was able to depict more completely than others the eternal human tragi-comedy.

Works

First of all, Lope's production is amazing in its copiousness; his *case* is truly that of a prodigy (*monstruo*). His non-dramatic works form twenty-one volumes;[1] his extant dramas number more than four hundred, and yet most of them are lost. He boasted that he had averaged five *cuadernos* (twenty sheets) a day all his life, and that he had written "more than a hundred *comedias* in twenty-four hours each." This tremendous improviser was preëminently a poet, but he left extensive writings in prose: *Novelas a la señora*

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[1] *Colección de las obras sueltas, así en prosa como en verso*, ed. Cerdá y Rico, 1776–1779 (the last two vols. contain Montalván's *Fama póstuma*, and *Índices*). *Obras no dramáticas*, ed. Rosell, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXVIII. *Novelas a la señora Marcia Leonarda*, ed. J. D. and L. A. Fitz-Gerald, Erlangen, 1913. *La Dorotea*, ed. Américo Castro, 1913. *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.: Romances* in vols. X and XVI; religious poems in XXXV; profane lyrics in XXXVIII; others in XXXVI and XLII. *Poésies de L. de V., en partie inédites*, ed. E. Mele, in *Bull. Hisp.*, III, 1901, 348–364. *Some Unpublished Verses of L. de V.*, ed. J. P. W. Crawford, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XIX, 1908, 455–465. *Poesías líricas*, ed. J. F. Montesinos, 2 vols., 1925–1926 (*Clásicos cast.*, vols. 68 and 75). *La Égloga Antonia*, ed. M. Machado, in *Rev. Bibl. Arch. y Museo*, I, 1924, 458–492.—See J. M. de Cossío, *Las rimas del licenciado Tomé de Burguillos*, in *Bol. Bibl. Menéndez y Pelayo*, III, 1921, 321–330. A. Huarte, *L. de V. y Tomé de Burguillos*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, IX, 1922, 171–178. G. Cirot, *La valeur littéraire des nouvelles de L. de V.*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXVIII, 1926, 321–355. A. Restori, *I Sonetti di L. de V.*, in *Arch. Rom.*, XI, 1927, 384–391. Juan Millé y Giménez, *Apuntes para una bibliografía de las obras no dramáticas atribuidas a L. de V.*, in *Revue Hisp.*, LXXIV, 1928, 345–572.

Marcia Leonarda (*Las fortunas de Diana*, 1621; *El desdichado por la honra, La más prudente venganza, Guzmán el bravo*, 1624), which are rather pleasant reading, *La Arcadia, El peregrino en su patria* and *La Dorotea*, not to mention many accounts of festivals and *certámenes*.[1] As lyric poet, he touched every string in the lyre and composed in every branch, serious and light: *letrillas, romances*, eclogues, *canciones*, odes, elegies, sonnets by the hundred, *Rimas* (1602), a whole volume of *Rimas sacras* (1614), and the *Rimas humanas y divinas del licenciado Tomé de Burguillos* (1634). Of Lope as didactic and epic poet mention has already been made (p. 254, pp. 243, 246, 252), without exhausting the list of his productions in those two categories.

But Lope the dramatic poet overshadows all the other Lopes.[2] In 1603 the list of his *comedias* came to 219; in 1609, to 483; in

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[1] Some of these were in verse, as the *Fiestas de Denia* (1599).

[2] *Comedias escogidas* (110 and *La Dorotea*), ed. J. E. Hartzenbusch, 4 vols., *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXIV, XXXIV, XLI, LII. *Autos sacramentales*, ed. González Pedroso, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LVIII. *Obras*, ed. R. Acad. Esp. (II–XIII, ed. Menéndez y Pelayo), 15 vols., 1890–1913. *Obras*, ed. R. Acad. Esp., nueva edición (ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori), 6 vols. published, 1916–1928. *Comedias inéditas* (four), ed. Fuensanta del Valle and Sancho Rayón, 1873 (*Libros raros o curiosos*, vol. 6). *Comedias* (*El remedio en la desdicha, El mejor alcalde el rey*), ed. Gómez Ocerin and Tenreiro, 1920 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 39). *El cuerdo loco*, 1922, *La corona merecida*, 1923, *El Marqués de las Navas*, 1925, *El cordobés valeroso, Pedro Carbonero*, 1929, all ed. J. F. Montesinos (*Teatro antiguo esp.*, vols. IV, V, VI, VII). *Sin secreto no hay amor*, ed. H. A. Rennert, Baltimore, 1894 (in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass. Am.*, II, 182–311). *Los Guzmanes de Toral*, ed. A. Restori, Halle, 1899. *Las burlas veras*, ed. S. L. M. Rosenberg, Phila., 1912. *Peribáñez y el Comendador de Ocaña*, ed. A. Bonilla y San Martín, 1916. *La dama boba*, ed. R. Schevill, Berkeley, Calif., 1918. *Fuente Ovejuna*, ed. A. Castro, 1919. *Amar sin saber a quien*, ed. Buchanan and Franzen-Swidelius, N. Y., 1920. *La estrella de Sevilla*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XLVIII, 1920, 497–678. *Id.*, ed. H. Thomas, Oxford, 1924. *Los achaques de Leonor*, ed. L. Pfandl, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LIV, 1922, 347–416. *Ver y no creer*, ed. G. I. Dale, St. Louis, 1923. *Ya anda la de Mazagatos*, ed. S. G. Morley, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXV, 1923 and XXVI, 1924. *El castigo del discreto*, ed. W. L. Fichter, N. Y., 1925. *El castigo sin venganza*, ed. C. F. A. van Dam, Groningen, 1928.—See H. A. Rennert, *Bibliography of the Dramatic Works of L. de V. C.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXXIII, 1915; revised in Rennert y Castro, *Vida de L. de V.*, 1919, 443–530. A. Restori, *Una collezione di commedie di L. de V. C.*, Livorno, 1896. S. G. Morley, *Notes on the Bibliography of L. de V.'s Plays*, in *Mod. Philol.*, XX, 1922, 201–217. A. Restori, reviews of the *Obras*, Acad. ed., in *Zeitschr. f. rom.* Philol., XXII, 1898; XXIII, 1899; XXVI, 1902; XXVIII, 1904; XXIX, 1905; XXX, 1906. A. Farinelli, *Grillparzer und L. de V.*, Berlin, 1894. A. Restori, *Degli autos di L. de V. C.*, Parma 1898. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *L. de V. and Spanish Drama*, Glasgow, 1902. H. A. Rennert, *The Staging of L. de V.'s Comedias*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XV, 1906, 453–485. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios sobre el teatro de L. de V.*, 6 vols., 1919–1927 (reprinted from prefaces to *Obras*, Acad. ed.). M. A. Buchanan, *The Chronology of L. de V.'s Plays*, Toronto, 1922. A. Hämel, *Studien zu L. de V.'s Jugenddramen*, Halle, 1925. W. Ruser, *Roma abrasada, ein echtes Jugenddrama; eine Studie zu L. de V.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXXII, 1928, 325–411.

1618, to 800; in 1621, to 900; in 1625, to 1070; in 1632, to 1500; in 1635, to 1800. If we add to this number the four hundred *autos sacramentales* which Montalván declared he wrote, we should have the incredible sum of 2200 plays, and that without counting *entremeses.*

These impressive figures are not to be taken on faith. The latest and most trustworthy inventory of Lope's dramas lists 723 titles of *comedias,* some of doubtful authenticity, and 426 as comprising Lope's extant and authentic repertory, whether printed or manuscript. Adding to these 42 *autos,* we have a total of 468 pieces. The figure is high, to be sure, but far below the total of titles known, and still farther below the totals named by Lope himself. It cannot be denied that an important portion of Lope's dramatic production has disappeared.

Lope's *comedias* were printed, from 1604 to 1647, in 25 volumes or *Partes,* each containing twelve plays; in odd volumes, called *extravagantes;* in the large composite collections of different authors; and in single prints (*sueltas*).

How can they be classified? Not by types of play, for the designations *comedia, tragicomedia, tragedia,* have no exact delimitation in Lope. The nature of the subject-matter, not external form, must be the basis for a classification. One which omits minor subdivisions is as follows:

I. THREE-ACT PLAYS (*COMEDIAS*)

A. COMEDIAS HUMANAS.

1. Predominantly *historical*
    - *a,* drawn from Spanish history
    - *b,* drawn from foreign history { ancient / modern
    - *c,* of chivalry (themes taken from poems, romances or legends)
2. *Novelesque* or *romantic*
    - *a,* themes taken from Italian *novelle* or Spanish *novelas*
    - *b,* themes of Lope's own invention
3. *Comedias de capa y espada* (intrigue plays of contemporary middle-class or aristocratic manners)
4. *Mythological*
5. *Pastoral*

B. COMEDIAS DIVINAS.

6. *Biblical* (Old and New Testament)
7. *Lives of saints*

II. ONE-ACT PLAYS

8. *Autos*
    a, sacramentales
    b, del Nacimiento
9. *Entremeses*
10. *Loas, coloquios*, etc.

Plainly, this is not the place to take complete account of Lope's stock. Besides, much can be sacrificed with small loss. Thus, the *comedias divinas* can be set aside with no great regret, though the *comedias de santos* alone run to some fifty. And one can do the same with the mythological plays, the pastorals and the secondary types, such as *loas* and *entremeses*. In the last domain, Quiñones de Benavente is the real master, and in the religious drama, Lope de Vega cannot rival Calderón. I confess that for my part I could give up, though with some regret, the pieces taken from chivalric poems of the Middle Ages (*Roland, Renaud, Ogier, Gayferos, Roncevaux, La Belle Maguelonne*, etc.); [1] from Bandello's tales (*La quinta de Florencia, El mayordomo de la Duquesa de Amalfi, Castelvines y Monteses*, etc.); from the *Decameron* (*El halcón de Federigo, El anzuelo de Fenisa, Servir con mala estrella, Llegar en ocasión*); or, finally, from Spanish novels (*La Doncella Teodor, El remedio en la desdicha*, etc.). But even with so many curtailments, Lope's kingdom remains vast enough.

The historical plays (no. 1 of our classification) and the comedies of manners (*de capa y espada*, no. 3) form, in my opinion, the richest and best provinces of this empire. Lope has levied upon universal history and the geography of his entire known world, from Portugal to Bohemia, from France to Turkey, from Morocco to America; this part of his work ought to be accompanied by an atlas and a manual of general history. Naturally, however, it was most often Spanish history which gave him a real inspiration. He was too ignorant of the annals and customs of other nations to draw vivid pictures of them. He even needed a certain historical perspective in order to feel wholly at ease with Spanish themes.

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[1] A. Ludwig, *L. de V.'s Dramen aus dem Karolingischen Sagenkreise*, Berlin, 1898.

The dramas that go back to the heroic age, to the early days of the monarchy, are the most successful in this series. Even there his imagination—one of the most marvelously adaptable ever known to the race—soared at will. He tried to delude himself, and thought sometimes to give his plays local color by imitating archaic language, as in *Las famosas Asturianas.* It is needless to say that the effort resulted merely in a pastiche like Balzac's *Contes drôlatiques.* What Lope did succeed in expressing wonderfully well is not the facts of history but the spirit of national patriotic legends. From these popular traditions he brought into view a certain number of types in which the nation at once recognized itself; and all the more willingly because the portrait bettered the original. Lope did not study history, he did not know it well; but he felt, divined and interpreted it. In that respect he was one of the people, and that is why his art went straight to the soul of the people. Some of the plays which best exemplify this side of Lope are *Los Tellos de Meneses, Peribáñez y el Comendador de Ocaña, Fuente Ovejuna, Lo cierto por lo dudoso, La niña de plata, El mejor alcalde el rey,* and *La estrella de Sevilla* (if it be Lope's).[1]

Lope read extensively, and when he found an authentic document with which to support his poetic invention, he did not hesitate to use it, or even to insert it in his text, as he did in *Las dos bandoleras* with the *privilegio* granted to the *Hermandad vieja* by Alfonso VIII, and its confirmation by Fernando el Santo. But even when he gave rein to pure invention his instinct and feeling for national history almost always saved him from going far astray; he did not paint Spain in colors wholly false. His history may distort facts, but not values. In short, this portion of Lope's work represents for the elder history of Spain what Galdós's *Episodios nacionales* do for more recent events. Many of the semi-historic types which Lope created have remained permanent acquisitions: Enrique III (in *Peribáñe*), Alfonso II the Chaste (in *Los prados de León*), Ramiro II of Aragon (in *La campana de Aragón*), Alfonso VII (in *El mejor*

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[1] [The title *La estrella de Sevilla* is allowed to stand in this section, though it now seems highly probable that Lope did not write the play. See Foulché-Delbosc's edition, already cited (p. 338, n. 2), and A. F. G. Bell, *The Author of 'La Estrella de Sevilla,'* in *Rev. Hisp.*, LIX, 1923, 296–300; and *Who was Cardenio?* in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXIV, 1929, 67–72. The latter indicates an obscure Cordovan writer, Pedro de Cárdenas y Angulo. Sr. Cotarelo y Mori, however, has recently reaffirmed his belief in Lope's authorship (*Rev. Bibl. Arch. y Museo*, VII, 1930, 12–24: "*La E. de S." es de Lope de Vega*).]

alcalde el rey), Sancho IV *el Bravo* (in *La estrella de Sevilla*), Pedro I *el Cruel* (in *El Infanzón de Illescas*), etc.;—petty tyrants of the feudal era, like the Grand Master of Calatrava (*Fuente Ovejuna*), the Commander of Ocaña (*Peribáñez*);—the noble-hearted, independent peasant: Peribáñez, Tello el Viejo (in *Los Tellos de Meneses*), Juan Labrador (*El villano en su rincón*), Crespo (*El alcalde de Zalamea*), Esteban (*Fuente Ovejuna*), etc.;—the woman both heroic and loving (in *Las famosas Asturianas*, *Las doncellas de Simancas*, Doña Sol of *La corona merecida*), etc.

Lope possessed in high degree one rare talent: he sensed and understood the psychology of the mob. In certain scenes of *Fuente Ovejuna* and *The Judges of Castile* [1] the real protagonist is the people, turning against its tyrants. In that Lope resembles Shakespeare; and, like him, he knew how to provoke the tragic thrill. Nothing is more "Shakespearian" than the final scene of *El casamiento en la muerte*, where the bastard Bernardo del Carpio, finding his father dead and his mother in a convent, drags the latter to the body, joins their hands, makes the old Count's head bow in sign of consent, and marries them in the sight of all, to legitimize his birth.

But the great characteristic of Lope's drama is popular, national inspiration. It is to be felt everywhere, whether he drew from the chronicles (especially that of Ocampo, 1541), the *Romancero*, or even from peasant *coplas*. Often a song born of the furrows, a *serranilla, a seguidilla*, a mere proverb, provided Lope with foundation enough to construct a whole play (*El caballero de Olmedo*, *El vaquero de Moraña*, *La aldegüela*, *El sol parado*, *El galán de la Membrilla*, *Peribáñez*, *Los Comendadores de Córdoba*, etc.). No one has felt more keenly than Lope the naïve charm of genuine rustic poetry, and no one has better reproduced its freshness. Without effort and without clash he joined idyll to drama; he brought the muse of the fields into the tragic chorus, and the mingling has the rich flavor of the unexpected. "Never," says Menéndez y Pelayo, "has rustic poetry, the true Castilian eclogue, fragrant with clover and verbena, appeared with such freshness, grace and charm as in this work [*Peribáñez*]." Here too his followers tried to imitate him (Rojas in *García del Castañar;* Vélez de

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[1] [Lope's play, *Los jueces de Castilla*, has been lost, but Moreto's of that title is thought to follow it closely.]

Guevara in *La luna de la sierra;* and many more); but he remained inimitable.

Among the *novelesque* dramas, in which fiction occupies a larger place than history, *La estrella de Sevilla, El castigo sin venganza, El caballero de Olmedo, La niña de plata, Dineros son calidad, El guante de doña Blanca, Pobreza no es vileza,* are among the most justly famous.

Yet it is in the *comedia de capa y espada* that Lope is altogether himself. This is the national comedy, of a purely Spanish type. It depicts contemporary manners of the middle classes (frequently idealized) by means of an intrigue (*enredo*) usually complicated and romantic, and relies for interest more upon an ingenious succession of unexpected turns rather than upon philosophical study of characters or exact realism. Mistaken identities, disguises, substitutions of one person for another, meeting of the long lost, delayed dénouement, parody of the principal action by one or several pairs of servants (*graciosos*), description of familiar scenes and landscapes, insertion of popular poetry: these are the familiar elements and methods of this *comedia.* Taken as a whole it furnishes a vivid, picturesque and complete picture of Spanish life in Madrid, Toledo, Valencia, Seville and the other urban centers.[1] All that curious society lives again with incomparable clearness and charm. *Las flores de D. Juan, El anzuelo de Fenisa, El acero de Madrid, El perro del hortelano, La noche toledana* are finished examples of Lope's plots. What rich invention he displayed in *Los ramilletes de Madrid, La boba para los otros y discreta para sí, Los milagros del desprecio, Las bizarrías de Belisa, El premio del bien hablar, Por la puente, Juana, La noche de San Juan, La moza de cántaro, El dómine Lucas,* and a score more!

The characters are too often superficially observed and sketchy, but at least they are extremely varied. How many different nuances of fathers, lovers, servants, soldiers, peasants, coquettish mothers [2] and clever daughters, bold and enterprising! Lope shows far greater variety in the depiction of female character than either Tirso or Calderón. The latter paints women as proud, the former as independent, but Lope reveals them passionate, delicate and surprising. They sacrifice all to love; passion excuses all.

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[1] [There are very divergent views concerning the faithfulness with which the *comedia* reflects actual life. For a survey of them see A. Castro, *Tirso de Molina,* 1922 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 2), pp. x–xliv. Cf. also *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, XV, 1928, 182–186.]

[2] [Yet the almost total absence of the mother from the *comedia* has often been noted.]

Comedy of *character*, as we understand it today, is rare in Lope, but not wholly wanting (*El desconfiado*, *La discreta enamorada*, *Los melindres de Belisa*, *La viuda valenciana*, *El anzuelo de Fenisa*, admirable studies of the bluestocking, *précieuse*, courtesan, etc.).

Lope's facility of invention is truly marvelous. Even taking into account his repetition of themes, he created plots enough to fit out all the literatures of Europe; and, in fact, they did all come to dig from his inexhaustible mine. He had such a theater-sense that everything he touched took on life, motion and the illusion of reality, with all its complexity, diverting or disturbing. There is never a suspicion of fatigue, effort or exhaustion. On the contrary, as his career progressed he lost none of his youthful qualities and gained others. He was able to preserve the same grace and freshness of imagination, while his thought became more vigorous and simple.

His style, with all its carelessness and traces of improvisation, is nearly always a marvel of elegance, grace and appropriateness. He does at times yield too much to conceptism, but a perceptible irony usually corrects this almost obligatory sacrifice to the prevailing taste. Lope, who had read so widely and written so much, seemed in his plays to forget everything except the spectators of the parterre, the seatless mob that cares more for action than fine style; he was first of all a man of the theater. And yet he practised every finesse in the art of right speech; he bent words and meters to his whim. His versification despised nothing. All the Spanish and Italian forms of verse, *liras*, *redondillas*, *décimas*, *quintillas*, *romance*, sonnets,[1] octaves, tiercets, are used in turn, according to certain conventions and laws which may appear to us debatable, but which he was the first to formulate clearly.[2] What variety, what charm in the supple pattern of the metrical schemes! How far it is from the uniform leaden pounding (*martilleo*) of the French Alexandrine!

In short, the *Comedia española*,[3] that typical original creation, *is*

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[1] Ant. Restori, *I Sonetti di L. de V.*, in *Arch. Romanicum*, XI, 1927, 384–391.

[2] [In the *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*. But Lope did not always observe his own rules. Nor do all critics share M. Mérimée's admiration for the varied metrical system. Morel-Fatio (cf. next note) considered it a chief point of weakness of the *comedia*.]

[3] A. Morel-Fatio, *La comedia espagnole du XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1885; 2nd ed., 1923.

Lope de Vega. As he left it, so it remained; he marked it forever with his stamp, and so indelibly that for nearly two hundred years none thought to essay a new departure. That fact is more amazing than his extraordinary fecundity. The latter may be explained by exceptional talent, to be sure, but also by the fact that both author and audience were easily satisfied; for both accepted without protest the perpetual working over of the same themes, and identical stylistic artifices repeated *ad infinitum;* in a word, the admitted and intentional mediocrity of an enormous portion of this production. Until men judge writings by their weight, the size of Lope's output will remain a matter of indifference. But the interesting point is the absolute conformity of taste between the artist and the society in which he was born, the sympathy at once established between them, thanks to which the latter recognized in the former one of the most perfect representatives of the genius of the race.

And yet, when we consider the facts closely, this creator created nothing; this father of the *Comedia* did scarcely more than confer his name upon it. There is not one of the elements of Lope's drama which cannot be found in his predecessors or his rivals. The mingling of tragedy and comedy existed not only in the drama of other nations, but in most of the Spanish dramatists before Lope. The *gracioso,* who was an indispensable figure in the *Comedia,* is found in Torres Naharro and Rueda under the name of *simple* or *bobo.* All the themes treated before Lope, from the beginning of the 16th century till the moment when he "made himself monarch of the stage," [1] can with the utmost ease be made to fit the different categories of his work. Neither is the external dress of his dramatic imaginings his own creation. He did not invent any verse or strophe that cannot be found in some one of his predecessors; he was not even the first to divide the play into three acts.

But for all that it is highly probable that dramatic art, wavering in its course up to that moment, would speedily have exhausted its force had Lope not come to give it permanence and consecrate it by the brilliance of his genius. With all the reserves one may make, the fact remains that of the work done by his forerunners only that which Lope selected has borne fruit; what he rejected quickly disappeared.

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[1] "alzóse con la monarquía cómica." Cervantes, *Prólogo al lector, Ocho comedias.*

There is another point to note: Lope himself seems rather to follow than to incite the movement which drew all Spanish playwrights toward a certain form of art. Make no mistake: for him and for the great majority of his rivals and cultured contemporaries, the *Comedia was outside the domain of art*, as it was beyond the pale of law. For them it was an inferior theatrical form, exclusively popular, destined solely to satisfy as best it might the taste of an ignorant mob that had few scruples as to the means employed. In many respects (improvisation, fixity of "masks," etc.), this *Comedia without art* is the exact equivalent of what the Italians of the same period were calling *Commedia dell' arte*. These are the elements which its public never wearied of and never ceased to demand: motion, quick succession of romantic incidents, surprises, abrupt turns brought about by chance or caprice, not logic; repetition of the same intrigues and the same characters, or better of the same types reproduced over and over. Psychology, truth, style, artistic composition, deep emotion, delicate sentiment,—for these the public cared not a whit. What then should a playwright do? Why, flatter its tastes and whims as though it were a spoiled child; tell the same old tales over and over again, since they amuse it; work the same puppets, pull the same strings. That job required no genius, nor even talent; a certain sleight of hand answered the same purpose and produced identical results. A hundred and fifty years later the public applauded still with equal enthusiasm and *for the same reasons*, the plays of Lope and the plays of Comella. And since it was always the same thing over and over, poetasters found no difficulty at all in reproducing everlastingly the same three or four types fixed once for all, *ne varientur*. That is the secret of the astonishing overproduction and quantity manufacture; it is the reason also for the authors' humble attitude, their excuses directed to the *inteligentes* and *científicos*, their disdain, sometimes sincere, for the products of the industry, which flooded their own and even foreign markets. The same fact explains their indifference toward plagiarism, counterfeiting and stealing another's name.

Listen to Lope himself: he is the first to protest against the vile durance he is under, which does not allow him, he vows, to follow his personal taste and the sage precepts of reason. With violent insults he sets forth a critique of the *New Art of Writing Comedias*. This idol of the mob has only mockery for the *vulgo necio* which persists in applauding him and does not like a properly made play. He agrees entirely with the cultured, and invokes against himself the authority of Aristotle and the pedants who travestied him in their commentaries. He is well convinced that his own production remains outside the rules of art, and that it has no value in the sight of nice judges. *Video meliora proboque, Deteriora sequor:* those two hemistichs sum up his whole theory.

Perhaps he really did glimpse all that the "new art" lacked in comparison with the art of the ancients. Not to speak of its form, which was nearly always pure improvisation with all which that implies in the way of weak spots, inexactness, padding and poor taste, the *Comedia española* of Lope and his successors is open to severe criticism. At bottom it is immoral. If it really reflects with accuracy, as some have thought, the morals of its day, we must confess that ideals were low. "Nearly all our dramatic poets," wrote Marchena in 1820, "have one capital weakness; they cannot draw a really virtuous character."[1] In the second place, psychological verity, conscientious study of reality and life seem to be the least of their preoccupations. Improbability is the rule and chance is the guide. The capricious plan becomes lost in an inextricable maze of *enredos*, which, to be sure, are all alike. For, as has already been remarked, the intolerable monotony of plot becomes cruelly evident to anyone who is compelled to read a large number of these *comedias famosas;* that is by no means one of their least defects. I would not depict Lope as a scholar, but he had read enough of the ancients to compare and see on which side truth, beauty, artistic and stylistic superiority, are to be found. It seems probable, therefore, that in his criticism of the "new art" Lope was more sincere than he is often credited with being, that he really thought what he said, at the moment when he said it, and that the material on which he expended his workmanship seemed to him really of inferior quality.

But, as he performed his chore, his prodigious gifts as an improviser, his rare instinct for the stage, his eternally youthful imagination, and the natural grace of his style transformed the banal mould. Over this base alloy of gold he scatters genuine pearls. He charms and dazzles the very critics who at first protested, and in the end he is right, against reason. Homage and applause overcome him. Carried away, almost converted, he cannot help feeling a paternal tenderness and secret admiration for that lucky offspring of his impulse, born without benefit of law, which received his name against his will. There is no more striking example of the power of inspiration, that intimate familiar demon that leaps over every obstacle to reach the goal assigned by destiny. Lope was the prisoner of his genius; he was condemned by his own instinct and by the enthusiastic complicity of his contemporaries to enter and follow to the very end the way in which, reluctant, he found glory. He may gesticulate in protest, but his friends, panegyrists and disciples have no scruples about proclaiming the legitimate paternity of his work. The "new art," which, after all, was at that moment the only art, will be avowed and extolled as the truly national art. It was indeed sufficiently flexible for more thoughtful and classic talents like Alarcón and Moreto to crowd into it a little more verity and philosophy, and when the "phoenix" disappeared in the splendid apotheosis which his fellows gave him, he sprang from his ashes with a last burst of light in the person of Calderón.

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[1] Quoted by "Azorín," *Los valores literarios*, 1913, p. 217. Pages 213–218 of this book contains a drastic condemnation of the Spanish drama and novel. But what nation would be proof against such criticism, if it were judged only by its drama and its novels?

Glory and triumph did not await his death. And soon after his funeral, an Italian, Fabio Franchi, in his *Essequie poetiche*,[1] put into the mouth of the "bearded old poet, Lope de Rueda the gold-beater" a magnificent eulogy of the king of the theater, and, with the approval of all the poets, Apollo gave forth this edict, which was in fact carried out to the letter: "Let all those who henceforth write for the stage swear to imitate forever the style and observe the precepts of the great, illustrious and incomparable Lope de Vega. . . . No work shall be accepted unless its author has previously received the degree of Doctor in the Name of Lope." If an Italian spoke thus, what should Spaniards say?

6. Troupes, Performances and Actors [2]

In Lope's lifetime the physical organization of the theater reached its perfection, so that it may well be described here. Contemporary testimony tells us all we need to know about it; and in regard to the different troupes, and the lives and peregrinations of the actors, *El viaje entretenido* (1603) of **Agustín de Rojas Villandrando** (1572–after 1618),[1] an indispensable source, gives the details with diverting accuracy. Rojas enumerates all the kinds of company, from the simplest, the *bululú*, to the most complete, the *compañía;* between these extremes come the *ñaque* (two actors), the *gangarilla* (three or four), the *cambaleo* (five men and a woman), the *garnacha* (five or six men, a woman and a boy), the *bojiganga* (six or seven men, two women and a boy), and the *farándula* ("three women, eight to ten *comedias*, two chests of luggage"). In 1603 there were only eight officially recognized companies (*reales* or *de título*), but their number soon increased. The theaters were closed during Lent and at certain festivals. In Madrid there were two theaters, the *Corral de la Cruz*, established in 1579, and the *Corral del Príncipe*, in 1582. They replaced the earlier *corrales de la Calle del Sol, de Isabel Pacheco,*[2] *de Burguillos, de Cristóbal de la Puente*, etc. These theaters belonged to pious brotherhoods who collected hospital funds from them. The performances, advertised by posters, began at four in summer and at two in winter. The chief locations were the *patio* (parterre), for standees; the *gradas* (amphitheater); *aposentos* (galleries); *desvanes* (upper gallery); and at the rear, facing the stage, the *cazuela* (stew-pan), or large box for women. The buffet was represented by the *alojero* where *aloja*, a honey-and-spice drink, was dispensed. The mayor had a special box on the stage, which alone enjoyed a roof; a canvas (*toldo*) was stretched over the *patio*, crammed with a vociferous mob. These were the *mosqueteros*, *infantes* or *alabarderos*.

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[1] Venezia, 1636. Reprinted in *Obras sueltas de Lope de Vega*, XXI, 1779.

[2] H. A. Rennert, *The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega*, N. Y., 1909.

The performance began with the *loa*, a prologue which sometimes, but not always, had some relation to the play that followed.[3] Between the first and second acts, and again between the second and third, two interludes (*entremeses*) were given, short farces usually of popular character. After the last act came a *saynete* (tidbit), with spoken dance. Dances were all the rage in the 17th century.[1] Among the old-time forms were the *Alemana, Turdión, Pavana, Pie de gibao, Rey don Alonso el Bueno;* among the then modern forms, the *Zapateado, Polvillo, Canario, Guineo, Hermano Bártolo, Pipironda, Rastro, Gallarda, Japona, Perramora, Gorrón, Antón pintado, Chacona, Escarramán,* and especially the scandalous *Zarabanda,* repeatedly prohibited in vain. The *Tirana, Fandango, Bolero* and *Jota* belong to the 18th and 19th centuries.

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[1] *Viaje entretenido*, ed. Bonilla y San Martín, 2 vols., 1901. Ed. id., in *Orígenes de la novela*, IV, 1915. *El natural desdichado*, ed. A. Paz y Melia, in *Rev. Arch.*, V, 1901.—See G. Cirot, *Valeur littéraire du "Viaje entretenido,"* in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXV, 1923, 198–211. N. Alonso Cortés, *Nuevos datos biográficos*, in *Rev. Castellana*, VII, 1923, 25–29.

[2] Ricardo Sepúlveda, *El corral de la Pacheca*, 1888.

[3] Rojas gives thirty-four in his *Viaje entretenido:* they are published separately by E. Cotarelo y Mori in *Coleccion de entremeses*, etc., vol. II, 1911. On the *loa*, see *ibid.*, I, 1911, pp. vi–liii. J. A. Meredith, *Introito and Loa in the Spanish Drama of the Sixteenth Century*, Phila., 1928.

The principal actors,[2] about the year 1600, were Porres, Roque de Figueroa, López de Alcaraz, Pinedo, Cisneros, Ríos, Villegas, Santander, Granados, Luis de Vergara, the two Morales Medrano, Angulo, Saldaña, Ana de Velasco, Mariana Ortiz, Mariana Vaca, Jerónima de Salcedo. Suárez de Figueroa cites as alive about 1615, besides some of the preceding, Sánchez, Melchor de León, Miguel Ramírez, Salvador, Alonso de Olmedo, María de Flores, Micaela de Luján (Lope's mistress), Jusepa Vaca, Jerónima de Burgos, Polonia Pérez, María de los Ángeles, María de Morales. To these may be added Sebastián de Prado, Cosme Pérez (nicknamed *Juan Rana*), María de Córdoba (*Amarilis*), María Calderón (mother of the second Don Juan de Austria, son of Philip IV); these last lived toward the middle of the century.

El viaje entretenido is a splendid source of information concerning the picaresque life led by actors. Its details are exact and colorful. Rojas's style is careless at times, but witty. Evidently he knew the *Celestina,* Antonio de Guevara and Mateo Alemán, but he possessed his own imagination, good humor and grace. There are pages that even display elegance, for example the *novela* of Leonardo and Camila and some of his *loas.* The last are much superior to his only known play, *El natural desdichado.* He was the author also of a work on government, *El buen república* (1611).

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[1] See E. Cotarelo y Mori, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. clxiv–cclxxiii.

[2] See Rennert, *Spanish Stage*, pp. 407–635 (*List of Spanish Actors and Actresses 1560–1680*). Casiano Pellicer, *Origen y progresos de la comedia y del histrionismo en España*, 2 vols., 1804. Gallardo, *Ensayo*, I, no. 554. C. Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos datos acerca del histrionismo esp. en los siglos XVI y XVII*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1901, Bordeaux, 1914.

Lope's Followers and Rivals

7. Gabriel Téllez, better known by the pseudonym of **Tirso de Molina** (1583?–1648),[1] was the most remarkable disciple and rival of Lope. His life is not well known, considering his fame as a writer. Born in Madrid, he studied at Alcalá, and passed his novitiate in Guadalajara. There he professed in the Mercenarian Order, January 21, 1601; he rose successively to its highest dignities. In 1616 he was sent to Santo Domingo on a mission of the Order; in 1618 he was back in Spain with the title *Definidor* of Santo Domingo. In 1625 the Council of Castile discussed the scandal he was causing with his "*comedias profanas y de malos incentivos y ejemplos*," and it was recommended that he be sent to one of the most remote monasteries of his Order and be enjoined from writing plays or any profane verse.[2] For this reason, possibly, he was in 1626 appointed superior (*Comendador*) of the monastery at Trujillo, a post which he occupied the customary three years. In fact, he wrote no plays for some time after the censure. He was in Salamanca, apparently, in 1625 and 1629, and in Toledo in 1631. In 1632 he was appointed both *Definidor de la provincia de Castilla* and official historian (*cronista general*) of his Order. In the latter capacity he wrote at Madrid between 1637 and 1639 the *Historia general de la Orden de Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes*, completing a work begun by his predecessor Fr. Alonso Remón. In 1645 he was appointed Superior of the monastery of Soria, but no longer held that office in 1647. He died March 12, 1648, either at Soria or Madrid. He had probably visited Portugal, Galicia and Catalonia, judging by his writings, but most of his life was spent in Toledo and Madrid.

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[1] *Teatro escogido*, ed. Hartzenbusch, 12 vols., 1839–1842. *Comedias escogidas*, ed. Hartzenbusch, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, V. *Comedias* (those not included in the preceding item), ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, 2 vols., 1906–1907. *La venganza de Tamar*, ed. Hartzenbusch, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, IX. *El vergonzoso en palacio* and *El burlador de Sevilla*, ed. Américo Castro, 1910, 2nd revised ed., 1922 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 2). *El burlador de Sevilla*, ed. E. Barry, Paris, 1910. *Id.*, ed. A. Hâmel, Strasbourg, 1921. *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*, ed. B. P. Bourland, N. Y., 1901. *La villana de Vallecas*, ed. Bonilla y San Martín, 1916. *Autos sacramentales* (two), ed. González Pedroso, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LVIII. *Los tres maridos burlados*, ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XVIII. *Cigarrales de Toledo*, ed. V. Said Armesto, 1913. *El bandolero*, ed. L. C. Viada y Lluch, Barcelona, 1915. BIOGRAPHY. See E. Cotarelo y Mori, *T. de M., investigaciones bío-bibliográficas*, 1893. Id., *Discurso preliminar* of *Comedias*, I, 1906. M. Serrano y Sanz, *Nuevos datos biográficos*, in *Rev. de España*, vol. 149, 1894. Blanca de los Ríos, in *Del siglo de oro*, 1910, 1–112. Id., *Un nuevo documento para la biografía de T. de M.*, in *ABC*, Nov. 12, 1922. Id., *El viaje de T. a Santo Domingo y la génesis del 'Don Juan,'* in *Raza esp.*, VI, 1924, 4–35. Id., *El enigma biográfico de T. de M.*, 1928. F. Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos datos*, 1923, 386–388. J. Artiles Rodríguez, *La partida bautismal de T. de M.*, in *Rev. Bibl. Arch. Museo*, V, 1928, 403–411. GENERAL CRITICISM. See P. Muñoz Peña, *El teatro del Maestro T. de M.*, Valladolid, 1889. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, in *Estudios de crítica lit.*, 2ª série, 131–198. S. G. Morley, *The Use of Verse-forms* (*Strophes*) *by T. de M.*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, VII, 1905, 387–408. Id., *El uso de las combinaciones métricas en las comedias de T. de M.*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XVI, 1914, 177–208. Id., *Color Symbolism in T. de M.*, in *Romanic Review*, VIII, 1917, 77–81. Blanca de los Ríos, *Las mujeres de Tirso*, in *Del siglo de oro*. 1910, 229–275.

[2] The piquant document can be read only in Bonilla's *Advertencia* to his edition of *La villana de Vallecas*.

Besides this *History of the Mercenarian Order*, still unprinted, other pious prose, and his plays, Téllez published two miscellaneous collections, including dramas, essays, poems, long and short, and stories or short novels. The first, *Cigarrales de Toledo, Primera Parte* (no second ever appeared) (1621? first extant edition, 1624) takes its title from the *cigarral* (garden or orchard near Toledo); the speakers meet successively in five such gardens belonging to them, and hence the five books into which the work is divided are called *Cigarrales*. It includes three *comedias* (*El vergonzoso en palacio, Como han de ser los amigos, El celoso prudente*), an often-reprinted tale, *Los tres maridos burlados*, another less known, *D. Juan de Salcedo y la Catalina Dionisia*, and the versified *Fábula de Siringa y Pan* (by Plácido de Aguilar, a Madrid poet). The second collection, *Deleitar aprovechando* (*Sugared Instruction*) was finished in 1632 and printed in 1635. It sets forth the recreations and edifying conversation of three Madrid families during the three days of Carnival, on the banks of the Manzanares and in the gardens (*huertas*) of Juan Fernández and del Duque. It contains three *autos* (*El colmenero divino, Los hermanos parecidos, No le arriendo la ganancia*), the poetic *Fábula de Mirra*, other verse, and three *novelas a lo divino*, of which the last, *El bandolero*, unjustly disdained, according to Sr. Cotarelo, has recently been reëdited.

Téllez's theories of the drama are to be sought in these two works, especially in the former. He expounds them at length in the commentary which follows *El vergonzoso en palacio*. Put briefly, they are no more than a panegyric of the Lopean *Comedia*, which indeed he praised repeatedly, as in the first scene of *La fingida Arcadia* (1621?). "Lope de Vega," he says, "having brought the *comedia* to the pitch of perfection and fineness (*perfección y sutileza*) which it now has, in himself suffices to form a school, and we who are proud of being his disciples may consider ourselves fortunate to have such a master, and shall defend his doctrine steadily against his passionate adversaries." Téllez maintains, then, the same thesis that Francisco de Barreda did in his *Invectiva a las comedias* (1622). It is a double testimony to Lope's definitive triumph. Here appears clearly the vast difference between the Spanish drama and the French drama of the same period. Spain, with José Alcázar, declares: "*El mejor modo de escribir las comedias es el que más agrada al pueblo;* the best dramatic method is the one which best pleases the people." France, from Du Bellay and Ronsard to Chapelain and Boileau, proclaims, with the first:

> Rien ne me plaist, fors ce qui peut desplaire
> Au jugement du rude populaire,

or, with the last: "We shall not say, trusting the people, that a poetic work is good because it pleases them, unless the cultured also are content with it." The two points of view could not be in greater opposition, and, as every triumphant doctrine gains in force and exactness till it reaches its maximum of success and popularity, Racine represents the classic French type better than Corneille, who still vacillated, and Tirso fixes the national Spanish type more firmly than Lope, who did not dare to avow his preference quite frankly.[1]

In his preface to the *Cigarrales* Tirso declares that he had composed three hundred *comedias* in fourteen years. In 1634 (preface to *Parte tercera de las comedias*) a nephew, probably invented by Tirso himself and baptized Lucas de Ávila, states that his uncle had written more than four hundred *comedias*. But there are extant only some eighty: three in the *Cigarrales*, twelve in *Doce comedias nuevas del Maestro Tirso de Molina, Primera Parte* (1627), four in the *Segunda Parte* (1635),[2] twelve in the third part (1634, published before the second), twelve in the fourth (1635), eleven in the fifth (1636), three *autos* in *Deleitar aprovechando*, and some twenty more, not all certainly authentic, in other collections and in *sueltas*.

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[1] For Spanish dramatic theory of that time in general, see Menéndez y Pelayo, *Hist. de las ideas estéticas en España*, II^2, 1885, 416–487. A few of the important passages of Cueva, Lope, Cervantes, Tirso, etc., are brought together in H. J. Chaytor, *Dramatic Theory in Spain*, Cambridge, 1925.

[2] The *Segunda Parte* contains twelve plays, but the author states in his *Dedicatoria* that only four are his own, the rest being children of other illustrious parents who have cast them at his door, Concerning these enigmatic words and the identity of the four authentic plays there has been much writing.

Among Tirso's extant plays are to be found some of the finest and most characteristic in all Spanish drama. Here there is space only to name them, without dwelling upon them as they deserve.

Historical: 1° *La prudencia en la mujer,*[1] an admirable picture of the civil struggles which disturbed the early reign of Fernando IV *el Emplazado* (1295–1312) and of the wisdom displayed by the Queen Mother, Doña María de Molina; 2° *El rey Don Pedro en Madrid e Infanzón de Illescas,* a dramatic episode, splendidly presented, from the legendary history of Peter the Cruel (or *el Justiciero*) (the attribution to Tirso has, however, been seriously contested; Menéndez y Pelayo believes it by Lope, recast by Claramonte.)[2]

Religious and pious: 3° *La venganza de Tamar,* whose revolting theme is taken from the Bible (II Samuel, 13); 4° *Tanto es lo de más como lo de menos,* a happy combination in dramatic form of the two parables of the prodigal son and Lazarus; 5° *El condenado por desconfiado* (*The Man Damned for Little Faith*),[3] "perhaps the most remarkable of all the religious plays written in Spain," according to Von Schack; "a work," adds Menéndez y Pelayo, "which stands first among our religious dramas, and which may, in conception, be rated above Shakespeare, and in execution, beside him;" a drama, I will venture to say in my turn, which would assuredly astonish the great majority of our contemporaries and scandalize many; a drama, in fine, which throws a telling light upon religious ideas of that time, but cannot be justly appreciated unless the reader projects his thought into the state of soul of a man of that country and that era. The play is founded on pure Catholic doctrine: a single mortal sin of which the sinner refuses to repent, entails eternal damnation; but a single act of sincere contrition effaces all sins and wins salvation.

Comedias de capa y espada, including many masterpieces: 6° *El*

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[1] A. Morel-Fatio, "*La Prudence chez la Femme,*" in *Études sur l'Espagne,* III, 1904, 25–72.

[2] [This play is now generally assigned to Lope. Cf. *Bull. Hisp.*, VII, 1905, 403.]

[3] [See R. Menéndez Pidal, in *Estudios lits.*, 1920, 9–100. J. Cejador, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LVII, 1923, 127–159. E. Gómez de Baquero, in *De Gallardo a Unamuno,* 1926, 161–185. The last two critics place a much lower estimate on the play than those quoted in the text. On the attribution see *Bull. Hisp.*, VII, 1905, 406–407. It is unlikely that Tirso was the sole author of the play.]

burlador de Sevilla (*The Seville Deceiver*)[1] has, like *El condenado*, been thought not Tirso's by some (Baist and Farinelli, among others), but their reasons do not seem conclusive. It was first published in a miscellaneous collection of 1630, in the name of Tirso; a somewhat different version appeared in an undated *suelta* of the second half of the century under the title *¡Tan largo me lo fiáis!* (*Distant Reckoning!*) [2] as by Calderón. Certain elements of the Don Juan type existed before Tirso, but he fixed it brilliantly and definitively as a dramatic figure, and that is no slight honor. It was surely in Andalusia and in Seville that the great Deceiver must have come into being; he, the terrible charmer, incarnates all the seductiveness, poetry and fickleness of his race. Setting forth from Spain, he has traveled the world over, pliantly adapting himself to each new race. Every literature and every art has welcomed and enriched him, so that Don Juan, at first so Spanish, has become one of the types most broadly representative of human passion. Yet it must be admitted that Tirso's masterpiece, despite its psychological richness and some superior passages, is better in conception and matter than in execution. What has caused its enduring popularity has been the character, both local and universal, of the hero, in that respect worthy to be compared to Cervantes's hero. In the opinion of Menéndez y Pelayo, Tirso stands closer to Shakespeare than any other Spanish dramatist in his power of creating characters and in the intensity of his poetic life.

In support of this claim one could cite, beside the *Burlador*, 7° *Marta la piadosa*, a very Spanish version of the female hypocrite; 8° *El vergonzoso en palacio* (*The Timid Youth at Court*), a clever portrait of bashfulness and ambition in the same person. Finally, a group of charming *comedias* taken at haphazard: *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* (*Don Gil of the Green Breeches*)*; La villana de Vallecas* (1620); *Desde Toledo a Madrid; Por el sótano y el torno* (*Through the Cellar and the Turn*)*; Los balcones de Madrid,* with its pretty lovers'-quarrel scene; *No hay peor sordo. . . .* (*None so Deaf as He Who Will not Hear*)*; El amor médico; Palabras y plumas; Celos con celos se curan* (*Jealousy Cured by Jealousy*)*;* and many other marvels of keen insight, stagecraft and style. One must add that in Tirso's theater women are the real protagonists, and that they are shown as very passionate, very artful, very coquettish; in short, very womanly. It is easy to see why the grave friar, in tracing his lively scenes (for which he surely utilized his own rich personal documentation), preferred to disguise himself, though none too well, it would appear, under the rustic nom de plume of "Tirso." As for Téllez's *graciosos,* they are the joy and spice of his pieces, and famous above those of other men.

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[1] *The Love-Rogue* is the title of Harry Kemp's brilliant verse "transmutation" (N. Y., 1923). See G. Gendarme de Bévotte, *La légende de Don Juan*, Paris, 1906; 2nd ed., 2 vols., 1911. V. Said Armesto, *La leyenda de Don Juan*, 1908. A. Farinelli, *Don Giovanni*, in *Giornale storico*, 1896, XXVII, 1896. Id., *Cuatro palabras sobre don Juan*, in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, I, 205–222. J. Boelte, *Ueber den Ursprung der Don Juan-Sage*, in *Zts. f. vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, 1899, 134–398. E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Últimos estudios acerca de "El b. de S.,"* in *Rev. Arch.*, XVIII, 1908, 75–86. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Sobre los orígenes de "El convidado de piedra,"* in *Estudios lits.*, 1920. T. Schroeder, *Die dramatischen Bearbeitungen der Don Juan-Sage*, Halle, 1912. J. E. Gillet, *Cueva's "Comedia del Infamador" and the Don Juan Legend*, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXVII, 1922, 206–212. Blanca de los Ríos, *El viaje de Tirso a Santo Domingo y la génesis del "Don Juan,"* in *Raza esp.*, VI, 1924, 4–35. The translator is convinced that Tirso wrote the *Burlador;* the best argument in favor is found in Barry's edition.

[2] Ed. Fuensanta del Valle and Sancho Rayón, in *Libros raros o curiosos*, XII, 1878. Ed. Cotarelo y Mori, in *Comedias de Tirso de Molina*, II, 1907.

It is inconceivable that the glory of Tirso de Molina, which now waxes daily, should long have been so in eclipse that his plays were almost forgotten. He rightly deserves a place in the first rank, between Lope and Calderón.

8. **Antonio Mira de Amescua** (or **Mescua;** b. between 1574 and 1577, d. 1644),[1] a native of Guadix, cannot be compared to Tirso. Yet he had lucky dramatic ideas and a real instinct for the stage. *La desgraciada Raquel* (1635) has interest, even when compared with Lope's play (*Las paces de los reyes*) on the Jewess of Toledo. *El esclavo del demonio* and *La rueda de la Fortuna* perhaps furnished Calderón with the idea of *La devoción de la Cruz* and *En esta vida todo es verdad y todo mentira.* The former of the two is certainly the model for Moreto's *Caer para levantar.* Mira was one of the Spanish playwrights most read and imitated in France.

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[1] *Comedias* (five), ed. Mesonero Romanos, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLV. *El esclavo del demonio,* ed. M. A. Buchanan, Baltimore, 1905. *Teatro,* ed. Valbuena Prat, 2 vols., 1926, 1928 (*Clásicos cast.*, vols. 70, 82). *El arpa de David,* ed. C. E. Anibal, Columbus, Ohio, 1925. *Poesías,* ed. A. de Castro, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLII.—See C. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliografía madrileña,* III, 427–431. H. A. Rennert, *M. de A. et "La Judía de Toledo,"* in *Rev. Hisp.*, VII, 1900, 119–140. N. Díaz de Escobar, *Siluetas escénicas del pasado,* etc., in *Rev. del Centro de Estudios hist. de Granada y su reino,* I, 1911, 122–143. F. Sanz, *El doctor M. de A.*, in *Bol. R. Acad. Esp.*, I, 1914, 551–572. F. Rodríguez Marín, in *Nuevos datos,* 1923, 31–42. C. E. Anibal, *Voces del cielo, a note on M. de A.*, in *Romanic Rev.*, XVI, 1925, 57–70.

El palacio confuso, attributed to him, inspired Corneille's *Don Sanche d'Aragon*. Besides his plays, the poem *Acteón y Diana* was esteemed by Mira's contemporaries.

Mira was appointed royal chaplain of Granada in 1609, though he stayed little in that city, and in 1631, Archdeacon of Guadix, where he died. He had been called to Naples (1610?) by its Viceroy, the Count of Lemos, and some time later (1619?) he became chaplain in Madrid, of the Cardinal-Infante Don Fernando de Austria.

He is not, however, so well known a figure as the Mexican **Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza** (1581?–1639),[1] who, after having studied at Salamanca and lived in Seville (1600–1608), went back to Mexico and then, in May, 1613, returned to Spain, there to remain. Deserting his literary career, he received an appointment, at first temporary (1626), then permanent (1633), as a member of the Council of the Indies. The hump which nature unkindly bestowed upon him, and perhaps a proud and touchy temper as well, brought him no end of gibes and jests as cruel as stupid. They do no honor to the jesters, among whom one regrets to find Lope, Quevedo and Góngora; but jealousy knows no mercy. Beneath his unlucky exterior Alarcón hid a noble soul and a pure talent. He is almost the only dramatist of his time who seems to have ripened his compositions and polished them with care. For that reason they were relatively few in number, though often performed. Alarcón published his *comedias* in two *Partes* (1628 and 1634); the first contains but eight plays, the second, twelve. Unauthorized editions bring his total repertory up to twenty-four.

Alarcón did not lack dramatic power; the proof is in *El*

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[1] *Comedias*, ed. Hartzenbusch, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XX. *Teatro* (*La verdad sospechosa*, *Las paredes oyen*), ed. Alfonso Reyes, 1918 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 37). *Las paredes oyen*, ed. C. B. Bourland, N. Y., 1914. *No hay mal que por bien no venga* (*Don Domingo de Don Blas*), ed. Bonilla y San Martín, 1916. *La verdad sospechosa*, ed. E. Barry, Paris, n. d. *Id.*, ed. A. Hämel, Munich, 1924. *Id.*, ed. A. L. Owen, N. Y., 1928. *Los pechos privilegiados*, ed. A. Reyes, 1919. *Los favores del mundo*, ed. P. Henríquez Ureña, Mexico, 1922. *La prueba de las promesas*, ed. Reed and Eberling, N. Y., 1928.—See Luis Fernández-Guerra y Orbe, *D. J. R. de A.*, 1871. F. Rodríguez Marín, *Nuevos datos para la biografía de . . . D. J. R. de A.*, 1912. P. Henríquez Ureña, *D. J. R. de A.*, Habana, 1915. N. Rangel, *Los estudios universitarios de D. J. R. de A.*, in *Bol. de la Bibl. Nac. de México*, March–April, 1913. Id., *Noticias biográficas*, etc., in *Bol. de la Bibl. Nac. de México*, Nov.–Dec., 1915. R. Monner Sans, *D. J. R. de A.*, Buenos Aires, 1915. S. G. Morley, *Studies in Spanish Dramatic Versification of the Siglo de Oro: A. and Moreto*, in *Univ. Calif. Publ. Mod. Philol.*, VII, 1918, 131–173. Elisa Pérez, *Influencia de Plauto y Terencio en el teatro de R. de A.*, in *Hispania*, XI, 1928, 131–149. C. Vázquez-Arjona, *Elementos autobiográficos e ideológicos en el teatro de A.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXXIII, 1928, 557–615.

tejedor de Segovia,[1] a drama in the romantic manner, conceived with a breath of chivalry and full of picturesque scenes. The hero is a sort of Hernani of the people, a bandit for honor's sake. But Alarcón's distinctive trait of lofty and noble sentiment is shown to better advantage in other plays: *Los pechos privilegiados*, written in archaic language, which exhibits in the Count a splendid example of chivalrous loyalty, and affords many lines worthy of Corneille; *Los favores del mundo*, the hero of which is one Garci Ruiz de Alarcón, supposed to be an ancestor of the poet; especially the noble drama *Ganar amigos*, depicting the triumph of fidelity, trust and honor.

Among the comedies, there are four in the first rank. *La verdad sospechosa* (*El mentiroso*) delighted Corneille, who said he would give his two best works to have written it, and who did in fact translate and adapt it to make *Le Menteur*. In spite of Voltaire's well known remark, it is probable that Molière would have existed even without *La verdad sospechosa*, but this play is assuredly one of the most amusing and best composed of that period. It is both a character comedy and an intrigue comedy. Its ending is more logical than that of *Le Menteur*, and its style, except in a few passages touched with Gongorism, has not grown old.

Las paredes oyen (*Walls have Ears*) is the complement of *El mentiroso*. It is a critical study of slander, a eulogy of honesty. This attractive play probably conceals many allusions to the life and character of the author. *Mudarse por mejorarse* is an example, rare at the time, of simple plot, and refined and delicate characters drawn with restraint (Leonor, Doña Clara, the Marquis, the fickle García). *El examen de maridos* constitutes a charming study of manners; its plot, both clear and original, is devised to reveal the unselfishness of friendship.

With Alarcón the *Comedia*, though retaining its distinctive features, trends notably toward the comedy of manners and character. His obvious concern with ethics, the philosophic bearing of his themes, the regular structure of his plots, his moderate use of exciting incidents, and lastly his regard for style, all make him the most classic, in the French sense, of the dramatic writers of the century. He would certainly be the best understood and appreciated by a modern French audience.

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[1] The so-called *Segunda Parte*. The *Primera Parte* was not written by Alarcón, but was composed by an unknown writer as a prelude to the genuine *Tejedor*.

9. The Sevillan **Diego Jiménez de Enciso** (1585–1633?),[1] is quite forgotten today, despite the praise lavished upon him by his contemporaries. What we know of his work gives little cause to expect that his popularity will return. Yet his drama *El príncipe Don Carlos*, the first to treat this son of Philip II, merits a revival. Enciso favored historical subjects.

Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza (1586–1644) [2] was primarily a court poet, but, as may well be noted at this point, the *Comedia* on the royal stage was in no way altered from the *Comedia* in the *Corral de la Cruz* or *del Príncipe*. Nobles and populace were treated on the same footing in that respect. In form and spirit Mendoza's work differs in no way from that of Lope and Tirso; the difference, and it is plain, comes in the talent of the writer. Of his six or eight plays the best is *El marido hace mujer, y el trato muda costumbres* (*Experience Changes Ideas*), a thoughtful handling of marital problems somewhat beyond the author's mastery; it has been said, without strong proof, that Molière drew from it his *École des maris*.[3] Others are *Más merece quien más ama* and *Cada loco con su tema*. He composed a long festival play for the Queen's birthday, *Querer por solo querer* (1623), and collaborated with Quevedo in *Quien más miente medra más*, written for Olivares in honor of the King and Queen (1631). His lyrics were printed with his other works in 1690 (*Obras líricas y cómicas, divinas y humanas*).

10. **Juan Pérez de Montalván** (1602–1638),[4] son of a Madrid bookseller, was Lope's favorite disciple, as well as his biographer; for Lope's glory Montalván compiled the *Fama póstuma* (1636).

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[1] *Los Médicis de Florencia*, ed. Mesonero, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLV.—See R. Schevill, *The Comedias of D. X. de E.*, in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass. of Am.*, XVIII, 1903, 194–210. J. P. W. Crawford, *El Príncipe Don Carlos of X. de E.*, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXII, 1907, 238–241. E. Cotarelo y Mori, *D. J. de E. y su teatro*, in *Bol. R. Acad. Esp.*, I, 1914. Ezio Levi, *Il Principe Don Carlos nella leggenda e nella poesia*, 2nd ed., Roma [1924].

[2] *Comedias* (three), ed. Mesonero, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLV. *Entremeses* (three), ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, in *Col. de entremeses*, etc., I, 1911. *Romances*, ed. Durán, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XVI. *Poesías*, ed. A. de Castro, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLII.

[3] [Cf. E. Martinenche, *Molière et le Théâtre espagnol*, Paris, 1906, 99–106; he states the case for Spain too strongly.]

[4] *Comedias* (seven), ed. Mesonero, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLV. *La monja alférez*. ed. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, in his *The Nun-Ensign*, London, 1908. *Romance*, ed, Durán, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XVI. *Poesías*, ed. A. de Castro, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLII. *Some Poems of Dr. J. P. de M.*, ed. G. W. Bacon, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXV, 1911, 458–467. *Sucesos y prodigios de amor* (two *novelas*), ed. Rosell?, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXIII. *Fama póstuma*, ed. Hartzenbusch, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXIV.—See G. W.

Neither his poem *Orfeo en lengua castellana* (1624) nor the eight "exemplary novels" of the *Sucesos y prodigios de amor* (1624) nor the *Vida y purgatorio de San Patricio* (1627) add greatly to his reputation. His violent squabbles with Quevedo assure him a certain unenviable celebrity; he was thought to be the author of some biting screeds, and Quevedo retorted in *La perinola.* The latter's particular butt was the ill-digested encyclopedic compilation *Para todos* (1632). Montalván's plays, at least, obtained real success, though posterity has not confirmed it. He wrote nearly sixty, of which six appeared in the *Para todos,* and twenty-four in the two volumes of his particular collection (1635 and 1638). As one would expect, his *comedias* much resemble those of his master Lope, minus the genius. Some are historical, dealing with Sejanus, the Templars, Philip II and Prince Carlos (*El segundo Séneca de España,* two parts), Don Juan de Austria, Marshal Biron. Some are religious, as *El valiente Nazareno, Sansón,* and there are also *autos* (*Polifemo, Escanderbech*). But Montalván was best in *comedias de capa y espada. Los amantes de Teruel* is properly the most famous; the subject is from tradition (cf. p. 251), but here arranged to fit the usual *Comedia* technique. Others that may be named are *La más constante mujer, De un castigo dos venganzas, No hay vida como la honra,* and *A lo hecho no hay remedio.* Jealousy and honor are the mainsprings of his theater, but at that time they constituted the basis of every dramatic conflict. The premature death of Montalván at the age of thirty-six was deplored as a national loss.

The dramatic work of the Toledan chaplain **José de Valdivielso** (d. 1638)[1] is exclusively religious. It consists of twelve *autos sacramentales* and two *comedias divinas* (1622); among the former are *Psiques y Cupido* and *El hijo pródigo,* the latter are *El nacimiento de la Mejor* (i.e. the Virgin) and *El ángel de la guarda.* Valdivielso was also an ecclesiastical censor of books, and his name is one of those appearing most frequently below the *Aprobaciones* of his day, as in several works of Cervantes. His narrative and lyric poetry has been mentioned (p. 242).

Bacon, *The Life and Dramatic Works of Dr. J. P. de M.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXVI, 1912, 1–320. A. Restori, *Il Para Todos di Giovanni Pérez de Montalván,* in *Bibliofilia,* XXIX, 1927, 1–19.

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[1] *Autos sacramentales* (five), ed. González Pedroso, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LVIII.

Andrés de Claramonte (d. after 1621?),[1] mentioned above (p. 354), was both dramatist and actor. During the first third of the seventeenth century he wrote more than twenty pieces, most of them still unprinted. The three best known, because published in the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, are *Deste agua no beberé* (from which possibly Calderón drew some traits for *El médico de su honra*), *El valiente negro de Flandes*, and *De lo vivo a lo pintado*. His *Letanía moral* (1613) contains a useful catalogue of authors and actors.

Luis Belmonte Bermúdez (1587?–1650?) [2] is best known as the author of *El diablo predicador*, a curious and famous play reworked from Lope's *Fray Diablo;* but the attribution to Belmonte rests on no serious basis. He wrote in all some twenty-five *comedias* (*La renegada de Valladolid*, *El mejor tutor es Dios*, etc.), and, being a Sevillan, a poem in octaves, *La Hispálica*, recently printed for the first time.

Luis Vélez de Guevara (1579–1644), better known today as novelist (p. 394), was nevertheless a most successful playwright.[3] According to an unverified tradition he wrote, alone, some four hundred *comedias*, of which barely eighty are known. Some of them, like *Reinar después de morir, o Doña Inés de Castro*,—a theme used over and over for the stage—occupy a distinguished place in the history of the drama of Spain. Among the historical plays one may mention *Más pesa el rey que la sangre* (the story of Guzmán *el Bueno*), *El águila del agua, y batalla de Lepanto*, and among the intrigue plays, *La luna de la sierra*, *El diablo está en Cantillana*, *Los novios de Hornachuelos* (with an excellent figure of King Enrique III), *El rey en su imaginación*, *La serrana de la Vera* (an old popular legend already used by Lope de Vega), *El Hércules de Ocaña*, etc. Vélez de Guevara's gaiety and animation earned him the sobriquet of *Quitapesares* (*Care-dispeller*) from Cervantes, who was a connoisseur.

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[1] *Comedias* (three), ed. Mesonero, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLIII.

[2] *El diablo predicador* and *La renegada de Valladolid*, ed. Mesonero, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLV. Selections *ibid.*, XX. *La Hispálica*, ed. Santiago Montoto, Sevilla, 1921.—See Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, cols. 59–69. Léo Rouanet, *Le diable prédicateur, comédie espagnole traduite en français*, Paris–Toulouse, 1901. W. A. Kincaid, *Life and Works of L. de B. B.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXXIV, 1928, 1–260.

[3] *Comedias* (six), ed. Mesonero, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLV. *Comedias* (four), ed. Schaeffer, in *Ocho comedias desconocidas*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1887. *El águila del agua*, ed. A. Paz y Melia, in *Rev. Arch.*, X and XI, 1904. *La serrana de la Vera*, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal and María Goyri de Menéndez Pidal, 1916 (*Teatro ant. esp.*, I). *El rey en su imaginación*, ed. J. Gómez Ocerin, 1920 (*Teatro ant. esp.*, III). *Los novios de Hornachuelos*, ed. J. M. Hill, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LIX, 1923, 105–295. *Id.*, ed. J. M. Hill and F. O. Reed, N. Y., 1929.—See E. Cotarelo y Mori, *L. V. de G. y sus obras dramáticas*, in *Bol. R. Acad. Esp.*, III, 1916 and IV, 1917. [M. Mérimée placed *Los novios de Hornachuelos* among the plays of Lope, as do all the handbooks, but Prof. J. M. Hill has shown that it must probably be attributed to Vélez de Guevara.]

The licentiate **Juan Caxés** [1] has left us five or six *autos* written about 1610, of very slight literary merit. Fray **Alonso Remón** (d. before 1633), a Mercenarian, like Tirso, was highly spoken of in his time; the few plays remaining of his many include *El español entre todas las naciones*, in two parts. Of **Alfonso Hurtado de Velarde** (d. 1638) but one play is extant, *Los siete Infantes de Lara* in archaic *fabla;* the names of two lost are known, *La comedia del Cid, doña Sol y doña Elvira* and *El conde de las manos blancas*. He wrote a famous *romance, Si el caballo vos han muerto . . .*, used in a *comedia* of Vélez de Guevara, bearing that title. Playwrights scarcely more than names are the licentiate **Juan de Grajales,**[2] author of *El caballero del Espíritu Santo* (Cola di Rienzi); **Rodrigo de Herrera** [3] (*El voto de Santiago*); **Jerónimo de Villaizán** [4] (*A gran daño gran remedio*); **Jacinto Cordero** (*La victoria por el amor*); **Felipe Godínez** (1588–1639?),[5] punished by the Inquisition for Hebraic learnings, and fond of Old Testament themes for plays; and the novelists **Salas Barbadillo** (*El galán tramposo y pobre*[6]), and **Castillo Solórzano** (*El mayorazgo figura* and *El Marqués del Cigarral*) [7] (cf. above, p. 320). Even Philip IV himself, a great lover of all theatrical doings, is said to belong rightfully in this list, for he has been credited with *El Conde de Sex o Dar la vida por su dama* (printed in the name of Coello), and even with *El diablo predicador*, and other plays signed *Un ingenio de esta corte*. He has no authentic claim to them, but the interested parties never protested.

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[1] *Oeuvres dramatiques*, ed. Léo Rouanet, in *Rev. Hisp.*, VIII, 1901, 83–180. *Los trabajos de Josef, auto del licenciado J. de C.*, ed. A. Restori, in *Rev. Hisp.*, IX, 1902, 355–392.

[2] *El bastardo de Ceuta*, ed. Mesonero, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLIII.

[3] *Del cielo viene el buen rey*, ed. Mesonero, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLV.—See Restori, *Saggi di bibliografia teatrale spagnuola*, Geneva, 1927, p. 71, n. 1 and p. 103.

[4] *Comedias* (two), ed. Mesonero, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLV.

[5] *Aun de noche alumbra el sol*, ed. Mesonero, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLV.

[6] Ed. Mesonero, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLV. *Entremeses* (thirteen), ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, in *Col. de entremeses*, etc., I, 1911.

[7] Ed. Mesonero, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLV. *Entremeses* (five), ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, in *Col. de entremeses*, etc., I, 1911.

11. This chapter may be concluded with a few words concerning the very original productions of the Toledan licentiate **Luis Quiñones de Benavente** (d. 1651).[1] It is true that he was born toward the end of the 16th century and did not die till 1651, but he ceased writing for the stage shortly after the death of Lope de Vega. If not the founder, he was at least the acknowledged master of the "little comedy" (the *género chico* of that time), the great *entremesista;* and he deserved his popularity by reason of his rich gifts of wit, intelligence and grace. His special collection, published in 1645, contains but a very small part of his writings. Its title gives an idea of the genre: *Jocosería, burlas veras, o reprehensión moral y festiva de los desórdenes públicos, en doce entremeses representados y cuatro cantados. Van insertas seis loas y seis jácaras. . . .* Unlike Cervantes, Benavente wrote only in verse. He took the existing interlude, and made it a little picture of contemporary foibles and vices sketched vividly and brightly, sharp but never spiteful. *Las civilidades* (*Pet Phrases of the Day*), *La visita de la cárcel, El guarda-infante* (*The Hoop-skirt*), *El murmurador* (*The Backbiter*), *La puente segoviana, El licenciado y el bachiller, El doctor Juan Rana, La capeadora* (a clever skit of an adventuress, Doña Gusarapa, and a *caballero de la tenaza,* Don Arrumaco), *El borracho, El soldado* and many more, are condensed masterpieces. Benavente gave vogue to the sung interlude, which later became the *zarzuela.* He caught the knack of making *sainete, loa, mojiganga* and *jácara* win the approbation of people of taste as well as the applause of the pit. It is a delight to watch this adroit caricature of reality, this picturesque little world, so diverting and so absurd. An edition of the *Jocosería* with a first-class commentary would reveal a great deal about the society of the time. Direct heir of Rueda and Cervantes, Benavente is the real ancestor of Ramón de la Cruz and the brothers Álvarez Quintero. He is a true son of Spain and of Madrid.

Among the many other *entremesistas* of the period it is enough to cite **Francisco Bernardo de Quirós** (d. 1668). He issued in 1656, eleven years after Benavente, a collection (*Obras . . . y Aventuras de don Fruela*) which includes ten *entremeses;* others may be found scattered in various volumes. As to Padre **Manuel de León Merchante** (1631–1680), he belongs still more obviously to the following generation. It seems better, however, not to separate him from the foregoing, for he wrote a great many interludes, low in taste, it must be admitted, as well as some *comedias*. He was a Commissioner of the Inquisition in Toledo, but he left seventy-six letters of a truly scandalous nature written to a cousin who was a nun in that city.[1] His works, printed in 1722 (*Obras poéticas póstumas*), may serve to convey a correct notion of the decadence of literature and manners at this time.[2]

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[1] *Entremeses, loas y jácaras,* ed. C. Rosell, 2 vols., 1872–1874 (*Libros de antaño,* I and II). Id. (larger number), ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, in *Col. de entremeses,* etc., II, 1911.—See L. Rouanet, *Intermèdes espagnols* (*Entremeses*) *du XVII^e siècle,* Paris, 1897, pp. 22–42. Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, I, pp. lxxiv–lxxviii.

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[1] *La picaresca*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXXVIII, 1916, 532–612.

[2] General works for the *entremés* of the *siglo de oro* are those cited of Rouanet and Cotarelo; the *Flor de entremeses y sainetes de diferentes autores* of 1657, reprinted by Menéndez y Pelayo, 1903 (24 *entremeses*); *Migajas del ingenio* of ca. 1670, reprinted by Cotarelo, 1908.

THIRD PART

DECLINE OF THE GOLDEN AGE: DECADENCE

END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AND BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH

Felipe IV (1621–1665).—Carlos II (1665–1700).—*Bourbon Dynasty:* Felipe V (1700–1724).—Luis I (1724).—Felipe V again (1724–1746).

1. Historical and Artistic Summary

It seems unnecessary to divide this period of decline and decadence into two parts, for the second would contain almost nothing. We now witness the political and literary bankruptcy of Spain. A few great names may for a moment create some illusion concerning the reality and rapidity of this decadence, but there is no chance for mistake when we reach the last years of the 17th century, which had begun in such a glamour of brilliance.

Lope de Vega went to the grave only a few years before most of the other writers of the Golden Age. One only, Calderón, still survived, but he was left almost alone to sustain the weight of past glory, and when he died in 1681 darkness and silence came. The historian may still set down names, but these names remain obscure. In all branches creative force is exhausted. Foolish and empty virtuosity attempts to disguise the fact, but labored effectism of form serves only to expose a sad poverty of ideas. The lavish energy, disorderly but often magnificent, of the preceding age was followed by a period of prostration and weakness. In order to renew that dissipated power liberty would probably have sufficed; it would perhaps have given genius the inspiration whose source could no longer be traced. Unhappily there was no liberty. Even faith, ardent and fanatical as it was, no longer existed, or it had turned into a ferocious formalism, neither serious nor dignified. Within the wearily trodden circle of outworn ideas and dead formulas it is impossible to perceive a germ of life or a promise of returning spring.

The reign of Carlos II " The Bewitched " (*el Hechizado*) is perhaps the most dismal in all Spanish history. During his minority a Jesuit (Father Nithard), a bastard (D. Juan de Austria) and a favorite (Valenzuela) disputed the power. The treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle, Nimwegen, Ryswick and The Hague successively tore from Spain the last shreds of her European empire. Rival ambitions played over the bed of the wretched exorcised monarch to whom death was so slow. Gradually a great silence spread over the kingdom, and the historian of civilization and literature has but one thing to do: to cross this arid waste as speedily as may be.

Painting alone continued to flourish for a time. The fine arts at least profited by the luxury of nobles and princes. Under Philip IV no less than 1547 canvases of masters were reckoned to exist in the Royal Palace at Madrid. Velázquez did not die till 1660, Zurbarán in 1662 (?), Murillo in 1682, a year after Calderón. Claudio Coello, Carreño, Francisco Rizzi, Valdés Leal, Luca Giordano, with all their qualities, were not able to replace such masters. Alonso Cano and Juan Martínez Montañés still represent *sculpture* worthily, but they too were continued only by pupils and copyists without genius; exception may be made of Pedro de Mena (1628–1688), Luisa Roldán, and two or three others. In *architecture*, the 16th-century school of Herrera, Juan Bautista de Toledo and Mora had tried to obtain an impression of grandeur by piling up Cyclopean masses, as at the Escorial and the Cathedral of Valladolid, but the heavy chill of these rigid lines and bare surfaces is likely to produce amazement or disgust. By a natural reaction, toward the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th, Churriguera (d. 1725), José Donoso, Pedro Ribera, Narciso Tomé, Cornejo and Hurtado Izquierdo carried to a ridiculous extreme the exaggerations of the Italians Bernini and Borromini, which Herrera *el mozo*, Herrera Barnuevo and Francisco Rizzi had introduced into Spain. Then came the triumph of writhing scroll-work, bristling façades, broken pediments with compound curves, spiral columns, interrupted and tangled lines, and the most absurdly complex ornamentation, such as may be seen in the Palacio de Santelmo at Seville, the façade of the Hospicio de S. Fernando at Madrid, the Palacio del Marqués de Dos Aguas at Valencia, the Cartuja of Granada, the Seminary of Teruel and several buildings in Salamanca. Churriguera, the Góngora of stone, has justly given his name (*churriguerismo* or *barroquismo*) [1] to the Spanish baroque. In some respects it represents the degeneracy of plateresque; in others it is allied to the dainty affectations of the French " mignon " style.

In all branches of knowledge and particularly in education of every grade, standards were rapidly falling. By the close of the 17th century the discrowned universities of Salamanca and Alcalá were only shadows of their former selves. The first had but a scant two thousand students, in place of the ten or twelve thousand it once boasted. The vicious organization of education and the wretched scientific equipment became yearly worse and more apparent; now and then the protesting lament is heard of some eye-witness: *vox clamantis in deserto.* While the sciences progressed rapidly in other nations, in Spain they were regarded with mistrust or at least with indifference. The rich libraries and collections gathered by the government or individuals were left without funds or scattered. National poverty had a disastrous effect upon public instruction, and *analfabetismo* invaded all classes of society. In the face of such a deplorable situation, attested by contemporaries themselves, no one can be surprised at the mediocrity of literary production.

In reality, the century-span embraced by this chapter of decadence could be subdivided into two parts. The first, extending up to the accession of the French Bourbons, forms the decline of the Golden Age; it discloses the rapid impoverishment of Spanish literary genius and leads to the nadir of decadence. The second, reaching to the accession of Fernando VI, i.e. almost to the middle of the 18th century, reveals the first attempts made by the monarchs or their advisers by means of administrative measures to remedy the worst evils and restore letters and arts. These efforts and reforms, imitated from French, and later, Italian practice,[2] began to bear fruit during the reign of Fernando VI and still more in that of Carlos III. With them an era of revival was inaugurated.

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[1] On *churriguerismo* see V. Lampérez y Romea, *Algo sobre el "Churriguerismo,"* in *Cultura esp.*, 1909, 13–24. On *barroquismo*, Otto Schubert, *Geschichte des Barock in Spanien*, Esslingen, 1908; Spanish transl. by M. Hernández Alcalde, 1924. R. Velázquez Bosco, *El barroquismo en arquitectura*, in *Bol. Institución libre de enseñanza*, XXVII, 1903, 187–190. Sacheverell Sitwell, *Southern Baroque Art*, London and N. Y., 1924.

[2] Cf. below, p. 403.

2. Contemporary Literatures

France. To the Spanish decadence corresponds the very flower of French classic literature; the contrast is striking. There were masterpieces in every branch. It is not necessary to do more than mention such well-known names as Corneille (1606–1684), Molière (1622–1673), Racine (1639–1699), Lesage (1668–1747), in drama; Mlle. de Scudéry (*Clélie*, 1656), Mme. de la Fayette (*La Princesse de Clèves*, 1678), Fénelon (*Télémaque*, 1699), in the novel; La Fontaine (1621–1695), in poetry; Boileau (1636–1751), in criticism; Bossuet (1627–1704), in oratory; Mme. de Sévigné (1620–1696), in letter-writing; Pascal (1623–1662), La Rochefoucauld (1615–1680), La Bruyère (1645–1696), in philosophy and satire; Bayle, Furetière and the Academy in lexicography; these are only the stars of first magnitude in the firmament of Louis XIV. I shall confine myself to reminding the reader that the imitation of Spanish works by French writers, which was so common in the first part of the 17th century, is still noticeable in the second, though the borrowings became steadily more rare, and evidently the habit was being lost. "After *Gil Blas*," remarks M. Lanson with justice, "Spain withdrew from France and did not return till the days of Romanticism."

But in France the close of the *Grand Siècle* did not bring decline. The energy of the race was transformed, not exhausted, and a new great age of letters and art received the heritage of the preceding, and did not let it fall. A revolution in ideas, philosophy, political concepts, and still more in literary ideals, manifested itself. Before the middle of the 18th century, Voltaire had already written *La Henriade* (1723), several tragedies (*Zaïre*, 1732; *Mérope*, 1745), the *Lettres anglaises* (1734), the *Discours sur l'homme* (1738) and *Zadig* (1747); Montesquieu, the *Lettres persanes* (1721), *Considérations sur les Romains* (1734), and *L'Esprit des Lois* (1748). In the novel, Lesage (*Le diable boiteux*, 1707, *Gil Blas*, 1715–1735), Marivaux and the Abbé Prévost (*Manon Lescaut*, 1735) were brilliantly maintaining France's literary hegemony, as were Voltaire, Marivaux (*Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard*, 1734), and others in the drama; and Vauvenargues, Diderot, Buffon and Saint-Simon in various prose writings. The ground was well prepared for the development of philosophy and science.

Italy. The literary destiny of Italy during this period was somewhat the same as that of Spain, though the former's decline was neither so rapid nor so complete. Marino was for her what Góngora had been for Spain. The reaction against Marinism was represented by Testi (1593–1646), Filicaja (1642–1707), Guidi (1650–1712), Menzini (1646–1704), Redi (1626–1698) and Salvator Rosa (1615–1673), to whom one may add, after 1690, the *Arcadians* (Gravina, Crescimbeni, Frugoni), Zappi, Rolli, and then Spolverini, Forteguerri and Varano. The theater knew honorable names: Zeno (1668–1750), Maffei (1675–1755), author of *Merope* (1713), Conti (1677–1749), Metastasio (1698–1782), and later Goldoni (1707–1793). In the historical sciences Giannone, Vico and Muratori stand out for diverse qualities. Literary criticism flourished also. Yet Italy's surest title to fame during this century rests perhaps upon the work of her scientists: Galileo (1564–1642), Viviani, Redi, Torricelli (1608–1647) and the Cassinis (Giovanni Domenico, 1625–1712, and Jacques, 1677–1756).

England reckons many glorious names during this period. Elizabethan vigor gave way to more chastened forms, whether in the courtly lyric (Herrick, Suckling, Lovelace) or in the other extreme of Puritan austerity (Milton, 1608–1674, and Bunyan, 1628–1688). After the Restoration (1660) French influence made itself felt increasingly, until, in the 18th century, the tide turned in the other direction, thanks to the originality of England's philosophers (Hobbes, 1588–1679; Locke, 1632–1704; Berkeley, 1685–1753; Hume, 1711–1776), economists (Adam Smith, 1723–1790) and scientists (Newton, 1642–1727; Royal Society, founded 1662). In pure literature one may recall, in drama, Dryden (1631–1700), Wycherley (1640?–1715), Congreve (1670–1729); in the novel, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678–1684), Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726–1727), Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), and later, Richardson (1689–1761), Fielding (1707–1754), and Smollett (1721–1771); in poetry, after *Paradise Lost* (1667), *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* (1671), Dryden again (*Absalom and Achitophel*, 1681–1682; *Fables*, 1699; *Alexander's Feast*, 1697), Pope (1688–1744; *Rape of the Lock*, 1712–1714, *Dunciad*, 1728, *Essay on Man*, 1732–1734); Thomson (1700–1748; *Seasons*, 1726–1730); in criticism, Dryden and Pope; in satire, these two again, with Butler (*Hudibras*, 1663–1678) and Swift (*Tale of a Tub*, *Battle of the*

Books, 1704); in the essay, Steele (1672–1729) and Addison (1672–1719); in memoirs, Pepys (1633–1703) and Evelyn (1620–1706).

The interrelations of Spain and England were not close in literature at this time, and frequently, as before, Spanish works reached England only by way of France. Thus, Shadwell's *Libertine* (1676), a Don Juan play, was taken from the Italian and French versions; the author knew *El burlador de Sevilla* only by faint hearsay. Through the medium of that inveterate Hispanophile Thomas Corneille, Dryden derived his *Evening's Love* (1668) from Calderón's *Astrólogo fingido,* Killigrew *The Parson's Wedding* (1640) from *La dama duende,* Colley Cibber *The Double Gallant* (1710) from *Hombre pobre todo es trazas.* Steele took *The Lying Lover* (1703) from Alarcón's *Verdad sospechosa* by way of Pierre Corneille's *Le Menteur.* Some English writers may have gone direct to Spain: Wycherley, perhaps, in *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* (1673?) from Calderón's *El maestro de danzar* (a few scenes only), Samuel Tuke in *Adventures of Five Hours* (1663), from Coello's (?) *Lo que pasa en una noche.* And Shadwell's *Amorous Bigotte* (1690?), with a cast of characters almost entirely of Spaniards, is colored strongly with picaresque romance. But these are isolated cases, and evidence is lacking that many English writers of this time knew Spanish literature at first hand or were influenced by any Spanish modes of thought. Nor were Spaniards much acquainted with English literature. Milton's *Paradise Lost* did not become known to the intellectuals of the Peninsula till the 18th century, and then was more admired than assimilated.[1]

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[1] E. A. Peers, *Milton in Spain,* in *Studies in Philology,* XXIII, 1926, 169–183.

CHAPTER I

POETRY AND THE DRAMA

3. Lyric Poetry[1]

Sterile abundance characterizes lyric verse during this period; its history comes to be a monotonous procession of obscure names. Even those of Solís, Melo and Antonio de Mendoza would be today unknown if these men had written nothing more than their lyrics. The only poet who emerges a little from the crowd is Count **Bernardino de Rebolledo** (1597–1676),[2] ambassador to Denmark, whose works were printed in Antwerp (*Ocios*, 1650), Cologne (1652), and in Copenhagen (1655), etc. Gathered into four volumes in Madrid, 1778, under the general title *Obras poéticas*, they embrace various genres (*Selva militar y política, Selvas dánicas*, etc.). He was the author also of a prose *Discurso de la hermosura y el amor* (1652), a Platonic echo of the 16th-century mystics.

Collections of verse were abundant enough, in all conscience, but quantity cannot take the place of quality. So the only poets that demand mention are the Portuguese nun Sor **Violante do Ceo** (*Rimas varias*, Rouen, 1646);[3] **Jerónimo Camargo y Zárate** (*Obras divinas y humanas*, ca. 1650);[4] **Jerónimo Cancer y Velasco** (*Obras varias*, 1651);[5] Father **Pedro de Quirós,** a Sevillan monk (*Doripso Dequer*) (*Poesía divina y humana*, ca. 1656);[6] **Francisco López de Zárate** (1580?–1658; cf. p. 243), whose poems had two editions, 1619 and 1651;[7] **Juan Moncayo y Gurrea** (p. 252), a Saragossan who published his *Rimas* in 1652 and his *Poema trágico de Atalanta e Hipómenes* in 1656; **Francisco de la Torre y Sevil** (*Entretenimiento de las Musas . . .* , 1654); the dramatist **Cubillo de Aragón** (1654; cf. p. 386); **Luis de Ulloa Pereira** (*Obras, prosas y versos*, 1659 and 1674; cf. p. 246); **León Merchante** (p. 364); **Carlos Alberto de Cepeda y Guzmán** (1640–after 1690);[1] Sor **Juana Inés de la Cruz** (1651–1695),[2] the famous *Monja de Méjico*, "the unique American poetess," "the tenth Muse," who filled volumes with pious lyrics and poems of all sorts, as well as dramatic efforts, etc.; and **José Pérez de Montoro,** whose *Obras póstumas líricas humanas* were published in two volumes in 1736. To enumerate the many others would be too ungrateful a task.

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[1] *Poemas líricos de los siglos XVI y XVII*, ed. A. de Castro, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXII and XLII. *Poetas líricos del siglo XVIII*, ed. L. A. de Cueto, vol. I (*Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXI).

[2] *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLII; also in vols. XVI and XXXV.—See E. Gigas, *Grev Bernardino de Rebolledo, Spansk Gesandt i Kjbenhavn 1648–1659*, Kjbenhavn, 1883.

[3] She wrote both in Portuguese and Castilian. *Poesías*, ed. J. Mendes dos Remedios, in *Subsidios*, XVI, Coimbra, 1914, 1–27. Also in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXV.

[4] Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, no. 1549.

[5] See also p. 388. *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLII. *Vejámenes literarios* (one of Cancer, one of A. Pantaleón de Ribera), ed. El Bachiller Mantuano (Bonilla y San Martín), 1909.

[6] *Poesías divinas y humanas*, ed. Sociedad del Archivo Hispalense, Sevilla, 1837. *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXII.—See Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, cols. 17–26.

[7] See J. Millé y Giménez, *Poesías de L. de Z. atribuidas a Lope de Vega*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXV, 1925, 145–149.

4. Drama

The theater at least can offer one more great name and a few others of some justified repute. It was indeed the drama which cast the last gleams of brilliance over this dying society.

Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681)[3] stands, in fact, with Lope de Vega, as the most complete and perfect representative of Spanish dramatic art. He was the son of an hidalgo from the *Montaña* of Reinosa and of Ana María de Henao (Hainault) y Riaño, and was born at Madrid on January 17, 1600. He studied, like his illustrious predecessor, at the Jesuit Colegio Imperial in Madrid; then he attended the Universities of Alcalá (1614) and Salamanca (1615–1620). His first poetic exercises date probably from 1619; his first public efforts and successes from 1620–1623. His first datable play is of 1623. From then till 1625 there is no evidence of his presence in Madrid; he may have traveled in Lombardy and Flanders. Back in Madrid in 1625, he devoted himself to the theater with increasing success. Philip IV rewarded him with the Order of Santiago (1636); he was inducted the following year. From 1637 to 1640 he was in the service of the Duque del Infantado. He enlisted in the army, and served against the Catalan rebels (1640–1642). Upon his discharge for reasons of health he was granted a pension of thirty *escudos* a month, but it was not paid with regularity. He served the Duke of Alba four years (1645–1649?), was ordained priest in 1651, appointed chaplain of the *Capilla de Reyes Nuevos* in the Cathedral of Toledo (1653), honorary King's Chaplain (1663), and finally was elected *capellán mayor* of a Congregation of Madrid priests, in 1666. After his ordination he wrote no more *comedias* for the public, but composed them for the Court, and many *autos* for general performance. Never married, he had one illegitimate son (1647–1657?), who did not survive childhood; the mother is unknown. Calderón died May 25, 1681.

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[1] *Poesías* in Gallardo, *Ensayo*, II, no. 1752.

[2] *Poesías escogidas*, ed. M. Toussaint, México, 1916. *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLII. *Los empeños de una casa* (*comedia*), ed. Mesonero, *ibid.*, XLIX.—See M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. de poetas hispano-americanos*, I, 1893, pp. lxvi–lxxiv. P. Henríquez Ureña, *Bibliografía de Sor J. I. de la C.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XL, 1917, 161–214. Amado Nervo, *Juana de Asbaje*, 1910. Dorothy Schons, *Some Obscure Points in the Life of Sor J. I. de la C.*, in *Mod. Philol.*, XXIV, 1926, 141–162. Id., *Bibliografía de Sor J. I. de la C.*, México, 1927.

[3] Biography. C. Pérez Pastor, *Documentos para la biografía de D. P. C. de la B.*, 1905. N. Alonso Cortés, *Algunos datos relativos a don P. C. de la B.*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, II, 1915, 41–51. E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Ensayo sobre la vida y obras de D. P. C. de la B.*, 1924.

Unlike Lope de Vega, he wrote little outside the drama.[1] His topical poems (*A San Isidro*, etc.) are negligible, as well as some religious meditations in verse (*A la muerte*, *Psalle et sile*), random lines (*A un río helado*, etc.), and a prose *Defense of the Nobility of Painting*. His autobiographical *Romance* has personal interest and his letter in defense of poetry as a priestly occupation (*Bibl. Aut. Esp.* XIV, 676) is a neat rejoinder.

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[1] WORKS: *Comedias* (117, 8 in collaboration, and 16 one-act pieces), ed. J. E. Hartzenbusch, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, VII, IX, XII, XIV. *Comedias* (108), ed. J. G. Keil, 4 vols., Leipzig, 1827–1830. *Teatro selecto* (18 pieces), ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, 4 vols. 1881. M. Krenkel, *Klassische Bühnendichtungen der Spanier* (4 *comedias*), 3 vols., Leipzig, 1881–1887. *Comedias* (3), ed. A. Kressner, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1886, 1887, 1898. *Three Plays*, ed. G. T. Northup, N. Y., 1926. *Autos sacramentales* (13), ed. González Pedroso, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LVIII. *Id.* (6), ed. Valbuena Prat, 2 vols., 1926–1927 (*Clásicos cast.*, vols. 69 and 74). *Las órdenes militares*, ed. E. Walberg, Bordeaux, 1904 (reprint from *Bull. Hisp.*, V and VI). *El mágico prodigioso*, ed. A. Morel-Fatio, Heilbronn, 1877. *La vida es sueño*, ed. M. A. Buchanan, Toronto, 1909. *La selva confusa*, ed. G. T. Northup, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXI, 1909, 168–338. *La Española de Florencia*, ed. S. L. M. Rosenberg, Phila., 1911. *Troya abrasada* (C. and Zabaleta), ed. G. T. Northup, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXIX, 1913, 195–345. *El alcalde de Zalamea*, ed. J. Geddes, N. Y., 1918. *Id.*, ed. Ida Farnell, Manchester, 1921. *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.* XIV, XXIV (*Romance a una dama que deseaba saber su estado, persona y vida*), XXXV. *Poesias inéditas*, 1881. GENERAL CRITICISM: R. C. Trench, *An Essay on the Life and Genius of C.*, London, 1880. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Calderón y su teatro*, 1881. Norman MacColl, *Select Plays of C.*, London, 1888. L. Rouanet, *Drames religieux de C.*, Paris, 1898. H. Breymann, *Calderon-Studien*, I, *Die C.-Literatur*, München–Berlin, 1905. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *C.*, in *Chapters on Spanish Lit.*, London, 1908. Blanca de los Ríos, *De C. y de su obra*, 1915. Salvador de Madariaga, *Shelley and C.*, etc., London, 1920. A. Valbuena Prat, *Los autos sacramentales de C.* (*clasificación y análisis*), in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXI, 1924, 1–302. Pierre Paris, *La mythologie de C.*, in *Homenaje Menéndez Pidal*, I, 1925, 557–570. L. P. Thomas, *Les jeux de scène et l'architecture des idées dans le théâtre de C.*, *ibid.*, II, 1925, 501–530. Miguel de Unamuno, *En torno al casticismo*, caps. iii and iv. ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS: D. F. MacCarthy, *Dramas of C., Tragic, Comic and Legendary*, 2 vols., London, 1853. Id., *Love the Greatest Enchantment*, etc., London, 1861. Id., *Mysteries of Corpus Christi*, Dublin, 1867. Id., *Three Dramas of C.*, Dublin, 1870. Edward Fitz-Gerald, *Six Dramas of C.*, London, 1853. See further A. Flores, *Spanish Lit. in Engl. Translation*, N. Y., 1926, 30–32.

In a letter of July 24, 1680, in answer to a query from the Duke of Veragua, Calderón gave a list of 111 *comedias* which he had written. His biographer and editor Juan de Vera Tassis y Villaroel attributed to him eleven more, plus seven in collaboration with other writers. Add to these some seventy *autos*, and twenty *entremeses*, *mojigangas* and *jácaras*, and we have a number of dramatic pieces which is quite large enough, if it does not approach Lope's figure. Calderón himself published but one volume, the twelve *Autos sacramentales, alegóricos y historiales* of 1677. Five volumes of his *comedias* appeared during his life; the first four (1636, 1637, 1664, 1672), containing twelve plays each, received at least his tacit approval; the fifth (1677) he disavowed; it holds ten plays, of which but eight are by Calderón. His friend Vera Tassis then issued nine volumes (1682–1691) of genuine plays, 108 *comedias*, from authentic manuscripts, according to the editor. Seventy-two *autos* were published in six volumes (1717) by Pedro de Pando y Mier.

One may assert that not one of the types of drama used by Lope de Vega is absent in Calderón. The latter neither invented nor added anything. His originality does not consist in form. The difference is simply that Lope, in his early years at least, had to defend a cause and establish a type which in his successor's day was fixed beyond discussion. Simplifying as much as possible the examination of his dramatic work, one may adopt these divisions:

1° Dramas or tragedies on historical or fictional themes.
2° *Comedias de capa y espada.*
3° Religious *comedias*, on lives of Saints or theological problems.
4° *Autos sacramentales.*
5° Minor genres.

The fifth group may be set aside as having, in Calderón, little importance and less merit. It contains some spectacular fêtes, mythological dramas, fairy plays, *zarzuelas*, *sainetes*, *bailes*, etc.

1°. The *historical plays* are borrowed from ancient, foreign and national history. In all the author takes the most extraordinary liberties with facts. Whether the action is in the Orient, as in

La hija del aire (Semiramis) and *La gran Cenobia*, or in Greece and Tyre, as in *Duelos de amor y lealtad*, or in Rome, as in *El segundo Escipión* and *Las armas de la hermosura* (Coriolanus), or in modern Europe, as in *El cisma de Inglaterra* (Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn), historical verity is the least of his cares. Not only did Calderón make no effort to go back to the sources, as Corneille did for *Horace* and *Cinna*, but he seems to have taken delight in piling up errors, anachronisms and the most ridiculous misinterpretations. Needless to say, geography is no more secure from his attacks than history. Nor did he possess, in default of science, that gift of historical intuition, so remarkable in Voltaire (*La Mort de César*). In Calderón there are no Greeks or Romans or Arabs or Englishmen; there are only Spaniards, with all the passions and prejudices of the contemporaries of Philip IV and Carlos II. What was the reason? Was it ignorance? Certainly not. Calderón, without being a scholar, was well read. Irony? Far from it: irony was no part of his character. Perhaps one may detect rather a kind of disdainful condescension toward an audience in large part popular, whose ignorance and prejudices must be catered to. In accordance with *Comedia* tradition dramatic interest took precedence over every other consideration, and the historical basis was regarded as raw material which individual caprice and national spirit could work up at will.

In Spanish themes there is naturally greater regard for truth. But the share of history is reduced to very little. What we have is anecdotes, true or legendary, which concern certain real names (*La niña de Gómez Arias, Amar después de la muerte, El postrer duelo de España*, etc.). There is hardly any other play than *El sitio de Bredá* that can really be called historical; but it is less a drama, strictly speaking, than a series of military tableaux, an interesting commentary upon Velázquez's painting, *Las Lanzas*.

In this semi-historic style Calderón's master-work is beyond question *El alcalde de Zalamea* (1644?).[1] The subject is dramatic, the plot is simply and strongly built. The characters stand out as very Spanish and yet very human: the *alcalde de monterilla*, Pedro Crespo, equal to Lope de Vega's plebeian heroes; the famous Colonel Don Lope de Figueroa, a fine soldierly figure often used in drama; Don Mendo, the ridiculously proud poor hidalgo, own cousin to him of *Lazarillo*, to Don Quijote and Don Toribio (in *Guárdate del agua mansa*); not to mention the soldier Rebolledo, the canteen-woman La Chispa and Captain Ataide.

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[1] Beside the single editions cited in n. 1, p. 373, it is vol. III in the Krenkel collection, and vol. II in that of Kressner.

It is interesting to observe that two of Calderón's unchallenged masterpieces, *El alcalde de Zalamea* and *El médico de su honra*, were inspired by two plays of Lope, without the adapter troubling even to change the titles. Did he preserve them because he felt pride in the superiority of his versions? for there is no question that they are superior. Perhaps, but in the "*historia verdadera*" which forms the theme of *El alcalde* one feels that the author drew directly upon his own experience as a soldier. What a pity that this splendid drama, written for the most part powerfully and swiftly, is disfigured here and there by intolerable conceptism, as in Isabel's confession! (III, 1 and 2)

Calderón's most characteristic and original dramas are those founded upon the sentiment of honor (*pundonor*): *El médico de su honra, A secreto agravio secreta venganza, El pintor de su deshonra, El Tetrarca de Jerusalén, o El mayor monstruo los celos*, etc. The word "honor" must be defined; it has here a very precise and particular meaning. It expresses a very touchy sentiment of conjugal honor, which is tarnished by the least breath of suspicion. It manifests itself through a ferocious jealousy, arising less from love than from threatened self-esteem; it provokes vengeances of refined cruelty. For, if it does not always lie within our power to prevent our honor being attacked, we can always either prevent the taint from being made public (and a secret injury leaves honor unstained), or punish the guilty person: honor is therefore in this case synonymous with reputation. We must grant, however, that in this matter there is nothing in Calderón not found already in Lope, Rojas Zorrilla, and every other playwright, and even in the Spanish casuists from St. Thomas Aquinas on. If the *point of honor* has seemed to be a special characteristic of the Calderonian drama, it is because this concept, so shocking to our modern ideas and yet so Castilian, so *castizo*, is there set forth with particular rigor in a series of plays in which it forms the moving force. "Calderón reduced to a formula and synthetized what he had received from his predecessors."[1]

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[1] Américo Castro, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, III, 1916, p. 16 (*Algunas observaciones acerca del concepto del honor en los siglos XVI y XVII*, pp. 1–50 and 357–386).

In the first three dramas mentioned above, it is a husband (Gutierre Alfonso, Lope de Almeida, Juan Roca, respectively), who has or imagines he has reason to think himself betrayed, and who wreaks pitiless vengeance on his wife and her accomplice, real or supposed. History and memoirs of those days, from Pellicer to Mme. d'Aulnoy,[1] prove abundantly that nowhere more than at this point did the theater draw directly from contemporary manners, and it is probably because he gave more faithful and energetic expression than anyone else to essentially national passions that Calderón has remained so popular. Gutierre in *El médico de su honra* commits an atrocious act when he forces a surgeon to open the veins of his wife whom he suspects, though she is innocent, and when he dips his hand in her blood to wash away the stain he sees upon his scutcheon; but no one was indignant or scandalized. Popular feeling not only absolved him, it glorified him. Is it true, as some have said, that in his heart Calderón thoroughly condemned such inhuman notions? For my part, I do not think so. His opinion was doubtless that of almost all his contemporaries (for some did protest), and of the author of *Othello*. But Othello touches our hearts as Gutierre and Herod, Tetrarch of Jerusalem, do not, because the former is more concerned for his love than for his honor, and also because in Shakespeare passion speaks with a tongue infinitely more true, simple and strong than in Calderón. The latter's wire-drawn metaphysic is not the speech of love, despite admirable passages which may bear comparison with those of *The Moor of Venice*. The *Willow* song is, for example, no more effective than the old *canción* of Escrivá; *Ven, muerte, tan escondida . . .*, as it is used in the *Tetrarca*.

See also the same author's *El pensamiento de Cervantes*, 1925, *passim*. A. Rubió y Lluch, *El sentimiento del honor en el teatro de Calderón*, Barcelona, 1882. A. W. Herdler, *The Sentiment of Honor in Calderón's Theatre*, in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, VIII, 1893, 153–160. D. C. Stuart, *Honor in the Sp. Drama*, in *Romanic Rev.*, I, 1910, 247–258, 357–366. W. A. Nitze, *Corneille's Conception of Character and the Cortegiano*, in *Mod. Phil.*, XV, 1917, 129–142, 385–400. G. T. Northup, *The Sp. Conception of Honor*, in *Three Plays by Calderón*, N. Y., 1926, pp. xvi–xxiv. W. L. Fichter, *Conjugal Honor in the Theater of Lope de Vega*, in *El castigo del discreto*, N. Y., 1926, 27–72.

[1] [On Pellicer see above, p. 285. Mme. d'Aulnoy's *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* (1691) is perhaps the most quoted travel-book on Spain ever written. It is in the form of letters purporting to be written in 1679–1680, when she was traveling; actually it was composed in 1690–1691, and drawn mainly from contemporary documents, not her own experiences. This has been demonstrated by M. Foulché-Delbosc in his edition (*Rev. Hisp.*, LXVII, 1926). But his contention that she was never in Spain is probably unsuccessful. See Jeanne Mazon, *Mme. d'Aulnoy n'aurait-elle pas été en Espagne?*, in *Rev. Litt. Comp.*, VII, 1927, 724–736.]

2°. The *comedy of manners* or *comedia de capa y espada* is not the most original part of Calderón's theater, nor that which includes his most obvious masterpieces, but in his hands it retains in full the interest of the former period and offers many models of the type: *La dama duende* (*The Phantom Lady*), *No hay burlas con el amor* (*No Jesting with Love*), *El secreto a voces* (*Everybody's Secret*), *El astrólogo fingido*, *Hombre pobre todo es trazas* (*Poverty Sharpens the Wits*), *El alcaide de sí mismo*, *Mañanas de abril y mayo*, *Antes que todo es mi dama*, *Guárdate del agua mansa* (*Still Waters Run Deep*), etc. There is no essential modification in the type; laws, methods of composition and style are the same and so are their merits and defects. A few remarks will be enough.

First, all these comedies are much alike and therefore monotonous; nothing is easier than to lay out *a priori* the pattern or plot-type of all these productions. It has in fact already been done by Menéndez y Pelayo and Damas-Hinard.[1] The same characters are always present: *galanes;* fathers and brothers, tyrannical watch-dogs of family honor; *damas*, more energetic but less womanly than in Lope; *graciosos* and soubrettes, much less funny than in Tirso. As for situations and intrigue, they are more alike, more uniform than in the other writers, and Calderón himself recognized their monotony:

Es comedia de Don Pedro
Calderón, donde ha de haber
Por fuerza amante escondido,
O rebozada mujer.
(*No hay burlas con el amor*, II, 13)

Among the traditional and inevitable *lances de Calderón* may be named: the father's unexpected return, the secret hiding-place, change or exchange of clothing, mistaken identity, duel, stabbing in the dark. The accessories, the "strings," are equally familiar: the veil (for *la tapada*), the *capa*, the torch extinguished and then relit at the correct moment, revolving panels, hidden doors, houses with two doors, disguises, etc. Knowing these items one knows also that chance, *la casualidad*, is really the protagonist and the God of this machine. The dénouement, since it issues neither from the logic of characters nor from the initial facts of the intrigue, is always unforeseen. It may not satisfy reason, but at least it piques curiosity. We have, in short, a true vaudeville. Did not Goethe compare *La hija del aire* to a ballet?

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[1] In the introduction to his French translation of Calderón: *Théâtre*, 3 vols., Paris, 1841–1843.

What merit have these pieces then? For one thing, they exhibit extraordinary fertility of invention in the details. The combinations, though formed of the same elements, are infinitely varied. The threads all come off the same ball, but they are so prettily entangled and disentangled, with such a light turn of the wrist, that Scribe, Sardou and Labiche should confess themselves beaten. Next, there is the merit of an exact picture, not of manners perhaps, but of the romantic ideals of that society. Lope is more copious, Tirso more realistic, Alarcón more penetrating, but Calderón brings out better the types and spirit of his time. An essentially synthetic genius, he paints an epoch, not individuals. Psychologically his characters scarcely exist; historically they are very exact, so exact that one could compose a commentary on much of his theater with nothing else than the travel notes of Mme. d'Aulnoy.

3°. *Religious and Philosophical Comedias.* More of a theologian than a philosopher, Calderón boldly staged Catholic dogma. He converted it into a basis for dramatic action, and the moral law became the deep and moving force behind his characters. In this "herald of the Church" the drama became a living commentary upon the Holy Books, the semi-official interpretation of revealed doctrine and the Church Fathers, St. Augustine, St. Thomas and St. Basil, studied ardently at Salamanca before he was twenty.

Comedias de Santos are numerous. Sometimes the subject is taken from the Old Testament (*Judas Macabeo, La sibila de Oriente, Los cabellos de Absalón*), or from the New Testament (*La Virgen del Sagrario, La Virgen de la Almudena*), sometimes from religious history (*La aurora en Copacabana, El gran príncipe de Fez, La exaltación de la Cruz*, or Heraclius and Chosroes, *Las cadenas del demonio*, or St. Bartholomew in Armenia). Of this type the best is *El príncipe constante* (1629). The hero is Prince Fernando, son of John I, King of Portugal (reigned 1385–1433), who was held in captivity and finally put to death by the Berbers of Fez. The action takes place from 1437 to 1443. The play might figure in the historical series, but it breathes such Christian enthusiasm and fervor of proselytism that it deserves to be placed among the religious pieces, with as much reason as Corneille's *Polyeucte.* Drama, epic vigor and lyric inspiration are successfully mingled in *El príncipe constante.*

Three other masterpieces of Calderón will convey a correct idea of what I have called *philosophic and religious* drama, or, more simply, *theological* drama: *La vida es sueño, El mágico prodigioso,* and *La devoción de la Cruz.*

The philosophical thought which underlies *La vida es sueño* (*Life is a Dream*)[1] is that natural man is a sort of wild beast who triumphs over his gross instincts only through reason. Reason shows him that everything on earth is the fleeting illusion of a dream, and that truth and reality exist only in the eternal world beyond. The thesis is both Platonic and Christian. The plot is very simple. The first act contains the exposition, and furnishes the elements of the central thought, the roots of which reach to the remotest Oriental traditions. The second and third acts show respectively the triumph of the Beast and that of Reason. The only really original character is young Prince Sigismund, the protagonist of this symbolic drama, and he is one of the most profound and suggestive conceptions in the whole range of the Spanish theater. Unfortunately, the inspired originality of this work is weighted with the useless side-plot of Clotaldo and Rosaura, and disfigured by Gongorism, plays on words and even puns.

El mágico prodigioso,[2] the elements of which were drawn from Symeon Metaphrastes, the *Legenda aurea* and the *Flos Sanctorum,* develops a theme somewhat like that of Mira de Amescua's *Esclavo del demonio.* It reminds one too of the Faust legend. The religious bearing of the subject in no way spoils its human interest, but one could admire the play more unreservedly were it not for romantic incidents, anachronisms of manners, the inconsistent character of the Devil, scholastic pedantry and stupid jokes on the part of the *graciosos* Moscón and Clarín, not to mention the inevitable Gongorism.

La devoción de la Cruz is perhaps the most curious of the theological plays. To some it is "the masterpiece of Christian art," to others, " a defiance of all reason and common sense." The subject is similar to that of *El condenado por desconfiado* and Calderón's own *Purgatorio de San Patricio:* the merit of devotion to the Cross is so great that it has power to efface all crimes. The drama based upon this doctrine is moving and pathetic, but from a purely human point of view it is incomprehensible. How can one reconcile so much piety and so many crimes in the two protagonists, Eusebio and Julia? And how can one explain in any rational manner such abrupt psychological revulsions? Really, is the dramatist not abusing the miraculous and straining overmuch the credulity of the audience? [1]

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[1] Besides the Buchanan ed., which is merely a critical text without commentary, *La vida es sueño* is found in the Krenkel collection (I), Kressner (I), MacColl and Northup. On the play and its philosophy A. Farinelli's monumental *La vita è un sogno,* 2 vols., Torino, 1916, is of prime importance.

[2] Besides the Morel-Fatio ed., it is vol. II of Krenkel. See also A. Sánchez Moguel, *Memoria acerca de "El mágico prodigioso" de Calderón, y en especial sobre las relaciones de este drama con el "Fausto" de Goethe,* 1881.

4°. *Autos.* " To glorify the True Faith is the intent of the most remarkable portion of Calderón's work, a portion that is hard for us of today to understand. The poet pours forth *autos* till his last breath; he puts vices and virtues on the stage in person; he sets the Spirits of Good and Evil in opposition and in combat; he dialogues boldly with a casuistry worthy of the most famous and redoubtable theologues." [2]

Calderón, " the poet of Heaven," in Schlegel's phrase, certainly surpassed all his compatriots in the *auto sacramental.* This was a little dramatic composition in one act in honor of the Holy Sacrament. It was played on *carros,* or movable platforms, in the public squares, on Corpus Christi day. The *auto,* so typical of Spain, appeared "grotesque" to the Protestant Ticknor, and " a mass of absurdities " to the Swiss Sismondi. Jovellanos, though a Spaniard and a Catholic, saw in it a " *supersticiosa costumbre,*" and *autos* were prohibited in 1765. Modern criticism has been more broad-minded and has recognized their artistic merit. These allegorical pieces, lavishly staged and paid for by municipalities, demanded prodigious fertility of imagination, since the theme was always the same: the mystery of transubstantiation. No other writer equalled Calderón in them. More than seventy of his authentic *autos* are extant. In them his creative imagination and his great lyric power had full sweep and in them one may seek his freshest and most brilliant inspiration. The true lyric poetry of the period lies there, in such creations as *El divino Orfeo, La primer flor del Carmelo, La vida es sueño,* and not in the innumerable collections of verse alluded to above.

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[1] It is amusing to find an answer to this question on the lips of Jérôme Coignard, in Anatole France's *La Rôtisserie de la Reine Pédauque.* " It must be observed" said the Abbé, "that the greatest saints are penitents, and since repentance is in proportion to the fault, the greatest sinners have in them the making of the greatest saints. I could illustrate this doctrine with many admirable examples. But you will understand from what I have said that the raw material of saintliness is greed, lust, and every impurity of the flesh and of the spirit." And Jacques Tournebroche finds this teaching full of high wisdom, but very dangerous if practised without discernment.

[2] A. Farinelli, *Calderón* (*Nuova Antología*, 1916, vol. 266, 10–27). This quotation, p. 12.

Calderón's fame has variously waxed and waned. He suffered an eclipse in Spain in the 18th century, though faring better than the other great dramatists of the *siglo de oro.* It was in foreign lands, particularly in Germany, that his star began to recover its brilliance, at the beginning of the 19th century. And yet the truth expressed by his theater is quite relative, local and Spanish. What his art chiefly lacked, save in a few exceptional pieces, is truth human and eternal; nowhere is the particularism of Spanish literature more apparent. That is why Calderón's fame has been giving way before that of Lope de Vega, despite the efforts of German scholars, whose motives are not always free from suspicion, for their real target is French drama. At least, Calderón's documentary value remains intact, and his literary merit also, in great part. With him comedy, whose structure he strengthened, gained in precision and dramatic power what it lost in liberty and ease. He possessed rare gifts: imagination both powerful and delicate, dramatic instinct, the skill to condense a situation into clear and rapid action. The outline is sharp and unadorned. His style is vigorous and poetic, though it sometimes lapses, it is true, into declamation and labored refinement. His drama is one of the most *lyrical* that exists; that, perhaps, is its chief originality. His imagination conceives, his soul feels, his mind fixes the thought in a poetic form. In far higher degree than the aspiring lyrists of his time he possessed in brain and ear and veins what he himself, in truly Spanish phrase, styled *la música de la sangre,* that natural inner rhythm which, without their knowing it, guides the speech of those whom the Muse has chosen.

But his most lasting claim to glory is that he was in his time the most perfect representative of the race as the centuries had moulded it, the preëminently Spanish poet; as Menéndez y Pelayo said, "Calderón is ancient Spain with all its crossing of light and shadow, of grandeur and defects." His drama represents better than any other the essential traits of Spanish genius,—its hardness, sharpness of outline and power of idealization, but also its lack of true humanity and tenderness. Shakespeare shows us man as he is, but in Calderón man is often no more than an abstract idea or an allegory. With Calderón the *Comedia* gave the complete measure of its formula; one can say that it died with him.

5. Other Dramatists

Among the playwrights of Calderón's generation, nearly all of whom preceded him into the grave, two or three showed themselves worthy of the heritage left them by their predecessors.

Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla (1607–1648),[1] a Toledan and Knight of Santiago, wrote about seventy *comedias* and fifteen *autos*, besides works of doubtful authenticity and collaborations. To posterity he is known as the author of *Del rey abajo ninguno* (*None Save the King*), otherwise *El labrador más honrado, García del Castañar.* Spanish critics never cease their praise of it; it is one of the few dramas of the time that still please the public, and some of its lines are known by heart to students. In the main its reputation is deserved, for there are fine scenes of chivalrous loyalty. The character of García, for whom Lope provided many models, possesses grandeur and charm. Through the powerful action runs a thread of fresh and delicate lyricism and an appreciation of nature which was rare. But García is the only real character in the play. The monologues and long narratives are sometimes insufferably Gongoristic; coarseness alternates with puns. At any rate this celebrated drama has unjustly cast Rojas's other work in the shade. *Entre bobos anda el juego, Don Lucas del Cigarral* is an amusing vaudeville of errors, in the style of Calderón's light comedies. *Obligados y ofendidos, y gorrón de Salamanca* (*Under Obligation though Offended, or The Salamanca Sponge*) is of interest for study of the manners, prejudices and customs of the period, and the plot, complex and tangled as usual, is fairly regular. *Donde hay agravios no hay celos, y amo criado* (*Where Offense Exists There is no Jealousy, or The Servant Master*) is the original of Scarron's *Jodelet, ou le Maître Valet. Lo que son mujeres* is a study of feminine psychology, a "comedy without marriage or murder," a rare thing then. *Cada cual lo que le toca* (*To Everyone his Due*) has a heroine, Isabel, whose character is unusual from the point of view of female honor; nevertheless, or for that reason, the play failed. *La traición busca el castigo* was imitated by Lesage in *Le traître puni*. Rojas, in fact, furnished much material to French imitators. Thomas Corneille took from him *Don Bertrand de Cigarral* (*Don Lucas del Cigarral*) and *Les illustres ennemis* (*Obligados y ofendidos*); Scarron, besides *Jodelet*, his *Don Japhet d'Arménie* (*Don Lucas* again). Rotrou is thought to have derived his *Venceslas* from *No hay ser padre siendo rey*, but there may have been a common source.[1]

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[1] *Comedias escogidas* (27), ed. Mesonero, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LIV. Five in collaboration, *ibid.* and vols. XIV and XLV. *Teatro* (*Del rey abajo ninguno* and *Entre bobos anda el juego*), ed. F. Ruiz Morcuende, 1917 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 35). *Cada cual lo que le toca* and *La viña de Nabot*, ed. Américo Castro, 1917 (*Teatro antiguo esp.*, II). *Vejamen*, in Paz y Melia, *Sales esp.*, II, 1902, 311–322.—See A. Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne au XVI*^{e} *et au XVII*^{e} *siècle*, Heilbronn, 1878, 603–676. C. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliog. mad.*, III, 453–464. E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Don F. de R. Z., noticias biográficas y bibliográficas*, 1911. On this, A. Hämel, in *Ztschr. f. rom. Philol.*, XXXVIII, 1914, 119–122. Américo Castro, *Obras mal atribuidas a R. Z.*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, III, 1916, 66–68.

Rojas himself published two *Partes* of his *comedias* (1640 and 1645), containing twenty-four. Some of his work held the stage well, thanks to his inventiveness and striking character-creations. His style suffers from hurried writing and poor taste. His versification is noticeably less varied and rich than that of Lope and even of Calderón.

Agustín Moreto y Cabaña (1618–1669) [2] left some fifty *comedias*, besides collaborations, but many are only imitations or arrangements of earlier works. Nearly all were produced before he became a priest (1657); he had received minor orders before 1642. He was the protégé and chaplain of Cardinal Baltasar de Moscoso y Sandoval, Archbishop of Toledo, who appointed him administrator of the Brotherhood of San Pedro or *del Refugio* and its adjunct, the Hospital de San Nicolás, in Toledo. His originality is debatable, considering the large number of his imitations, but it is certain that in most cases they are improvements. So the splendid play *El Infanzón de Illescas* (p. 354) became still more interesting and perfect in *El valiente justiciero*, one of the finest historical dramas ever written in Spain. In like manner *El desdén con el desdén* (*Disdain against Disdain*) may have traits taken from Lope's *La vengadora de las mujeres* and *Los milagros del desprecio*, Tirso's *Celos con celos se curan*, or other possible forerunners,[1] but Moreto's charming comedy, so elegant and true to life, leaves them all far behind, as well as Molière's hastily commanded adaptation, *La Princesse d'Élide*. *La ocasión hace al ladrón* (which may not be by Moreto) is a direct copy from Tirso's *La villana de Vallecas;* if not superior, at least it is not unworthy of the model. *El lindo don Diego*, certainly suggested by Guillén de Castro's *Narciso en su opinión*, presents an amusing portrait of a fop set in a most appropriate frame. This kind of comedy, in which the chief character is frankly a caricature rather than a portrait, is called *comedia de figurón;* such are Rojas's *Entre bobos anda el juego*, and Castillo Solórzano's *El mayorazgo figura* (*The Clownish Heir*) and *El Marqués del Cigarral*, sometimes wrongly attributed to Moreto. Finally, we may mention *Trampa adelante* (*On with the Ruse!*), a smart intrigue piece, *De fuera vendrá . . .* (*From Without Will Come the One to Cast Us Out*), *La confusión de un jardín*, and, in the historical class, *Los jueces de Castilla*, in *fabla antigua*, reworked from a play of Lope. Moreto published but one volume of his own plays (1654); second and third *Partes* appeared in 1676 and 1681, besides apocryphal collections. By reason of his psychological penetration, the relative simplicity of his plots, his frank and witty gaiety, and his good taste and clearness of expression, Moreto's theater deserves to be called classic.

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[1] See H. C. Lancaster, *The Ultimate Source of Rotrou's "Venceslas" and of Rojas Zorrilla's "No hay ser padre siendo rey,"* in *Mod. Philol.*, XV, 1917–1918, 435–440.

[2] *Comedias escogidas* (33), ed. Luis Fernández-Guerra y Orbe, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXIX. *La gran casa de Austria y divina Margarita* (*auto sacramental*), ed. González Pedroso, *ibid.*, LVIII. *Teatro* (*El lindo don Diego* and *El desdén con el desdén*), ed. N. Alonso Cortés, 1916 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 32).—See E. Carrara, *Studio sul teatro ispano-veneto di Carlo Gozzi*, Cagliari, 1901. J. Mariscal de Gante, in *Los autos sacramentales*, 1911, 329–354. S. G. Morley, *Studies in Spanish Dramatic Versification of the Siglo de Oro, Alarcón and Moreto*, in *Univ. Calif. Publ. in Mod. Philol.*, VII, 1918, 131–173. E. Cotarelo y Mori, in *Col. de entremeses*, I, 1911, pp. xci–xciv. Id., *La bibliografía de M.*, in *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, XIV, 1927, 449–494.

6. Among the minor pillars of the Spanish *Comedia*,[2] under the shadow of Calderón, there appears **Antonio Coello y Ochoa** (1611–1652),[3] like Moreto a native of Madrid. His best play is the powerful tragedy *El Conde de Sex, o Dar la vida por su dama* (*Tragedia más lastimosa de amor*) (1633), a fiction of Queen Elizabeth and the Count of Essex. Others are *Lo dicho hecho, El celoso extremeño,* after Cervantes's *novela, La adúltera castigada, Peor es hurgallo* (*Let Sleeping Dogs Lie*), *Los dos Fernandos de Austria,* and *Los empeños de seis horas* (cf. p. 370). Philip IV thought highly of Coello, and the latter collaborated in many plays with other authors in favor at Court, as in *La Baltasara, El pastor fido, Los yerros de la naturaleza y aciertos de la fortuna,* and *El robo de las Sabinas;* in the last his brother Juan Coello Arias had a hand. Don Antonio sprinkled verses in many collections of the time.

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[1] Cf. Mabel M. Harlan, *The Relation of Moreto's 'El desdén con el desdén' to Suggested Sources*, Bloomington, Indiana, 1924 (Indiana University Studies, no. 62).

[2] The lesser dramatists of the second half of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th may be sampled in *Dramáticos posteriores a Lope de Vega*, ed. Mesonero Romanos, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLVII and XLIX (26 authors).

[3] *El Conde de Sex*, ed. Mesonero, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLV. *Id.*, ed. Carolina Michaëlis, in *Teatro esp.*, Leipzig, 1870. Five other plays in collaboration, *Bibl. Aut.*

Álvaro Cubillo de Aragón (1596?–1661) [1] was one of the most fertile dramatists of that period. Of his hundred plays about two dozen have survived shipwreck. Among them are *Las muñecas de Marcela* (*Marcela's Dolls*), unusual in its depiction of adolescent love; *El señor de Noches Buenas; La honestidad defendida o Elisa Dido* (whom Spaniards have always been ready to champion); *La perfecta casada, prudente, sabia y honrada; El rayo de Andalucía y Genízaro de España,* in two parts, adventures of the bastard Mudarra of the Infantes de Lara legend; and *El Conde de Saldaña,* which, with Bernardo del Carpio as its hero, was really successful on the stage. He wrote also a few religious pieces. Cubillo's poetical works are contained, with ten *comedias,* in *El enano de las Musas* (1654).

Juan Bautista Diamante (1625–1687) [2] published two *Partes* of his own plays (1670 and 1674), each containing twelve *comedias* and *zarzuelas.* But these are far from being all his works. One of the most important, *El honrador de su padre* (*The Avenger of his Father*) appeared only in volume XI of the *Comedias escogidas.* This play is an imitation of Corneille's *Cid,*[3] which of course was

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Esp., XIV and LIV.—See G. T. Northup, *Los Yerros de la Naturaleza*, etc., in *Romanic Rev.*, I, 1910, 411–425. E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Dramáticos del siglo XVII, Don A. C. y O.*, 1919 (reprint from *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, V, 1918). Winifred Smith, *The Earl of Essex on the Stage*, in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass. Am.*, XXXIX, 1924, 147–173.

[1] *Comedias* (7) in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLVII. *Poems, ibid.*, XLII. *Las muñecas de Marcela, El señor de Noches Buenas*, ed. A. Valbuena Prat, 1928 (*Clásicos olvidados*, vol. III).—See E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Dramáticos del siglo XVII, Á. C. de A.*, 1919 (reprint from *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, V, 1918).

[2] *Comedias* (4) in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLIX.—See Antoine L. A. Fée, *Les trois Cid* (*Guillén de Castro, Corneille, Diamante*), in *Études sur l'ancien théâtre espagnol*, Paris, 1873, 1–147. H. A. Rennert, *Mira de Amescua et "La Judía de Toledo,"* in *Rev. Hisp.*, VII, 1900, 119–140. E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Don J. B. D. y sus comedias*, 1916 (reprint from *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, III, 1916).

[3] [Cotarelo (*op. cit.*, p. 18 and note 2) denies this assertion, which is upheld by

modeled on Castro's *Mocedades*. Diamante's *Honrador* inspired in turn *El honrador de sus hijas* (1665) by Francisco Polo. *La Judía de Toledo* (1667) is imitated from Mira de Amescua's *La desdichada Raquel* (1625) and Luis de Ulloa's poem (p. 246). Other productions of this popular author are *Santa Teresa de Jesús, La Reina María Estuarda, El cerco de Zamora, El defensor del Peñón,* and three *zarzuelas* (*Alfeo y Aretusa, Lides de amor y desdén,* and *Júpiter y Semele*).

The author of the *Conquest of Mexico*, **Antonio de Solís** (p. 392),[1] wrote also for the stage, but not with much success. Nine of his plays appeared in his collection of 1681. The best are *El amor al uso* (*Love à la Mode*), *Un bobo hace ciento* (*One Fool Makes a Hundred*), *El Doctor Carlino* and *La Gitanilla de Madrid*. Some *sainetes* and a large number of *loas* of slight importance are found in the posthumous collection, *Varias poesías, sagradas y profanas* (1692).

Juan de Matos Fragoso (1608?–1689),[2] though Portuguese by birth, wrote only in Castilian. His dramatic compositions were very numerous. The earliest date of publication is 1651, in *El mejor de los mejores libros*, etc. (also 1653); twelve appeared in Matos's own *Primera* (and only) *Parte* (1658); about forty are extant. The least insignificant are *El yerro del entendido, El galán de su mujer, El ingrato agradecido, Lorenzo me llamo y carbonero de Toledo, El Redentor cautivo,* and in particular *El sabio en su retiro y villano en su rincón, o Juan Labrador*. Matos was an untiring remodeler of the work of earlier writers, especially of Lope.

Francisco Antonio de Bances Candamo (1662–1704)[3] and **Juan Claudio de la Hoz y Mota** (1622–1714),[4] who were intimately

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Antoine de Latour (*Pierre Corneille et Jean Baptiste Diamante*, in *Espagne religieuse et littéraire*, Paris, 1863), Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Mérimée, Viel-Castel (*Essai sur le théâtre espagnol*, Paris, 1882, II, 174–175), and Fée, *op. cit.* Cotarelo would postulate a lost Spanish play which served as model for both Corneille and Diamante, but his position appears untenable.]

[1] *Comedias* (4), in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLVII. *El pastor fido* (with Coello and Calderón), *ibid.*, XIV.—See D. E. Martell, *The Dramas of Don A. de S. y Rivadeneyra*, Phila., 1902.

[2] *Comedias* (7), in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLVII. *El ingrato agradecido*, ed. H. C. Heaton, N. Y., 1926.—See F. Herrán, *Apuntes para una historia del teatro esp. antiguo, Dramáticos de segundo orden*, 1888. García Peres, *Escritores portugueses*, 1890, 356–361.

[3] *Comedias* (4), in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLIX. *Las mesas de la fortuna* (*auto sacramental*), *ibid.*, LVIII. *Theatro de los theatros de los pasados y presentes siglos*, ed. M. Serrano y Sanz, in *Rev. de Arch.*, V, 1901, and VI, 1902.—See F. Cuervo-Arango y González-Carvajal, *Don F. A. de B. y López-Candamo*, 1916. W. Shaffer Jack, *B. C. and the Calderonian decadents*, in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass'n Am.*, XLIV, 1929, 1079–89.

[4] *Comedias* (2), in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLIX.

connected, both died early in the 18th century, and both held high administrative positions in the State. They were prolific writers. The former, a favorite poet of Carlos II, was most successful in the lyric drama or *zarzuela;* the best known of his *comedias* is *El esclavo en grillos de oro,* from Roman history. His *Teatro de los teatros* is a defense of the theater. Hoz y Mota survives chiefly for *El castigo de la miseria* and *El montañés Juan Pascual.*

Francisco de Leiva Ramírez de Arellano (1630–1676),[1] *El honor es lo primero;* the too witty **Cancer y Velasco** (d. 1655; cf. p. 371),[2] *La muerte de Baldovinos,* a burlesque, and many clever interludes; **Antonio Sigler de Huerta,** *No hay bien sin ajeno daño;* **Fernando de Zárate y Castronovo** (ca. 1660),[3] some of whose plays, *Quien habla más obra menos, La presumida y la hermosa,* were very successful (the second has been mentioned in connection with Molière's *Les Femmes Savantes*); the Jew **Miguel de Barrios** (d. 1701),[4] whose poems are more important than his plays; **Cristóbal de Monroy y Silva** (1612–1649),[5] *La sirena del Jordán San Juan Bautista, La batalla de Pavía, Las mocedades del Duque de Osuna;* **Francisco de Monteser** (d. 1668),[6] who excelled in *entremeses* and *bailes* and even rivaled Benavente; **Sebastián de Villaviciosa** (ca. 1650),[7] clever at interludes, collaborator with many better known dramatists and with Francisco de Avellaneda in the clever play, *Cuantas veo, tantas quiero;* **Andrés Gil Enríquez,** *El lazo, banda y retrato* (1670), also an excellent *entremesista;* **Jerónimo de Cuéllar;** these names and many more are today almost forgotten. Yet during the middle or latter half of the 17th century they were all stars of a certain relative and tempered radiance.

Antonio de Zamora and **José de Cañizares** are later. Zamora (d. 1728)[8] enjoyed great vogue at Court in the early 18th century. Two volumes of his plays were issued, the first in 1722, the second after his death, in 1744. Of his dramatic work the *comedia de figurón, El hechizado por fuerza* (*The Man Bewitched against his Will*), is still recalled, and more especially, his version of Tirso's *Burlador de Sevilla,* entitled *No hay deuda que no se pague y Convidado de piedra.* The second, Cañizares (1676–1750),[1] was both rival and collaborator of Zamora. He staged historical episodes: *Las cuentas del Gran Capitán,* borrowed from Lope; *Carlos Quinto sobre Túnez; El pleito de Hernán Cortés.* But his real originality, if he had any, is to be sought in the *comedias de figurón,* like *El dómine Lucas,* perhaps the best of this semi-burlesque type, and *La ilustre fregona,* from Cervantes.

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[1] *Comedias* (3), in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLVII.

[2] *Comedias* in collaboration (4), in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XIV and XXXIX.—See E. Cotarelo y Mori, in *Col. de entremeses*, I, pp. lxxxiv–lxxxviii.

[3] *Comedias* (4), in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLVII.

[4] See Kayserling, *Biblioteca esp.-portugueza-judaica*, Strasbourg, 1890, 16–26. Of Barrios' many volumes the most important appeared in 1655 and 1672.

[5] *Comedias* (3) in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLIX.

[6] *El caballero de Olmedo, comedia burlesca*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLIX.—See Cotarelo y Mori, *Col. de entremeses*, I, 1911, pp. cii–civ, cxciv–cxcv, ccxcv.

[7] *Cuantas veo, tantas quiero*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLVII.—See Cotarelo, *Col. de entremeses*, I, 1911, pp. c–cii, cxciii.

[8] *Comedias* (4) in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLIX.—See Cotarelo, *Col. de entremeses*, I, 1911, pp. cxxii–cxxiv, ccii–cciv. J. W. Barlow, *Zorrilla's Indebtedness to Z.*, in *Romanic Rev.*, XVII, 1926, 303–318.

These two authors suffice as representatives of dramatic literature during the first part of the 18th century. To the extent of their powers they followed docilely in the path of national tradition. The same may be said of **Francisco de Castro** (d. 1713),[2] whose *entremeses,* published in 1702 (*Alegría cómica,* 3 vols.) and 1742 (*Libro nuevo de entremeses intitulado Cómico festejo*), were a real popular hit, and of **Tomás de Añorbe y Corregel** (d. 1741?), whose plays, written about 1735–1740, provoked attacks from Luzán and Montiano. All the foregoing names give but a very faint notion of the number of dramatists during the decadence, and of their deplorable fertility. Despite this abundance, the national drama had run its course; the *Comedia* was dying of exhaustion. The soul and genius which had sustained it for more than a century were extinguished. Only its defects endured and grew each day more apparent.

A type of literature which rests upon fixed rules and is supported by classical traditions can keep up outward appearance for a longer time, but when individual talent, fantastic imagination and infinite resourcefulness of style are the sole guarantees of success, and when there is no longer any talent, power of invention, fancy or style, nothing remains except to do what the ultimate heirs of Lope and Calderón did: tread the old round, use over and over the same themes, threadbare as they might be, or strive to substitute for the lost qualities wild vagaries of exhausted invention and ridiculous style. The time had come for turning in a new direction, for reviving the corpse, if possible, by a transfusion of new blood.

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[1] *Comedias* (7) in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XLIX.

[2] See Cotarelo, *Col. de entremeses,* I, 1911, pp. cxviii–cxxi, ccii.

CHAPTER II

PROSE

In prose writings, history and the novel are the divisions which most deserve attention.

1 History.

Francisco Manuel de Melo (or **Mello**) (1608–1666),[1] born at Lisbon, occupies a distinguished place among Portuguese writers as well as among Spanish; he enjoys the rare privilege of being regarded as a classic in both literatures. Portugal being then under Spanish rule, at first he served Spain on the fleet, and then in Flanders (1639–1640). When Catalonia rebelled (1640–1641) he went through part of the campaign under the orders of the Marqués de los Vélez. Then the Portuguese rebellion broke out and Mello, arrested on suspicion, passed four months in a Madrid jail. Released, he made his way to Portugal via Flanders and England, espousing his native cause. Falsely accused of murder, for motives not certain, he was kept in prison nine years (1644–1653) in or near Lisbon, and then exiled to Brasil. This punishment, due probably to powerful enemies, was remitted in 1659, after the death of John IV (1656), and Melo returned to Portugal, visited England and Rome, where he prepared a complete edition of his works, and died at Lisbon.

He left many writings in both languages, but here we can dwell only upon his two most important Spanish works. His Castilian poems, strongly influenced by his friend Quevedo, and somewhat also by Góngora, were published at Lisbon in 1649, under the title *Las tres Musas del Melodino*, a transparent pseudonym for *Melo*. *As segundas tres Musas* contains most of his Portuguese lyrics. They appeared in 1665 at Lyons, together with *El tercer coro de las Musas* (Spanish compositions), and a reprint of the first collection, all under the general title of *Obras métricas*.

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[1] *Guerra de Cataluña*, ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXI. *Id.*, ed. J. O. Picón, 1912. *Cartas*, ed. E. Prestage, Lisbon, 1911. *Carta de Guia de Casados*, ed. E. Prestage, Porto, 1916.—See E. Prestage, *D. F. M. de M.*, Oxford, 1922. Georges Le Gentil, *Molière et le "Fidalgo Aprendiz,"* in *Rev. de Litt. Comparée*, I, 1921, 264–284.

Merely for the sake of completeness mention should be made of the *Apologos dialogaes*, not published till 1721, which pass for a model of classic Portuguese; the fourth *Apologo*, called *Hospital das lettras*, brings together in a library four famous men of letters, Quevedo, Justus Lipsius, Boccalini and Melo himself, to discuss literary subjects; it is " a notable scrutiny of Spanish and Portuguese literature."

Melo's most important Spanish work is unquestionably his *Historia de los movimientos y separación de Cataluña*, commonly called *Guerra de Cataluña* (1645). It appeared under the pseudonym of *Clemente Libertino*. The author gives an authoritative account of the events in which he himself took part in 1640 and 1641, but his story has none of the familiar tone of memoirs or reminiscences. On the contrary, it is a full-dress literary work and its maxims and reflections, which aspire to be profound, give it a certain ethical scope. This philosophico-literary conception of history was then current. Melo gilded the preaching better than most, it is true. He avoided banal expansion and unnecessary paraphrases, but his secret pretension to be considered a moral observer is apparent in the very way the facts are employed, opposed or grouped with forceful condensation.

His style is remarkable. It is not always easy and fluent, or even clear. Effort is so obvious that one feels a constant tension, but the concision, dignity and ingenious shading compensate for that. There is wit, also, sometimes too carefully whetted or too dazzling. His style is of a sustained, sententious type the models for which could readily be guessed, even if he did not himself indicate them. Sallust and Tacitus among the ancients, Mendoza, Quevedo, Malvezzi and Boccalini among moderns, to name only the most important, led him naturally toward the conceptism which is found in greater or less degree in all the writers of his period. Nevertheless the literature of history owes to him some of the finest pages written in that century: for example, the prelude to the Barcelona revolution, when the famous *segadors* (reapers), whose song has become the Catalan Marseillaise, entered the city. It must be said, however, that Melo's testimony (and nowhere more than in the episode just mentioned), is to be taken only with reservations. His errors are numerous and grave. His history is artistically admirable, but it is crammed with inaccuracies which have repeatedly been pointed out. Of course he denies that he allows personal feeling to influence his statements, or that he harbors any preconceived notions in the judgment of facts. Facts themselves, he says, shall speak, "*sin más razones que los mismos casos,*" but yet, unintentionally no doubt, and perhaps unconsciously, he entices the facts and gently guides them toward the side of a fine moral lesson rather than toward historical truth.

The only historian besides Melo who can be called a classic is **Antonio de Solís y Ribadeneyra** (1610–1686; cf. p. 387).[1] He at first served the Conde de Oropesa, Viceroy of Navarre and later of Valencia; then Philip IV employed him as Secretary of State (1654), and private secretary, and the Queen Mother made him chronicler of the Indies (1665). After becoming a priest (1667) he wrote his *Historia de la conquista de México, población y progresos de la América septentrional* (1684), usually known by the short title of *Conquista de Méjico.* It embraces the conquest of Mexico up to the taking of the capital, a period of three years only. But the romantically dramatic interest of the events, the unusual nature of the adventures, scenery and customs, the well drawn characters of the chief actors, from Diego Velázquez and Hernán Cortés to Montezuma and Guatemotzín, the picturesque episodes and digressions give Solís's narrative all the fascination of a novel. This is a merit for which he has often been reproached.

Solís, like all his contemporaries, conceived history as a work of art. Wisely, however, he decided not to imitate classical models too directly; he wished to remain himself, as he stated in his preface. But in spite of his good judgment he was not able always to escape the bad taste of the age, and he was not exacting enough in the choice of ideas and words. If his estimable history, still widely read, has not remained in the first rank, it was more the fault of the times than his own. His familiar letters (1680–1685), published in 1733, do honor to him as writer and as man.

Dr. **Cristóbal Lozano** wrote an interesting history full of legendary material, called *Los Reyes Nuevos de Toledo* (1667). Lozano, like Calderón, was made (in 1658) chaplain of the chapel in the Cathedral of Toledo called that of the *New Kings;* of the kings, that is, of the Trastamara line, descended from Henry II. Desirous of celebrating these rulers, he took their history *ab ovo* and related all the old fabulous traditions of Toledo. The mixture of history and novel pleased the public, as usual, and the work went through many editions. Lozano had also written plays, and, like Cervantes, *novelas ejemplares*, contained in the *Soledades de la vida y desengaños del mundo* (1658). Among his other works is *David perseguido*, in two parts, in which the story of David is interspersed with moral legends. Romantic writers, especially Zorrilla, found in Lozano a mine of weird conceptions.

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[1] *Historia de la Conquista de Méjico*, ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXVIII. *Cartas* (13), ed. E. de Ochoa, *ibid.*, XIII. *Poesías*, ed. A. de Castro, *ibid.*, XLII.

To this section on historians we may add **learned writers.** Two at least deserve special mention. **Nicolás Antonio** (1617–1684), a Sevillan canon, brought together in four volumes, indispensable to scholars, a bibliographical index of Spanish writers from Augustus to 1670; the *Bibliotheca hispana vetus* (1696) covers the time till 1500, and the *Bibliotheca hispana nova* (1672) the remainder. The Marquis of **Mondéjar** (Gaspar Ibáñez de Segovia, 1628–1708), enjoys a reputation for sound historical criticism; he wrote a *Predicación de Santiago en España* (1682), *Advertencias* to Mariana's history (1674), published by Mayans in 1746, and *Memorias históricas* on Alfonso VIII and Alfonso the Wise, published in the 18th century by Cerdá y Rico. To these names one might add those of **Juan Lucas Cortés,** Cardinal **Sáenz de Aguirre, Manuel Martí,** and a few estimable scholars. But here too decadence is apparent. One need only look back a hundred years or ahead a hundred years in order to perceive that, despite honorable exceptions, culture was then at its lowest ebb.

2. The Novel.[1]

The novel, like the drama, continued to be a favorite branch, especially in the form of studies of contemporary manners. Attempts were made to rejuvenate the picaresque narrative, almost always autobiographic, by new devices, frequently bad. The old canvases were given up-to-date frames, and revarnished more or less skilfully. This old-new was occasionally successful. The public always enjoys this kind of pabulum, and it was given a bounteous serving.

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[1] For this period in general, see *Novelistas posteriores a Cervantes*, ed. Rosell, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XVIII and XXXIII. E. B. Place, *Manual elemental de novelística española*, 1926. Caroline Bourland, *The Short Story in Spain in the Seventeenth Century*, Northampton, Mass., 1927.

The most celebrated of these novels, appearing at the very beginning of our period, is certainly *El diablo cojuelo* (*The Limping Devil*), by **Luis Vélez de Guevara** (1579–1644; cf. p. 361),[1] who bore at first the name of Luis Vélez de Santander. Born in Écija, he was for a time a page in the household of the Archbishop of Seville, Rodrigo de Castro; later (1600–1603) he was a soldier in Italy and Africa. In 1603 he was at Court in Valladolid. Coming later to Madrid to compose successful *comedias*, he obtained the favor of Philip IV and even had the honor of collaborating in his extempore plays. He was married four times, and continually fought against indigence, begging favors right and left. He received the title of usher of the King's Chamber (1625), a post which did not enrich him, for he did not begin to draw a salary till 1635. He died in poverty and debt.

Three years before his death appeared *El diablo cojuelo, novela de la otra vida traducida a ésta* (1641). It is Vélez de Guevara's real title to fame. The Madrid student Cleofás Leandro Pérez Zambullo, guided by the devil Asmodeus, covers in ten strides (*trancos*) the quarters of Madrid and the whole of Spain, giving as he goes a satirical description of the nation, for by magic art the house-roofs are raised and the interiors disclosed. It is very possible that the first idea of such a framework goes back to that famous sorcery trial of the licentiate Torralba "*a quien llevaron los diablos en volandas por el aire, caballero en una caña*" (*Don Quijote*, II, 41). At any rate, the idea took, and was repeated often afterwards. Vélez de Guevara's testimony on the state of Spain in his day is naturally open to suspicion, like that of any satirist. But it is wittily and gaily presented. The gravest fault one can find with the author is that he is too witty and sometimes tortures the reader's intelligence with his plays on words and far-fetched phrase-making. He is assuredly one of the most difficult of all Spanish writers, even for Spaniards, and a line-by-line commentary is almost a necessity. His witticisms (there are plenty) are too frequently mere riddles. It is noteworthy and strange that this novel, which in its French amplification by Lesage (*Le diable boiteux*, 1707) became the rage, seems not to have been very successful in Spain in its original form; it was in the wake of the French imitation that *El diablo cojuelo* found readers in its native land. Lesage's *Limping Devil*, in its original edition, greatly resembled the Spanish both in substance and plot, but the latter was almost forgotten, while the Frenchman started a whole diabolic literature in his country.

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[1] *El diablo cojuelo*, ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXIII. *Id.*, ed. Bonilla y San Martín, 1902 and 1910. *Id.*, ed. F. Rodríguez Marín, 1918 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 38). *Algunas poesías inéditas*, ed. Bonilla y San Martín, in *Rev. de Aragón*, 1902. *Cinco poesías autobiográficas*, ed. Rodríguez Marín, in *Rev. de Arch.*, XIX, 1908, 62–78.—See F. Pérez y González, *El diablo cojuelo: notas y comentarios*, 1903. A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Más "diabluras,"* 1904. C. Pérez Pastor, *Bibliog. madrileña*, III, 1907, 499–515.

3. Minor Novels.

The World of Pythagoras (*El siglo pitagórico*, Rouen, 1644) by **Antonio Enríquez Gómez** (1602–1662?; cf. p. 243) [1] presents a novel form of moral romance. The author sends his hero, by transmigration of souls, successively into the bodies of a certain number of individuals, who jointly represent contemporary society. This was the logical terminus and final formula of the picaresque-novel conception. One of the parts of the *Siglo*, called *La vida de Don Gregorio Guadaña*, forms a separate story. It is of mediocre interest; the hero is but a pallid copy of Paul of Segovia and Guzmán de Alfarache. He is not nearly so interesting a character as the author himself; Enríquez Gómez was the son of a Portuguese Jew, served in the army, rose to be captain, but took refuge from 1636 to 1656 in France, where he continued to write, safe from the dangerous curiosity of the Spanish Inquisition.[2] Another of his writings is the *Academias morales de las Musas*, printed (1642) at Bordeaux, then the center of a large Jewish colony. It contains four *comedias*, besides the usual laudatory preliminaries.

El día de fiesta por la mañana (1654) and *El día de fiesta por la tarde* (1659), by **Juan de Zabaleta** (d. 1670?) [3] do not form a novel, it is true, but the first part could furnish a novelist with any needed type (gallant, lady, hypocrite, gambler, poet, hidalgo, etc.), and the second would provide any number of sketches of manners (playhouse, salon, gaming-den, Shrove Sunday, etc.). The two together make a diverting and instructive *Tourist's Guide to Madrid*, on the order of Liñán y Verdugo's *Guía y avisos de forasteros* (p. 322). Zabaleta wrote also for the stage, alone or in collaboration. Finally, he composed several treatises "*de varia lección*," as *El teatro del hombre, Problemas de la filosofía natural*, etc.

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[1] *Vida de D. Gregorio Guadaña*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXIII. *Comedias* (2), *ibid.*, XLVII. *Poesías*, *ibid.*, XLII.—See J. Amador de los Ríos, *Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios sobre los judíos de España*, 1848, 569–607. C. de la Barrera, *Catálogo*, 134–142. Wm. Atkinson, *Studies in Literary Decadence*, I. *The Picaresque Novel*, in *Bull. Spanish Studies*, IV, 1927, 19–27.

[2] [A statement in an *Index* of the Inquisition led some to believe that *Fernando de Zárate* was only a pseudonym of Enríquez Gómez, but the theory has been disproved.]

[3] *El día de fiesta por la mañana y por la tarde* (abridged), Barcelona, 1885. *Troya abrasada* (with Calderón), ed. G. T. Northup, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXIX, 1913, 195–346.

Doña **María de Zayas y Sotomayor** (1590–1661?) [1] is slightly earlier. Born in Madrid, she received honorable mention from Lope in his *Laurel de Apolo* (1630), and from Montalván in *Para todos* (1632), but, as we know, praise came easy to them. She was one of the numerous "tenth Muses" of the period. She published, in 1637 and 1647, two series of ten tales each, which were later joined under the title of the first: *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares.* Her stories were widely read and long remained popular; they are still reprinted. Their style is facile and abundant, but neither vigorous nor original. Poems of all sorts are interspersed with the narratives. Álvarez y Baena declares that she composed many tales and plays which have been lost, and Fernández de Navarrete adds, in noting her deserved popularity, that playwrights drew on her stories for their plots; but the reverse seems quite as true. At any rate, she was well known in France; Scarron, for example, took the subject of his *Précaution inutile* from *El prevenido engañado.* The grossness of this and others of her tales has scandalized certain Puritan critics.

Another woman, Doña **Mariana de Carabajal y Saavedra** [2] published in 1663 a similar work of mingled prose and verse, with eight stories, under the title *Navidades de Madrid y noches entretenidas en ocho novelas* (*Christmases in Madrid and Pleasant Evenings*).

Other works less worthy of remark are *Soledades de Aurelia* (1638) [3] by **Jerónimo Fernández de Mata,** *La mogiganga del gusto en seis novelas* (1641) [4] by **Andrés Sanz del Castillo,** the *Varios*

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[1] *Novelas* (4) in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXIII. *Novelas ejemplares y amorosas*, Paris, 1847 (Col. Baudry, vol. 35). *Novelas* (8), ed. Pardo Bazán, 1891 (*Bibl. de la mujer*, vol. III). *La traición en la amistad*, ed. M. Serrano y Sanz, in *Apuntes para una Bibl. de escritoras esp.*, II, 1905, 590–620.—See *ibid.*, 583–589. L. E. V. Sylvania, *Doña M. de Z. y S.*, in *Romanic Rev.*, XIII, 1922, 197–213 and XIV, 1923, 199–232. Edwin B. Place, *M. de Z., an Outstanding Woman Short-story Writer of Seventeenth Century Spain*, Boulder, Colo., 1923 (*Univ. Colorado Studies*, XIII, 1–56).

[2] See Carolina B. Bourland, *Aspectos de la vida del hogar en el siglo XVII según las novelas de D.ª Mariana de Carabajal y Saavedra*, in *Homenaje Menéndez Pidal*, II, 1925, 331–368.

[3] Ed. L. Esteso, 1918 (*Bibl. de autores célebres*, vol. XIII).

[4] Ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, 1908. *La muerte del avariento y Guzmán de Juan de Dios*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXIII.

efetos de amor en cinco novelas ejemplares (1641) by **Alfonso de Alcalá y Herrera,** and *Escarmientos de Jacinto* (1645) by **Jacinto de Villalpando,** and many other analogous productions. At least they testify to a persistent liking on the part of the public for stories and tales. There are famous names to adorn this branch of Spanish literature in all periods, but at this time it became the resource of every man or woman who could hold a pen, and, with the theater, the favorite diet of idle, easily satisfied readers. So that for my part, *exceptis excipiendis,* I concur entirely in the opinion of a Spanish critic, Fernández de Navarrete: " We had an abundance of *novelas* (in this period), but all so bad they drop out of your hands; they are so supremely insipid, improbable and boring (*pesadas*) that no reader is patient enough to go beyond the tenth page." It is enough to say that in order to tickle jaded palates a writer was reduced to the extremity of writing a whole story without the letter A, as **Francisco Navarrete y Ribera** [1] did, or, like Alfonso de Alcalá, in the *Varios efetos de amor,* suppressing a different vowel in each of his five *novelas.* Such acrobatic tricks scarcely belong to literature. That said, we return to the long novel, and name some of its last representatives.

Two imitators of Quevedo may first be mentioned. The Murcian **Salvador Jacinto Polo de Medina** wrote, among other works, the *Hospital de incurables y viaje de este mundo y el otro* (1636), and perhaps the *Universidad de amor y escuela del interés,* though the first edition (1636) of this little novel in verse and prose is attributed to the *maestro* Antolínez de Piedrabuena. Doctor **Carlos García,**[2] who spent years in France, and whose life seems to have been as restless as that of his heroes, left the curious picaresque treatise *La desordenada codicia de los bienes ajenos* (Paris, 1619), called also *Antigüedad y nobleza de los ladrones,* besides a topical work, apropos of the marriage of Louis XIII and Anne of Austria, *La oposición y conjunción de los dos grandes luminares de la tierra* (1617), " a pleasant and curious work treating of the happy Alliance of France and Spain, *con la antipatía de Españoles y Franceses.*" There are observations to be picked up in Dr. García which are still of interest. **Marcos García,** a surgeon of Madrid, was the author of *La flema de Pedro Hernández* (1657),[1] a popular type, the personification of phlegmatic laziness and apathy carried to the *n*th power. In the depths of his lethargic sleep, he witnesses the frenzied agitation of a crowd of persons whose characters are as unlike his as possible.

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[1] *Novela de los tres hermanos, escrita sin el uso de la A,* in Col. Baudry, vol. XLI, Paris, 1847.

[2] His two works, ed. J. M. E., 1877 (*Libros de antaño,* vol. VII).—See L. Pfandl, *C. G. und sein Anteil an der Geschichte der kulturellen und literarischen Beziehungen Frankreichs zu Spanien,* in *Münchener Museum,* II, 1913, 33–52. J. López Barrera, *Literatura francesa hispanófoba en los siglos XVI y XVII,* in *Bol. Bibl. Menéndez y Pelayo,* VII, 1925, 379–395; VIII, 1926, 137–149; IX, 1927, 137–143.

It was from the author of the *Sueños*, too, that **Juan Martínez de Cuéllar** derived his *Desengaño del hombre en el tribunal de la Fortuna* (1663),[2] in prose and verse. *Lazarillo de Tormes*, on the other hand, was the source of *Periquillo el de las gallineras* (1666 ?), by **Francisco Santos,**[3] an officer of the household of Philip IV. This story of a foundling who is a blind man's guide is an indirect condemnation of the real or supposed immorality of the first *Lazarillo*, since the second, by his own unaided efforts, rises to a moral height which the first never dreamed of. Santos wrote also *Día y noche de Madrid* (1663), a portrait of the capital which has the same theme and the same sort of documentary interest as Liñán's *Guía y avisos* and Zabaleta's *Día de fiesta*. The many other works of this prolix publicist, including verse and prose, " adorned with curious speculative and practical examples," were united in four volumes (1723).

The *Vida y hechos de Estebanillo González* [4] is better known, thanks to Lesage, who gave the hero's name to the brother of Gil Blas. This long picaresque narrative, once attributed without proof to Vélez de Guevara, may have been the work of the alleged **Esteban González** himself, who says that he was the buffoon of Octavio Piccolomini de Aragón, Duke of Amalfi, to whom he dedicated his novel in 1646. It is a long autobiography, full of minute detail, but it is hard to say how much of it is true and how much imaginary. Estebanillo, who calls himself an *hombre de buen humor*, covered Europe in every direction, and furnishes picturesque details about every country visited, whether they concern the dogs of Saint-Malo, the Jews of Rouen or the soldiers of Provence. He was at the battle of Nördlingen, at the sieges of Thionville, Arras and Aix, and he described each event from his private point of view.

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[1] Ed. L. Esteso, 1918 (*Bibl. aut. célebres*, VI).

[2] Ed. L. Astrana Marín, 1928 (*Clásicos olvidados*, vol. V).

[3] *Día y noche de Madrid*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXIII.

[4] In *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXXIII. Ed. E. de Ochoa, in Col. Baudry, vol. XXXVIII, Paris, 1847.—See E. Gossart, in *Les Espagnols en Flandre*, Bruxelles, 1914, 243–296. Willis K. Jones, *E. G.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXXVII, 1929, 201–245.

This Tommy Atkins, called by his comrades "monsieur de l'Allégresse," this Spanish Falstaff,[1] writes up humorously the anecdotic side of great historical events which others have described with proper rhetoric. This is a method of exposition which he was the first to exploit; after him many (Stendhal, Victor Hugo, Tolstoy) have used it with great success.

It is time to close this chapter, which could easily be prolonged, but only to the reader's injury. Decadent eras are perhaps the ones in which most writing is done, but from which the fewest works remain alive.

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[1] [In the original, "ce Fanfan-la-Tulipe espagnol." Paul Meurice wrote a seven-act prose play entitled *Fanfan-la-Tulipe* (1858), whose hero is a jovial soldier of ancient type, swash-buckling but brave.]

FOURTH PERIOD

NEO-CLASSICISM

From the Middle of the 18th Century to the Second Third of the 19th

1 Summary of History and Art

IMPORTANT DATES. Felipe V, *el Animoso* (1700–1724).—Luis I (1724).—Felipe V again (1724–1746).—Fernando VI (1746–1759).—Carlos III (1759–1788).—Carlos IV (1788–1808).—French occupation, Joseph Bonaparte (1808–1814).—Fernando VII (1814–1833).

The accession of the French Bourbon dynasty to the Spanish throne marks a date important from every point of view. Its consequences for Spain were in the main favorable, but they were slow to be felt. The War of the Spanish Succession was not definitively ended until the conclusion of the Treaties of Vienna (1725) and of Seville (1729). This war and others in Africa, Italy and America absorbed all the energy of the new king and completed the national exhaustion, despite the efforts of the Frenchmen Orry and Amelot, and of some Spaniards like Patiño, to set the finances in order. French influence, all-powerful at first, gave way to Italian influence when Philip V, having lost María-Luisa of Savoy, married Isabel Farnesio, which entailed the fall of Madame des Ursins and the rise of Alberoni. The succeeding reigns of Fernando VI and still more of Carlos III wrought an advance in the political and social condition of Spain and in the general state of her civilization.[1] Carlos was one of the most enlightened monarchs of the century, and he, like his predecessors, obtained able ministers, Somodevilla (Marqués de la Enseñada), Aranda, Floridablanca, Campomanes, Olavide, etc. In all branches of administration,—commerce, industry, agriculture, finance,—wise measures were adopted which initiated the rehabilitation of the monarchy. Unluckily, the reign of Carlos IV arrested and even reversed this progress. Wars, rivalry between favorites, scandals in the royal family, the degrading influence of Manuel Godoy, " the Prince of the Peace," plunged Spain once more into difficulties and dangers that robbed her of the benefits inherited from the previous reign. Then Napoleon came to make Spain a mere province of his vast empire, till the moment when a spirited patriotic impulse, backed by stout English armies, regained national independence and placed upon the throne Fernando VII, that base and tricky ruler whom his people called "the Desired."

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[1] C. Desdevises du Dézert, *La richesse et la civilisation espagnoles au XVIIIe siècle,* in *Rev. Hisp.* LXXIII, 1928, 1–488.

In the *Fine Arts*, decadence at the beginning of the century was no less complete than in letters, and the same tendency, the same slow striving toward higher ideals is apparent. In 1752 the *Academia de Nobles Artes de San Fernando* (now the *Real Academia de Bellas Artes*) was founded. Rafael Mengs, who came to Spain in 1761, Bayeu (1734–1795), Carnicero (1748–1814), and Maella (1739–1819) represent this academic school in painting. Manuel Salvador Carmona and his wife Ana Mengs distinguished themselves in engraving and pastel. Their names are eclipsed by that of Francisco Goya (1746–1828), one of the most original and genial artists ever produced by Spain. But even by his side the great portraitist Vicente López (1772–1850) deserves to be named. In architecture the struggle went on between the followers of Churriguera and the classic school, represented by Ventura Rodríguez, (1717–1785), Villanueva (1739–1811), Cabezas and Plo. Baroque and rococo opposed their fantastic complexities to the cold academic style. Many important public buildings date from this period: the royal palaces at Madrid, La Granja (with its park and fountains imitated from Versailles) and Aranjuez, and the chief embellishments of Madrid (Puerta de Alcalá, Museo del Prado, Customs House, Convento de las Salesas, later the Palace of Justice, etc.). Statuary is represented, not very brilliantly, by Francisco and Ignacio Vergara, Felipe de Castro (1711–1775), Juan Pascual de Mena and Manuel Álvarez; wood-sculpture, by Salcillo and Capuz (small painted figurines of popular types).

Italian *music* was in high favor with the upper classes, during the whole century, and a lavish welcome was given to singers brought from Italy, like Carlos Broschi, called Farinelli (1705–1782), who enjoyed remarkable favor at Court during twenty-seven years (1734–1761). Opera, with its ballets, occupied an important place in society life.[1] As for the common people, they remained faithful to their old national music, expressed chiefly in the *tonadilla*,[2] and to its favorite dances, the *bolero, jota, fandango*, etc.

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[1] E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Orígenes y establecimiento de la ópera en España hasta 1800*, 1917.

[2] See Julio Gómez, *D. Blas de Laserna, el último tonadillero*, in *Rev. Bibl. Arch. y Museo*, II, 1925 and III, 1926. J. Subirá, *La tonadilla escénica*, I, 1928.

Some industrial arts deserve mention: the porcelain works of Alcora (1726) and of the Buen Retiro (1760), the pottery and silk of Talavera, and the royal tapestry-works at Madrid (1720). In this regard too, there is evident progress.

2. The *literature* of this "Neo-Classic" period may be characterized as one dominated by French ideas and works; under Charles III their influence was exclusive.[1] The universal diffusion of French civilization together with the Bourbon accession are a sufficient explanation of this influence and determine its character. Next to France comes Italy,[2] and, then, for the first time, England, as guiding forces and models. The current issuing from England entered Spain partly through French channels. In the Peninsula, apparently so ill prepared to receive it, English thought produced queer mixed effects which can be studied in writers like Meléndez Valdés, Cadalso and Jovellanos. Toward the end of the century the barriers which isolated the country from the rest of Europe were slightly breached. Ideas and books from outside began to enter with greater ease. International exchanges became more frequent. Statesmen, diplomats and refugees were the ones who presented to the intellectual classes the latest novelties in philosophy and literature. For the necessary revolution began at the top, sometimes with the unconscious help of the government.[3] The old universities, obstinate in their routine, the great administrative bodies, the clergy and the fanatical lower classes all did their best to stave it off.

In spite of this easily understood opposition, a very notable scientific renascence did take place in the second half of the 18th century. This is, in fact, one of the most striking characteristics of the period, perhaps even more remarkable than the revival of letters. Here again, if the stimulus came from without, it was at least welcomed and fomented with enthusiasm in certain circles. The government and individual statesmen helped on the movement. The physical sciences, natural history, chemistry and medicine were ardently cultivated. Mathematics was so neglected by the universities that nothing of importance can be noted, but geography and cosmography produced many admirable works. Economists, political scientists and jurists were numerous. Philosophy, which elsewhere triumphed, met in Spain more hindrance to the free expression of its thought; yet in spite of the shackles of tradition, there were outspoken partisans of the principal foreign systems; Descartes, Gassendi, the sensualists Locke and Condillac, the critics of the *Encyclopédie*, the materialists Helvetius and Destutt de Tracy, all had their influence. Their doctrines even filtered sometimes into the orthodox, official philosophy. Polemics between the upholders of the rights of the State and the defenders of the time-consecrated privileges of the Church turned into veritable battles, in which the liberal leaders were such men as Macanaz, Campomanes and Floridablanca.

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[1] Sempere y Guarinos, *Ensayo de una biblioteca de los mejores escritores del reinado de Carlos III*, 6 vols., 1785–1789.

[2] Vittorio Cian, *Italia e Spagna nel secolo XVIII*, Torino, 1896.

[3] On this subject see P. Luis Coloma's *El Marqués de Mora*, 1914.

The scientific trend of thought made itself felt in literature; hence the special development of the genres in which erudition plays a large part. History, for example, ceased to rely chiefly on eloquence and sought a firm basis in critical study of texts and documents from archives. Monuments of the older Spanish civilization and archaic literary works were published, and their language was studied more methodically than ever before. The critical spirit, intoxicated with its new power, did not always shun public advertisement of its belligerent scepticism. Some of the works which most honor Spanish scholarship date from this period. One must never forget the imposing mass of this production,[1] if one is to form a just conception of the intellectual state of Spain during this century. In general, one finds the same revolutions in thought, the same struggle between the dying order and the order striving to be born, that existed north of the Pyrenees, but in Spain the opposition to novel ideas was far more tenacious; the innovators were a picked body of men among whom genius was rare, while the enormous mass of ignorant folk remained indifferent or, more often, hostile.

Among the chief practical results of the scientific movement one may cite the following: the foundation of various Academies in Madrid or the provinces, from the *Real Academia Española de la Lengua*, which will soon be described, to the Academy of Medicine (1734); the establishment of Observatories, like that of San Fernando at Cádiz (1753); many voyages of exploration and scientific missions (Ortega, Bayer, Burriel, Valdeflores, Jorge Juan, Ulloa, Balmis); the creation of museums (of Natural History at Madrid, under Carlos III), of the *Jardín botánico* in Madrid (1755), a model for many more, of private collections and "curio cabinets," of the Veterinary College (1793), the Engineering College (1803), the College of Hydrography (1806), etc.

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[1] For the details one must look elsewhere than in this book; a summary will be found in R. Altamira, *Hist. de España y de la civilización esp.*, IV, 1911, 312–379.

3. Contemporary Literatures.

As has been said, French literature wielded by far the strongest influence. One special condition, which affected both France and England, must be reckoned with at the end of this period: the number of Spanish intellectuals who were forced into exile during the reign of Fernando VII and who resided chiefly in those two countries. Among them were the Conde de Toreno, Espronceda, the Duke of Rivas, Blanco-White, and many more; the ideas which they imbibed were felt during the following or Romantic period, when most of the exiles returned.

In **France** the yeasting of new social ideals produced a wonderfully rich growth of literature just as the old pseudo-classicism was dying. This period embraces 18th-century rationalism, the Revolution and the beginnings of Romanticism. The Encyclopedists (D'Alembert, Diderot, etc.) and Voltaire struck the key for rational thinking, while Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) gave social philosophy a genial and forward-looking thrust (*Émile,* 1762, *Le contrat social,* 1762). Voltaire, indeed, invaded nearly every field: philosophy (*Dictionnaire philosophique,* 1764), novel (*Candide,* 1758), drama (*Tancrède,* 1760), history (*Le siècle de Louis Quatorze,* 1751), literary criticism and letters. Diderot (1713–1784) was equally wide-ranging; this formidable and hasty polygraph wrote masterly dialogue (*Le Neveu de Rameau*), and helped to establish the *comédie larmoyante* (*Le fils naturel,* 1757; *Le père de famille,* 1758) and sound art-criticism (*Salons,* 1765–1767). In the novel Rousseau (*La Nouvelle-Héloïse,* 1761) and Bernardin de St. Pierre (*Paul et Virginie,* 1787); in comedy Beaumarchais (1732–1799; *Le Barbier de Séville,* 1775; *Le Mariage de Figaro,* 1784) left genuine masterpieces. Lyric poetry did not flourish in that atmosphere electric with intellectual curiosity; there is little to be gleaned before André Chénier (1762–1794). Natural history received a literary clothing in Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* (1749–1788). The letters of Voltaire, Mme. du Deffand, Mlle. de Lespinasse, and the *Confessions* of Rousseau stand out as types of personal revelation.

After the Revolution the most notable works, aside from political eloquence and pamphlets, are from the pens of Chateaubriand (1768–1848) and Mme. de Staël (1766–1817), the great founders of French Romanticism. From the first came philosophical considerations (*Essai sur les Révolutions*, 1797; *Le Génie du Christianisme*, 1802), exotic novels (*Atala*, 1801; *René*, 1804; *Les Martyrs*, 1809; *Les Natchez*, 1826) and travels (*L'Itinéraire*, 1811); from the second, a renovation of literary criticism (*De la littérature*, 1800; *De l'Allemagne*, 1810–1813) and psychological novels (*Delphine*, 1802; *Corinne*, 1807). Modern historiography made a beginning with Thierry (1796–1856) and Guizot (1787–1874). Drama was stagnant, or, with the machine-like production of Scribe (1791–1861), marked a path of technical dexterity and complete sterility of emotion and thought. After 1820 the wave of Romanticism, which was later to send ripples into every corner of Spain, gathered power speedily; one needs only to cite the names of Lamartine (*Méditations*, 1820), Vigny (*Poèmes*, 1822), Stendhal (*Racine et Shakespeare*, 1822), and Victor Hugo (*Odes*, 1822; *Han d'Islande*, 1823; *Cromwell*, 1827), even though these works do not yet represent the flood of the movement.

Italy. In the 18th century Italian literature was neither original nor forceful; like the Spanish, it showed the deep impress of foreign forces, notably of France and England. The luminaries of the drama, Goldoni and Alfieri, belonged strictly to the tradition of Molière and Racine, while Pope, Thomson, Young and Gray affected strongly the course of poetry. Thus Parini (1729–1799), in his satirical *Odi* (1757–1795) and *Il Giorno* (1763 on), shows plain acquaintance with Boileau and Pope. Gozzi (1713–1786) the literary critic (*L'Osservatore*) looked toward Addison and the *Spectator;* Baretti (1719–1789) spent nearly ten years in England. Goldoni (1707–1793) wrote his famous character comedies (*Il Burbero benefico, Il vero amico, Pamela nubile*, etc.) partly in the literary language, partly in Venetian. Alfieri (1749–1803) cast his bitter, proud patriotism in the mould of classic tragedies (*Antigone*, 1782; *Saul,* 1782; *Alceste, Virginia,* etc.), and protested against Arcadian vacuities. Tiraboschi (1731–1794) carried on a worthy historical tradition. Metastasio (1698–1782) founded opera and Lorenzo da Ponte wrote libretti for Mozart. The Napoleonic wars stirred deep feeling: Monti (1754–1828) revived classical poetry with grandeur (*Bassvilliana,* 1793; *Mascheroniana, La Bellezza dell' Universo, Feroniade*). Ugo Foscolo (1778–1827) imitated Werther and showed himself truly romantic in the *Lettere di Jacopo Ortis* (1798–1802), as he was a lofty elegiac in *I Sepolcri* (1807). Manzoni (1785–1873) published his famous historical novel *I Promessi Sposi* in 1827, and the Napoleonic elegy *Il Cinque Maggio* in 1821. Leopardi (1798–1837) had already written some of the most perfect and despairing lyrics of modern times (*Ultimo canto di Saffo,* 1822).

English literature, like French, is divided naturally into two periods, before and after the French Revolution. Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) is met in many fields; he was in his way a poet, as well as lexicographer (*Dictionary,* 1755), essayist (*The Rambler, The Idler*) and biographer (*Lives of the Poets,* 1781). Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (1791) is a queer masterpiece of reporting. A high level was set in philosophy by David Hume (1711–1776); in economics by Adam Smith (*Wealth of Nations,* 1776); in political literature by Hume and Burke; in history by Hume (*History of England,* 1761) and Gibbon (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* 1788). In the novel Fielding, Richardson and Smollett found worthy successors in Sterne (1713–1768), Goldsmith (*Vicar of Wakefield,* 1766) and Johnson (*Rasselas,* 1759). The drama was weak; one can cite scarcely any names but those of Goldsmith (*The Good-natured Man,* 1768; *She Stoops to Conquer,* 1773) and Sheridan (*The Rivals,* 1775, *The School for Scandal,* 1777). Poetry offered variety: it turned now to contemplation of nature and man seen from a lofty distance, with Young (*Night Thoughts,* 1742–45), Gray (*Elegy,* 1750), Goldsmith (*Traveller,* 1764; *Deserted Village,* 1770) and Cowper (*The Task,* 1785); now to narratives of the poor, with Crabbe (1754–1832); and later Hood (1799–1845); and again to pure lyrical passion with Burns (1759–1796). Interest in popular balladry and epic is shown by Bishop Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), which included two translations of Spanish ballads, and MacPherson's *Ossian* (1762), a hoax, but of as great influence as if it were genuine.[1] Cervantes's power now first became widely apparent in England. Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* (1742) was an avowed imitation of his manner; the *Quijote* was translated by Motteux, Jervas and Smollett. The last was strongly affected by Spanish modes.

The second period enlarged still more the field of rational thinking, with literary criticism established as a profession in the great Reviews (*The Edinburgh Review*, 1802; *The Quarterly Review*, 1809; *Fraser's Magazine; Blackwood's Magazine*, 1817), and the writings of Coleridge, Hazlitt, Lamb and Southey. History brought out Hallam (1777–1859); in the novel Walter Scott (1771–1832) created a world which touched romancers in every European nation (*Waverley*, 1814; *The Fair Maid of Perth*, 1828). In poetry also the romantic spirit found expression: Blake (1757–1827), Coleridge (1772–1834), Wordsworth (1770–1850), Scott, Byron (1788–1824), Keats (1795–1821) and Shelley (1792–1822) broke all former bonds of imaginative verse. Southey (1774–1843), a lesser man, deserves special mention here for his continued interest in Spain and its literature (*Roderick the Last of the Goths*, 1814).[2] Spanish influence on English literature is scarcely to be detected at this time in any other channel than the *romances*, which received translations from Rodd (1812),[3] Lockhart (1823), Bowring (1824), and others. England, on the other hand, in the persons of "Ossian," Walter Scott and Byron, was laying the foundation for profound effects upon the Spanish Romantic writers.

Germany. For the first time it is necessary to mention German literature in connection with Spanish, and this not only on account of its sudden development in this period, but because Spain both gave and received in connection with the German Romantic movement. Calderón was almost worshipped by some of its leaders, Tieck (1773–1853) and A. W. Schlegel (1767–1845); the *Poema del Cid* was highly praised by Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829); Spanish ballads were translated (via France) by Herder (*Der Cid*, 1806), and edited in the first modern collections by Jakob Grimm (*Silva de romances viejos*, 1815), Depping (*Sammlung der besten alten spanischen historischen, Ritter und maurischen Romanzen*, 1817), and F. Diez (*Altspanische Romanzen*, 1819). These collections attracted the attention of Spaniards (Salvá, Durán, Alcalá Galiano) and aided to awaken interest in the older national literature.

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[1] Not so great in Spain as in some other countries. See E. Allison Peers, *The Influence of Ossian in Spain*, in *Philological Quarterly*, IV, 1925, 121–138. Cf. also the same author's *The Influence of Young and Gray in Spain*, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXI, 1926, 404–418.

[2] L. Pfandl, *Robert Southey und Spanien*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXVIII, 1913, 1–316. E. Buceta, *El entusiasmo por España en algunos románticos ingleses*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, X, 1923, 1–25.

[3] E. Buceta, *Traducciones inglesas de romances en el primer tercio del siglo XIX*, etc., in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXII, 1924, 459–555, and LXVIII, 1926, 216–219.

Germany could then boast of original geniuses in almost every genre: in criticism Lessing (1729–1781; *Laokoön*, 1766), the foremost exponent of rationalism, Goethe (1749–1832) and the Schlegels; in philosophy Kant (1724–1804), Fichte (1762–1814) and Hegel (1770–1831); in folkloristic studies Herder (1744–1803), the brothers Grimm, Goethe (*Westöstlicher Divan*, 1819) and the composite *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1805–1808); in the novel Wieland (1733–1813), Goethe (*Werthers Leiden*, 1774; *Wilhelm Meister*, 1795–96 and 1821–29; *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*, 1809), Jean-Paul Richter (1763–1825) and Hoffmann (1776–1822); in the drama, rich in masterpieces, Lessing, with *Minna von Barnhelm* (1767), *Emilia Galotti* (1772) and *Nathan der Weise* (1779); Schiller (1759–1805), from *Die Räuber* (1781) to *Wallenstein* (1798–99), *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* (1801) and *Wilhelm Tell* (1804); Goethe, who likewise spanned in his own person the complete development from *Sturm und Drung* to classic poise (*Götz von Berlichingen*, 1771–73; *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, 1787; *Faust*, 1808–1832); and Kleist (1777–1811). In poetry an equally wide range is manifest; from Klopstock's formless epic, *Der Messias* (1748+) to the perfected lyrics and ballads of Schiller and Goethe, the latter's narrative *Hermann und Dorothea* (1798), the ballads of Bürger, Körner and Uhland, and the romantic hymns of " Novalis " (1772–1801).

CHAPTER I

DECADENCE. FRENCH INFLUENCE. DRAMA

4. The Feeble State of Literature during the First Decades of the Eighteenth Century. Official Attempts to Revive Culture.

The only important facts in connection with literature during the first decades of this century are the attempts of a few intelligent men to revive science and letters and to arouse the nation from the shameful state of intellectual apathy to which it had descended in the previous reign. The new King, continuing the tradition of his grandfather, Louis XIV, did his utmost to favor culture. The Royal Library dates from 1711. Two years later, on August 3, 1713, the Spanish Academy, or *Academia de la Lengua*,[1] held its first session with only eleven members, under the presidency of Juan Manuel Fernández Pacheco, Marquis of Villena (1650–1725), one of the most energetic workers in the cause. The Academy received official sanction, October 3, 1714. Faithful to the modest rôle to which it resigned itself: *fijar, limpiar, y dar esplendor* ("to fix, purify and illustrate the language"), it began to gather material for a dictionary, now known as the *Diccionario de autoridades*, which appeared in six volumes (1726–1739), and is still, despite imperfections, one of the scholar's most useful tools. Only the first volume was ever reprinted. The Academy proposed also to publish a grammar, fix spelling and issue a history of literature, but only after many years did it bring out a grammar (1771), quite unworthy of itself, and formulate the essential rules of current orthography (1815–1817). As for the projected history of literature and treatise on versification, they were left to other hands, as will be seen. At least the official body performed valuable services by endeavoring to bring letters back into repute, by rewarding talent, stimulating creation and publishing editions like that of *Don Quijote* in four volumes (1780).

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[1] E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Fundación de la Real Acad. Esp.* in *Bol. de la R. A. E.*, I, 1914, 4–38, 89–127. F. Gil Ayuso, *Nuevos documentos sobre la fundación de la Real Acad. Esp.*, *ibid.*, XIV, 1927, 593–599.

The *Academia de la Historia* received official sanction in 1738. It was to represent erudition, foment scientific study of the past of the nation, and continue the work of the former *cronistas;* and in fact it has played and continues to play a most useful part. Beside the Madrid Academies, others were founded in the provinces, notably those of Valencia (1742) and Barcelona (1751). In addition to these official creations, certain private Academies began, toward the middle of the century, to exert a more or less beneficent influence upon letters; such were the *Academia del Buen Gusto,* starting in 1749, the *tertulia* of the *Fonda de San Sebastián,* the *Trípode* at Granada, and, toward the end of the century, the *Academia de Letras Humanas,* at Seville (1793–1801).

Taste for French literature and acquaintance with it spread rapidly under the Bourbons, as was to be expected; French authors were read in the original and French plays were performed, translated and imitated. Another indication of a new turn in mental activity was the appearance of various journals or literary reviews, which played a spirited and sometimes violent part in the polemics of the time. The *Diario de los Literatos de España* set the ball rolling in 1737.

5. Poetry and Prose at the Beginning of the Century

Poems in plenty were written at this period. In 1727 a hundred and fifty poets and five poetesses competed in a *certamen* in honor of St. Stanislas Kotzka. But such productivity was even more mediocre than abundant, and the results have properly sunk into the deepest oblivion. The lyric, as empty of matter as tortured in form, was now nothing more than vain rhetoric, turning mechanically in the same circle. The bored reader who wishes to convince himself of it need only examine, if his courage holds out, the works of **Gabriel Álvarez de Toledo** (1662–1714), or of Lieutenant General **Eugenio Gerardo Lobo** (1679–1750);[1] they were without question the best and most highly esteemed poets of their time. He will not need to descend so low as the freakish collection called *Sagradas flores del Parnaso* (1723), in which the " best swans of Spain " joined their songs to celebrate Their Majesties, who had heroically placed their carriage at the disposal of the Holy Sacrament; nor to other works of equal calibre, such as the *Soledad tercera* (1718) of the Cordovan Gongorist **León y Mansilla,** the *Aventuras en verso y en prosa* (1739?) of **Antonio Muñoz,** the *Obras líricas joco-serias* (1746) of **Francisco Benegasi y Luján** (1656–1742), the *Poesías* (1743) of his son **José Joaquín,** the *Ocios poéticos* of **Ignacio Álvarez de Toledo,** brother of Gabriel, or the various lucubrations of **Salazar Hontiveros,** the Carmelite Fray **Juan de la Concepción,** greatly admired for his improvisations, the Mercenarian Fray **Interián de Ayala,** Sor **Gregoria de Santa Teresa,** and the Portuguese Sor **María do Ceo.**

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[1] Poems of both in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXI, ed. L. A. de Cueto, Marqués de Valmar. See id., *ibid.*, *Bosquejo histórico-crítico de la poesía cast. en el siglo XVIII*, reprinted in 3 vols., 1893, as *Historia crítica*, etc.

The reader would need still more patience if he wished to make the acquaintance of the epics, such as those of the Portuguese **Botelho Moraes,** *El nuevo mundo* (1701), and *Alfonso, o la fundación del reino de Portugal* (1712). It is true that his prose work, *Las cuevas de Salamanca* (1734), is less of a bore; it seems to be derived from Don Quijote's adventure in the Cave of Montesinos. The Peruvian **Peralta Barnuevo** published at Lima his poem *Lima triunfante* (1708), and his longer and better *Lima fundada* (1732). Other Americanized Spaniards, like the Catalan **Castell dos Rius,** the Aragonese **Jerónimo de Monforte,** and the **Conde de la Granja,** gongorized to their heart's content on the shores of the Pacific. The sacred epic may be sufficiently represented by **Pedro de Reinosa,** with *Santa Casilda* (1722).

The only prose work worthy of attention is the history entitled *Comentarios de la guerra de España e historia de su rey Felipe V el Animoso, desde el principio de su reinado hasta el año de 1725* (1726?), by a Sardinian gentleman, **Vicente Bacallar y Sanna,** Marqués de **San Felipe,** a favorite of the King. This excellent history of the War of the Succession did not appear in complete form till 1729, at Genoa. The poverty of prose literature at this time is characteristic.

6. The New School. Luzán

With Luzán we reach a period in which a revolution, moved by the causes already indicated, was about to take place in ideas and literature. **Ignacio de Luzán** (1702–1754)[1] had much to do with forwarding this movement. Born in Saragossa, he lived successively in Barcelona (1706–1715), Genoa, Milan, where he studied with the Jesuits, Palermo (receiving the doctorate of law in the University of Catania), Naples (1729–1733), Saragossa and Monzón. In 1747 he was sent as Secretary of the Embassy to Paris, where he remained till 1750. He was then appointed to the Consejo de Hacienda and made superintendent of the Royal Mint in Madrid, where he died suddenly. Luzán knew the Italian language and literature thoroughly; he also spoke French and German fluently, and was a man of unusual culture for his time, a cosmopolitan and polyglot.

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[1] *La Poética,* ed. Llaguno y Amírola, 2 vols., 1789. *Poesías,* in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* LXI (also XXXV).—See L. A. Cueto, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* LXI. A. M. Alcalá-Galiano, in *Hist. de la lit. esp., francesa, inglesa e ital, en el siglo XVIII,* 1845. F. Fer-

From an historical point of view his most important work is the *Poética* (1737), for it marks, with the establishment of the *Diario de los literatos*, in the same year, the beginning of a new era. His other writings, lyrics (though not without merit), and numerous translations and imitations from ancient authors, as well as from Italian and French, have very few readers; his only original comedy, *La virtud coronada*, is still unprinted. Only the *Poética* has survived. This *Art of Poetry* in four books derives, not directly from Boileau, as has wrongly been asserted, but from classic doctrines and Italian traditions. In many respects (use of miraculous events from the Christian religion, legitimate diversity of tastes, influence of climates and national traditions, etc.), Luzán's teaching is broader and more liberal than Boileau's. But like the Frenchman he combats bad taste in the name of "reason" and "the rules." His judgment upon Góngora and upon the drama of Lope and Calderón is fundamental and severe, despite some words of praise; in this case the writers of the *Diario*, Salafranca, Puig and especially Juan de Iriarte, displayed greater breadth of mind and more generous artistic intelligence.[1] But Luzán was meeting the most urgent need, and that was to get rid of this cumbering, buzzing brood of epigones that dishonored Parnassus. Besides, the day had not yet come for the type of criticism that understands and conjoins all forms of art in one indulgent synthesis. The ideas of the Italian

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nández y González, in *Hist. de la crítica lit. en España desde Luzán hasta nuestros días*, 1867. Menéndez y Pelayo, in *Hist. de las ideas estét. en España*, III, 1886, *Parte I*, 176–191. J. G. Robertson, *Italian Influence in Spain, I. de L.*, ch. x, in *Studies in the Genesis of the Romantic Theory in the 18th Century*, Cambridge, 1923. Juan Cano, *La "Poética" de L.*, Toronto, 1928.

[1] In an important review of the *Poética*, contributed to the *Diario de los literatos*.

preceptists, who seem to have had most to do with Luzán's training, were not much broader than those of the French pseudo-classicists, and it is only just to recognize that the importance of the *Poética* is quite relative. It came at the right moment; in elegant language, with plenty of varied examples, it revived precepts of common sense; it passed sentence upon pseudo-poetic aberrations with a disdainful sense of right. Its influence, in short, was for the good.

This influence was powerfully aided by a pungent satirical poem, *Contra los malos escritores de este siglo*, which, written in 1741, appeared in the *Diario* in 1742, under the name of **Jorge Pitillas.**[1] This pseudonym, as well as another, "don Hugo Herrera de Jaspedós," was used by an ecclesiastic, Dr. **José Gerardo de Hervás** (d. 1742). This satirist, a direct disciple of Boileau, peppered contemporary poetasters with his barbed shafts in the liveliest fashion. Not for long years had anyone spoken so vigorously the language of reason. His shots took effect. All the "swans of the Manzanares" squawked like peafowl, if one may so describe them, and the satire brought fame to its masked author, who did not live long to enjoy his triumph.

War was declared between the neo-classics and the nationalists. The theater was the chief battle-ground, for it serves as a place of meeting for all authors. In that arena therefore we shall need first to watch the vicissitudes of the struggle.

7. The Contest in the Drama

For some time previously the intellectual soil had been prepared by translations or adaptations of French masterpieces (Corneille's *Cinna*, by the Marqués de **San Juan,** in 1713; *El sacrificio de Ifigenia, 1ª Parte*, by **Cañizares,** who endeavored to revamp Racine for Spanish taste). Luzán published (1751) a translation of Nivelle de la Chaussée's *Le Préjugé à la mode* (1735), and in his preface scored the national Spanish drama. **Llaguno y Amírola** (d. 1799), a learned editor of texts, rendered Racine's *Athalie* into Castilian verse (1754). But such exercises were scarcely known outside the academies and salons. In reality, the stage had up to that time been held almost without opposition by the last representatives of the older style, such as Zamora, Cañizares, Francisco de Castro and Añorbe. **Blas Antonio Nasarre** (1689–1751) and **Agustín de**

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[1] The poem and accompanying *Carta*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXI.

Montiano y Luyando (1697–1764) [1] were, with Luzán, the warmest champions of the new school. Their principles prevailed in the literary *tertulia* held from 1749 to 1751 in the house of the Condesa de Lemos, later Marquesa de Sarria, a sort of *hôtel de Rambouillet* which, not suffering from excess of modesty, assumed the significant name of *Academia del Buen Gusto.* The influence of this center of elegant letters was not slight. Luzán, Nasarre, Montiano, Porcel, Villarroel, Velázquez (L. J.) there met with titled folk. Nasarre, an academician of great learning but a narrow mind, opened fire by publishing (1749) Cervantes's *comedias,* not because he saw the least merit in them, but on the contrary because he had the strange notion that they were nothing else than an intentional parody of the theater of the author's day. In his preface he let loose a violent attack upon that theater, in the name of classical doctrine. Then Montiano entered the lists. He was the most absolute and fanatical of the Gallicists. Thoroughly educated, trained in languages, ancient and modern, a correspondent of Louis Racine and d'Hermilly, he aimed to provide examples as well as precepts. The latter may be found among his academic pamphlets, for example, in his *Notes on the Use of Satire,* and his two *Discursos sobre las tragedias españolas* (1750 and 1753). The examples he offered in two tragedies, as correct as cold: *Virginia* (1750) and *Ataulfo* (1753). They are far from justifying his blasphemies against Lope de Vega and Cervantes. He rated the latter's *Quijote* as inferior to the spurious second part by Avellaneda.

Neither fecundity nor originality were strong points in these reformers. One has to come down to **Nicolás Fernández de Moratín** (1737–1780)[2] to find dramatic efforts that are at all worthy of attention. On principle Nicolás de Moratín (whose Arcadian name was *Flumisbo Thermodonciaco*) was a determined partisan of French doctrines, but, when he obeyed his natural instinct, he reverted gladly enough to the old national tradition. His comedy *La Petimetra* (1762), though written *con todo el rigor del arte* and prefaced with an unyielding declaration of faith, may be regarded as a sort of compromise between the two opposed types, in theme, form

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[1] See N. Alonso Cortés, in *Miscelánea vallisoletana, Primera serie,* Valladolid, 1912, 12–23. Id., in *Viejo y nuevo,* Valladolid, 1916, 170–180.

[2] *Poesías* and *Comedias* (4), in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* II. *Poesías inéditas,* ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, 1892.—See J. M. Cossío, *La fiesta de toros en Madrid; Oda a Pedro Romero,* in *Bol. Bibl. Menéndez Pelayo,* VIII, 1926, 234–242.

(three acts) and versification (assonance, *redondillas* and couplets). To a certain extent one might say the same of the tragedies *Lucrecia* (1763), *Hormesinda* (1770), and *Guzmán el Bueno* (1777). Only the second was ever performed, with a run of six nights. These plays scarcely deserved a better fate, but the last two at least utilized good Spanish subjects. Moratín, from his chair of Poetics at the *Colegio Imperial,* expounded the doctrines of Luzán; before that, he had written three sharp satires against the national drama (*Desengaños al teatro español,* 1762); he had a hand, like Clavijo y Fajardo, the romantic friend of Louise Caron de Beaumarchais, in causing *autos sacramentales,* Calderón's clearest title to fame, to be prohibited by the authorities (June 9, 1765). But he turned Spaniard in his attractive *quintillas, Fiesta de toros en Madrid,* and the *Romances;* these are his best works, or at least his only works that are still appreciated. He was the founder of a literary circle which met at the *fonda de San Sebastián* and attracted a large group of Spanish and Italian artists and men of letters. This *tertulia* was a continuation of the *Academia del Buen Gusto,* and had as great an influence, but its spirit was broader and more literary. The one by-law forbade discussion of anything but "theater, bull-fights, love and verse," an eminently Spanish program.

From 1766 on, the *galicistas* had a firm protector in the person of the Conde de Aranda, who was determined to reform the theater by administrative act. He drew up an official list of plays which might be performed,[1] and in it the old comedies of Lope, Calderón and Tirso were distinguished by their absence. He encouraged translations of French pieces and had them presented in the royal theaters of Aranjuez, El Escorial and La Granja. Lastly, he founded a troupe of actors, among whom the chief star was Rosario Fernández, called *La Tirana,* successor to the no less famous María Ladvenant (1741–1767). She died in 1803, and was the rival of another Fernández (María Antonia), nicknamed *La Caramba.*[2]

One of the frequenters of the *fonda de San Sebastián,* **Ignacio López de Ayala,** wrote a tragedy on a subject already treated by Cervantes, *Numancia destruida* (1775). **Cadalso,** better known as lyric poet (p. 427), gave a closer imitation of French art and methods in his *Sancho García* (1771), in which nothing but the theme is Spanish. Two interesting attempts were made at about this time. **Iriarte,** the fabulist and translator of Horace's *Ars poetica,* tried to inject some life into the comedy of manners (*El señorito mimado,* 1788, and *La señorita mal criada,* printed the same year and performed three years later). **Jovellanos** undertook with his *Delincuente honrado* (1774)[1] to introduce into Spain the *comédie larmoyante* after the model of Diderot and La Chaussée. The *Delincuente honrado,* written in prose, was very successful. Today it seems melodramatic, but then it was a novelty that provided a change from pseudo-classic chill and pallor. It brought the tears to many eyes of that generation which was no less "*sensible*" in Spain than in France.

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[1] For details and a list of the French plays then translated see E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Iriarte y su época,* 1897, 68 ff.

[2] E. Cotarelo y Mori, *María Ladvenant,* 1896. Id., *María del Rosario Fernández, La Tirana,* 1897.

Vicente García de la Huerta (1734–1787),[2] a victim of Aranda, who kept him ten years in prison or exile, obtained deserved success with *La Raquel* (1778), on a theme frequently dramatized. Although an avowed partisan of the "national taste," Huerta, in this play, leaned rather toward neo-classic principles. But his subject was entirely Spanish, and so were his versification (eleven-syllable assonants) and his three acts. The piece succeeded, and was imitated in *Die Jüdin von Toledo* by the Austrian Grillparzer (1791–1872). Huerta translated Sophocles's *Electra* and Voltaire's *Zaïre* (*Agamenón vengado* and *Jaira*), which does not stamp him as a ferocious despiser of the classics. But in 1786 he took sides in clean-cut fashion for the older Spanish drama against the new theories, in *La escena hespañola* (*sic*) *defendida,* a manifesto which served as preface to the *Theatro Hespañol* (*sic*); this was a sixteen-volume selection (1785) from the old *comedias,* and so personal a choice that Lope, Tirso, Alarcón, and others are not represented there. The combat began again fiercer than ever, and Samaniego and Forner took a hand, but the unlucky Huerta did not witness its end, for he died the next year, crazed, according to his enemies.

Meanwhile tragedies and comedies became more numerous. **Lassala**'s *Ifigenia,* **Sedano**'s *Jael, Las bodas de Camacho* of **Meléndez Valdés,** *Pítaco, Idomeneo, Zoraida* and *La Condesa de Castilla* of **Cienfuegos,** *Atahualpa* by **Cristóbal María Cortés,** etc., brought a great variety of subjects on the stage. But the common people took no pleasure in such dramas. They had their own accredited purveyors, and flocked to the theater only on the days when the bill promised something by **Luciano Francisco Comella** (1751–1812),[1] **Antonio Valladares** or **Gaspar Zabala y Zamora**: these, for ordinary folk, were the real descendants of Lope and Tirso. The hundreds of *comedias* which issued from these too fertile pens delighted the parterre for an instant, and disappeared forever. At least they served to stir up the indignant wit of the younger Moratín, who poured out that vigorous and cutting satire *La comedia nueva* (1792), in which Comella figures under the name Eleuterio. On the other hand, certain patriots essayed to recast masterpieces of the national drama according to the prevailing taste. **Sebastián y Latre** thus treated Moreto's *El parecido en la corte* and Rojas's *Progne y Filomena;* **Cándido María Trigueros** (1736–1801?) did as much for *La estrella de Sevilla* (which became *Sancho Ortiz de las Roelas*), *El anzuelo de Fenisa*, *La moza de cántaro*, *Los melindres de Belisa*, all the last being plays by Lope which were at that time completely forgotten; Trigueros helped restore them to honor. For though his own moral and narrative poems (*El poeta filósofo*, 1774–1778; *La riada*, 1784) and plays (*Los menestrales*, 1784, etc.) were mediocre, he understood better than any of his contemporaries the beauties of the ancient *Comedia*. Similar "arrangements" were made by **Vicente Rodríguez de Arellano** [2] (Lope's *Lo cierto por lo dudoso*, 1803), and especially by **Dionisio Solís** (1774–1834) [2] of Tirso's *Marta la piadosa* and *La villana de Vallecas* and many more. For a long time these *refundiciones* furnished the only acquaintance the public had with the national drama. The recasters frequently showed skill, and their lack of reverence for the originals was excusable and does not deserve the wrath or scorn which some have displayed toward them. They performed a real service, particularly Solís, who was an excellent "arranger" and a good translator. But it is characteristic of the *Comedia* that the old plays had to be retouched before they were acceptable; and that is still true today.

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[1] Ed. Nocedal, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XLVI. Ed. Berkowitz and Wofsy, N. Y., 1927.

[2] *Poesías,* in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* LXI.

8. Leandro de Moratín is, with Ramón de la Cruz, the most celebrated dramatist of the 18th century; but the two cultivated very different branches of their art.

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[1] Carlos Cambronero, *Comella: su vida y sus obras*, in *Revista contemporánea*, CII, CIII, CIV, 1896.

[2] *Poesías* in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXVII.

Ramón de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla (1731–1794)[1] a needy petty bureaucrat of Madrid, was the great amuser of the public during the whole second half of the century; he found, to be sure, some titled patrons as well. He was enormously prolific. The catalogue of his plays, as made out by Sr. Cotarelo, shows 69 tragedies, comedies and *zarzuelas*, and 473 *sainetes* and other short dramatic compositions. Part of them he published himself with the title *Teatro* (10 vols., 1786–1791), containing 65 pieces, of which 44 are *sainetes.* It is a strange fact that everybody, cultured and ignorant, Academicians and populace, *Chorizos* and *Polacos, Yellows* and *Blues,* to whatever political, literary or theatrical party they belonged, all alike took pleasure in these light, swift *sainetes.* Yet the author was not free from attack. He spent part of his time fighting his critics and detractors, most of whom belonged to the neo-classic or *afrancesado* party. His brief one-act pieces, so nimbly brought off, are nearly all devoted to portraying the lower classes of Madrid and those elegantly faded types which are so often met with in later literature, as for example in Alarcón's *El sombrero de tres picos. Majos, lechuguinos, manolas,* abbés, *petimetras, chisperos, tocadores de guitarra, payos,* the ancestors of the modern *isidros,* a whole bygone world moves about before our eyes in a vivid helter-skelter. They are rough sketches, but many have survived. What Spaniard does not know the burlesque tragedy of *El muñuelo,* and those speaking tableaux of the *barrios de Lavapies* and *Maravillas: Las castañeras picadas* (*The Wrathy Chestnut-venders*), *La casa de Tócame-Roque, El rastro por la mañana, El prado por la noche, El fandango de candil, Manolo,* etc.? All these little pieces, recklessly rhymed and lasting a bare quarter of an hour, seem fragile enough, their psychology is curt and their art in low relief; yet they have outlasted many more ambitious works of that time, and, of course, the author's own long comedies, whether original or translated. "No work of art", said D. Juan

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[1] *Sainetes* (120), ed. A. Durán, 2 vols., 1843. *Sainetes inéditos,* ed. C. Cambronero, 1900. *Sainetes . . . en su mayoria inéditos* (90), ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, 1915 (*Nueva Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* XXIII). *Cinco sainetes inéditos,* ed. C. E. Kany, in *Rev. Hisp.,* LX, 1924, 40–185. *Ocho sainetes inéditos,* ed. C. E. Kany, Berkeley, Calif., 1925. *Five Sainetes of Ramón de la Cruz,* ed. C. E. Kany, N. Y., Ginn, 1926. *Más sainetes inéditos,* ed. C. E. Kany, in *Rev. Hisp.,* LXXVI, 1929, 360–572. — See B. Pérez Galdós, *Don R. de la C. y su época,* in *Pev. de España,* XVII, 1870, and XVIII, 1871. E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Don R. de la C. y sus obras,* 1899. A. Hamilton, *R. de la C.'s Debt to Molière,* in *Hispania,* IV, 1921, 101–113. Id., *A Study of Spanish Manners 1750–1800 from the Plays of R. de la C.,* Urbana, Ill., 1926.

Valera, speaking precisely of Ramón de la Cruz, "can be measured by the yard and sold by the pound. A *tonadilla* may be worth more than an opera as long as Wagner's; and there are certainly *sainetes* superior to many five-act tragedies and to dozens of romantic or transcendental dramas, with prologues, epilogues and theses."[1] Of course! but you must know the trick, and Don Ramón excelled in reproducing the *tranches de vie* he saw about him. Even when he borrowed subjects from foreign sources, Goldoni, Metastasio or Molière (for he was well-read), he was able to adapt them to his own public, time and manner. He took from Molière the subjects of *Las preciosas ridículas* (1767), *El casado por fuerza* (1767; *Le Mariage forcé*), *El mal de la niña* (1768; *L'Amour médecin*), *El casamiento desigual* (1769; *Georges Dandin*), *Los fastidiosos* (1775; *Les Fâcheux*), *El plebeyo noble* (*Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*) and a lost *Pourceaugnac*. The dramatic whimsies of Ramón de la Cruz are very Spanish in form and matter, even when he imitates, and they are no less suggestive than the famous *Caprichos* of his contemporary Goya in evoking the Spain of that day, at least in its external and picturesque aspects.

To the same popular national manner belong the *sainetes* of **Juan Ignacio González del Castillo,** a native of Cádiz (1763–1800).[2] His little Andalusian scenes have done more for his fame than all his tragedies, comedies and poems. They are snap-shots of life among the people, not unlike Rueda's *pasos*, or, later, the Valencian scenes of Eduardo Escalante (p. 538) and, in our day, the delicate Andalusian imaginings of the Quintero brothers.

9. The last in date of the dramatists of the 18th century, **Leandro Fernández de Moratín** (1760–1828)[3] is also the most famous. His father, Nicolás Fernández de Moratín, the dramatist and lyric poet, had read Rousseau's *Émile*, and conceived the notion of apprenticing his son to a jeweler. But young Leandro, following his own bent, began with academic successes (*La toma de Granada*, 1779, epic; *Lección poética*, 1782, satire). As secretary to Ambassador Cabarrús in Paris (1787), he made the acquaintance of Goldoni. Back in Madrid (1788), he published a keen and witty literary satire, *La derrota de los pedantes* (1789), in prose, and obtained a pension from Floridablanca, and later a benefice from Godoy. Five plays of his were performed: *El viejo y la niña* (*The Old Man and the Girl*, May 22, 1790, in verse); *La comedia nueva*, called *El café* (Feb. 7, 1792, in prose); *El Barón* (written in 1787, performed Jan. 28, 1803, in verse); *La mojigata* (*The False Prude*, May 19, 1804, written long before, in verse); and *El sí de las niñas* (*A Girl's Consent*, Jan. 24, 1806, in prose). Meanwhile, Moratín had traveled a bit about Europe (1792–1796). He held office under French Napoleonic rule, and so had to quit Spain when the Bourbons returned. He lived for a time in Barcelona, then went to Montpellier, Bordeaux and Paris, where he died June 21, 1828. His voluminous correspondence, printed in the *Obras pôstumas*, is extremely interesting. Besides his original comedies he made translations of Molière's *L'École des Maris* (*La escuela de los maridos*) and *Le Médecin malgré lui* (*El médico a palos*), and of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. A work of erudition, *Los orígenes del teatro español* (published in 1830),[1] is still often consulted for its exact and rare information. Lastly, some poems are pleasing, particularly those in satirical and familiar vein.

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[1] *Obras completas*, XXX, 75.

[2] *Sainetes*, ed. A. de Castro, Cádiz, 4 vols., 1845–1846. *Obras completas*, ed. L. Cano, 3 vols., 1914.—See E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Don Ramón de la Cruz*, 1899, *passim*. Id., *Isidoro Máiquez y el teatro de su tiempo*, 1902, *passim*. N. González Ruiz and R. Gómez de Ortega, *J. I. G. del C. y el teatro pop. del siglo XVIII*, in *Bull. of Spanish Studies*, I, 1924, 135–149 and *Catálogo crítico de sus obras completas*, *ibid.*, II, 1924, 35–50.

[3] *Obras*, ed. Aribau, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, II. *Obras póstumas*, 3 vols., 1867–1868. *Teatro* (*La comedia nueva* and *El sí de las niñas*), ed. F. Ruiz Morcuende, 1924 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 58).—See *Documentos referentes a D. L. F. de M.*, in *Rev. de Arch.*, II, 1898, 221–222. J. Pérez de Guzmán, *El centenario de "El sí de las niñas,"* in *Ilustración esp. y amer.*, L, 1906, 35, etc. F. Vézinet, *Moratín et Molière*, in *Molière, Florian, et la littérature esp.*, Paris, 1909, 11–178.

But whatever their merits, Moratín's fame rests only on his dramatic work. His doctrine can be studied in the pamphlets mentioned above, in the *Comedia nueva* and in the *Discurso preliminar* to the 1825 edition of his works. At first glance it seems to represent a narrow rigid classicism. But in the author's practice this became notably attenuated and modified. Although the two essential characteristics of his theater, skilled observation of the human heart and moral aim, place him on a higher level than most contemporary authors, and although in philosophic values as well as in their admirable qualities of simplicity, clearness and wise planning, his plays show his indebtedness to the study of French writers, yet Moratín remains Spanish in subjects, characters and conscientious observation of the society about him. His comedy, in his own words, " wears *basquiña* and *mantilla*." He is quick to recognize that the best rules in the world cannot make up for lack of genius or at least of talent, and therefore he esteems and respects the masters of the Golden Age, even when he deems their ways mistaken. " Any one of our old *comedias*," says Don Pedro in *El café*, " irritates me less than the nonsense written today." Moratín's real merit lies in the fact that he discovered the right proportion in which to mix the pseudo-classic rules, in so far as they are sound and just, with the legitimate traditions of native taste. He succeeded better than any of his predecessors in blending the two systems and pleasing both intellectuals and mob. Although the central thought of each of his comedies is very simple and logical, the plot is, in general, so rich in byplay and sudden turns, so ingenious in its picturesque and diverting details, that the natural curiosity of the crowd is kept piqued, while the demands of connoisseurs are satisfied. Moratín's fertility in imagining details is wonderful. Another quality he possessed in high degree is power of expression. The best judges are unanimous on that head. " He was," says one, Menéndez y Pelayo, "in point of correctness and approximate perfection one of the foremost writers in our language or any other."

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[1] In a censored, incomplete form, which was reprinted in the *Bibl. Aut. Esp.* II. The original manuscript remains intact and unpublished in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid. See *Rev. Hisp.*, XXXVI, 1916, 494–495.

He has weaknesses also, to be sure. The first is lack of variety. His themes are almost always the same: literary criticism and theories about education, those two define the narrow circle that circumscribes Moratín's talent. There is, besides, no profoundness in him. Even within his own narrow terrain, he did not plow as deep as he might. He painted a few portraits that are good likenesses and pleasing, but he never created a human type like those traced for all time by Molière or Shakespeare. One must admit, too, that he practised but one sort of comedy, that of the bourgeoisie; it was limited to one class of society and one category of emotions. He denied himself everything that moves above or below a common level; he contented himself with " *pinturas verisímiles de lo que sucede ordinariamente*," thinking, doubtless, that tragedy should be reserved for the aristocracy and farce for the vulgar. So he never quite understood Shakespeare or Ramón de la Cruz. Molière was the master he avowed, but the one he most resembled is, in my opinion, Terence.

Though his art lacked amplitude and boldness, we must not fail to recognize that his inspiration was liberal and at times relatively audacious. *La mojigata*, for instance, gives a vivid picture of a vice too common in Spanish society in all centuries. In his masterpiece, the charming comedy *El sí de las niñas*, Moratín protests eloquently and ardently against the abuse of paternal authority, an abuse sanctioned not only by custom and tradition, but by the laws of the time. If the numerous ordinances and edicts on the subject fell into desuetude and their severity was corrected at the beginning of the century, it is permissible to suppose that Moratín had a share in it. For once, at least, comedy *castigabat mores*.

CHAPTER II

LYRIC POETRY AND OTHER VERSE [1]

1. Minor Poets

The clash between the two opposite schools was less sharp in the field of lyric poetry than in drama. It even seems that here French influence was second to that of Italy. In reality lyric poets of genuine talent were rare both in Spain and France, for the era itself was very prosy. You may expect to find in the "lyrists" of that day a banal elegance, sheep-like obedience to time-honored forms and traditions, platitudes ill disguised by made-to-order inspiration and enthusiasm according to formula, a certain insipid, bepowdered and affected grace, and sentimentality that comes closer to gallantry than to love. Only a few attempted to put a trifle more verity and originality into their art. In the closing years of the century tragic events shook the languishing Muse and gave her song a loftier tone. But though poetry was provided with nobler inspiration by the awakening of national spirit and the consciousness of newly-won rights, in form it remained obstinately faithful to classic rules and foreign models. In general didactic verse (satire, epistle, fable) was better suited than lyric to a generation more given to reason than impulse, less passionate than intellectually curious. The prosaic character of the period is evidenced clearly by a few epic experiments or fragments, mere academic exercises, and a few poems that might better be called technical than didactic, like Iriarte's *La música* (1779), **Rejón de Silva**'s *La pintura* (1786) and **Moreno de Tejada**'s *Excelencias del pincel y del buril* (1804).

No time need be wasted on versifiers like Juan Ferreras and Feijóo, whose merits lie elsewhere. It will suffice for a rapid review to set down a few other names. **Alfonso Verdugo,** Count of **Torrepalma** (1706–1767) [2] wrote a brief and picturesque narrative poem, *El Deucalión*, published in Sedano's *Parnaso* (1770). **José Antonio Porcel** (b. 1720?) [3] composed *Églogas venatorias*, otherwise

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[1] See L. A. de Cueto, Marqués de Valmar, *op. cit.* Almost all the texts are in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, vols. LXI, LXIII and LXVII.

[2] *El Deucalión*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXIX. *Poesías, ibid.*, LXI.

[3] *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXI.

El Adonis, long unpublished, and translated Voltaire's *Mérope* and Boileau's *Le Lutrin* (*El facistol*). **Diego Antonio Cernadas de Castro** and **Antonio Francisco de Castro** were two successive *curas de Fruime,* both poetizers. **Juan Maruján** endeavored to ridicule the Gallicists by means of satires less moderate than Porcel's lines. The publicist **Salvador José Mañer** attacked Feijóo. **Francisco Mariano Nipho** (1719–1803), an indefatigable journalist, compiled the *Cajón de sastre, o Colección de muchas piezas exquisitas,* a valuable poetic anthology (7 vols., 1760–1761); he was the *bête noire* of Moratín and the Francophiles. Each had his moment of fame; each played his passionate part in literary, political or religious quarrels. How little remains today of all that sound and fury! Let us remember also that most of the dramatists already mentioned, in particular the elder Moratín, tried their hand at lyrics, occasionally with distinction. We pass, then, to those who may be regarded as the fuglemen of this rather obscure troop.

2. Salamancan School

José Cadalso or **Cadahalso** (1741–1782),[1] killed at the siege of Gibraltar, where he was serving as colonel, was an active member of the *tertulia* in the *fonda de San Sebastián* and one of the first poets of the Salamancan group, which he helped to found. He had traveled widely in Europe, and learned much thereby. In Spain he met numerous kindred spirits and exercised real influence on many, including Jovellanos and Meléndez Valdés. Without disowning native poets like Villegas, Quevedo and even Góngora, his tastes and training led him toward imitation of foreigners. In his prose pamphlet, the title at least of which has remained popular, *Los eruditos a la violeta* (1772; *Rose-water Scholars*), he ridiculed the scientific pretensions of his fellow-countrymen. The satire is dedicated "to those who claim to know much with little study." In the *Cartas marruecas,* published posthumously (1793) and often compared to Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes,* he extended his satire to the whole of society and revealed himself as a sage and moderate disciple of the encyclopedists. The tragedy *Sancho García* (1771) is notable only for its fidelity to classic principles. But his lyrics deserve special mention (*Ocios de mi juventud,* 1773, and *Obras,*

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[1] *Obras,* 3 vols., 1821. *Obras inéditas,* ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Rev. Hisp.,* I, 1894, 258–335. *Poesías,* in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* LXI. *Cartas marruecas, ibid.,* XIII. *Id.,* ed. "Azorín," Calleja, 1917.

3 vols., 1818). The *Noches lúgubres,* a prose rhapsody possibly suggested by the *Night Thoughts* of Edward Young (1681–1765),[1] arose from the romantic incidents of his love for the actress María Ignacia Ibáñez and her death. In reading them one seems to feel the first breath of approaching Romanticism. His short poems, anacreontics and elegies were greatly admired by his contemporaries.

Gaspar María de Nava Álvarez, Conde de **Noroña** (1760–1815) [2] fought beside Cadalso at Gibraltar and wrote an elegy to his memory. He served as ambassador in St. Petersburg. His two volumes of *Poesías* (1799–1800) contain odes and love poems in the French taste. More original are his *Poesías asiáticas,* translated from Oriental authors whom he consulted to compose his lengthy *Omniada* (1816), a posthumous epic. The *Asiatic Poems* seem like a distant forerunner of Hugo's *Orientales* (1829), but the former were not printed till 1833.

3. The group called, rather incorrectly, the "Salamancan School," followed with docility in Cadalso's steps. Its most distinguished representative, if not its best poet, was beyond question **Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos** (born at Gijón in 1744, died at Vega de Navia, Asturias, in 1811).[3] His life was very noble, and his death that of a good citizen. A magistrate in Seville (1767), then in Madrid (1778), bearing the burden of heavy responsibilities and important investigations, he lost favor when Cabarrús fell (1789), and was sent to Asturias on a pretext. With the same statesman he was Minister of Justice (1797), and then was again disgraced. He was imprisoned in Majorca, in the castle of Bellver, from 1801 to 1808. Taking a resolute stand against the French, he became a member of the insurrectionist *Junta* (1808), and as such summoned the national *Cortes.* When the members of the *Junta* were pursued, he took refuge in Asturias once more and died at Vega, while in flight from the victorious French. He richly merited the fair title of *Padre de la Patria* which was decreed to him.

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[1] [The current statement, M. Mérimée's also, that Cadalso imitated Young, must be modified in view of the findings of Prof. Peers (*Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXI, 1926, 413–415). Cadalso knew the first *Night*, but took from the Englishman practically nothing in thought or expression.]

[2] *Poesías* and *Poesías asiáticas*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXIII.—See J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Noroña's Poesías asiáticas*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XVIII, 1908, 439–467.

[3] *Obras publicadas e inéditas*, ed. C. Nocedal, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XLVI and L. *Escritos inéditos*, ed. J. Somoza García-Sala, 1891. *La Satire de J. contre la mauvaise éducation de la noblesse*, ed. A. Morel-Fatio, Bordeaux, 1899. *Cartas de J. y Lord Vassall Holland sobre la guerra de la Independencia*, ed. J. Somoza García-Sala, 2 vols., 1911. *Plan de educación de la nobleza* (1798), ed. González de Agüero, Gijón, 1915.—See E. Mérimée, *J.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, I, 1894, 34–68. J. Somoza de Montsoriú, *Inventario de un jovellanista*, 1901 (gives bibliography to date). E. González-Blanco, *J., su vida y su obra*, 1911. J. Somoza García-Sala, *Documentos para escribir la biografía de J.*, 2 vols., 1911. G. de Artinaño, *J. y su España*, 1913. J. Juderías, *Don G. M. de J.*, 1913. J. Somoza García-Sala, *J., manuscritos inéditos, raros o dispersos*, 1913. M. Artigas, *Los manuscritos de J. de la Biblioteca*, in *Bol. Bibl. Menéndez Pelayo*, III, 1921, 118–152. E. Díaz-Jiménez y Molledo, *J. en León*, in *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, XII, 1925, 606–639. A. Torres-Ríoseco, *G. M. de J., poeta romántico*, in *Rev. de Estudios Hispánicos*, I, 1928, 146–161.

Jovellanos was statesman, economist and man of letters, and if we consider only the last aspect of his activity, the variety of his talent and work assures him honorable rank in many genres. As political scientist he appears to advantage in his fine *Memoria en defensa de la Junta Central* (1810), which reveals his conception of an ideal state; something not far from a constitutional monarchy as Montesquieu would have understood it. The supreme effort of Jovellanos in the rôle of economist [1] is his *Report on the Agrarian Law* (*Informe sobre la ley agraria,* 1795), and, considering its social importance, I am inclined to call it his masterpiece. The report was made in order to put before Charles III some observations concerning the code of agricultural laws which that enlightened monarch wished, as a reformer, to promulgate. In reality it contains a complete plan of far-reaching reforms the application of which would have revolutionized the financial system. It must be remembered that Jovellanos, passing from theory to practice, had founded an educational institution of modern type, the *Instituto Asturiano* at Gijón. By this means he wished to contribute his share toward carrying out the social, economic and intellectual program laid down by Agricultural Colonies, Societies of Friends of the People, the Patriotic School or Seminary of Vergara, the Pestalozzian primary schools, etc. All his pamphlets and reports on the development and reform of the public school system had the same aim. Thanks to the efforts of such good citizens, the shameful school conditions, which Villarroel described in his satires and Pérez Bayer in more serious writings (*Por la libertad de la literatura española*), improved toward the end of the century, and the modern theories of Locke and Bentham, of Condillac and Destutt de Tracy, appeared for the first time in university announcements of courses.

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[1] Cf. Francisco Silvela, *Jovellanos y la Ley Agraria, conferencia en el Ateneo de Madrid,* Mar. 30, 1886 (*La España del siglo XIX,* vol. II).

As poet, *Jovino* left lyrics and pastorals, stiff, prosy and a bit ridiculous, one must admit, coming from the pen of so grave a personage at such a time. His moral and philosophic satires are powerfully conceived and more worthy of him (*A Arnesto, sátira contra la mala educación de la nobleza; El estado de España, bajo el gobierno de Godoy; A Bermudo, sobre los vanos deseos y estudios de los hombres; Sátira a Posidonio;* etc.). But after all, as Quintana rightly remarked, his poetic diction is in reality a sort of noble and elegant prose. The lines are short, ill constructed, awkward, without rhythm or harmony. Jovellanos's only claim to fame as a dramatist is *El delincuente honrado* (p. 419), for the tragedy *Pelayo* (*Munuza*), written in 1769, owed to later political events its moment of favor and a semblance of life and interest. We must add that this man so open to every truth, so far in advance of his time, and timid only in matters of form, put forth original ideas, then novel, about art, particularly Gothic art, in the *Memoria del castillo de Bellver*, the *Informe sobre . . . los monumentos de Granada y Córdoba*, the fine *Epístola desde El Paular*, and many other minor articles and letters to Bayeu, Antonio Ponz, Ceán Bermúdez, etc. To these may be added, though it belongs properly among historical works, the curious and interesting *Memoria sobre los espectáculos y diversiones públicas de España*, which condemns bull-fights. This essay was written during his first exile.

His admirable life, crowned by an admirable death, was probably Jovellanos's finest work. His life promoted letters, for though part of his writings have today no more than historical value, they all proved the power of an alliance between moral worth and talent, and they pointed authoritatively to the road that must be followed if the nation was to improve its future.

4. **Juan Meléndez Valdés** (1754–1817),[1] born at Ribera del Fresno (Badajoz), was a disciple and friend of Jovellanos (*Obra soy tuya . . .*), but resembles him neither in life nor work. He

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[1] *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXIII. *Los besos de amor*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Rev. Hisp.*, I, 1894, 73–83. *Poesías inéditas*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *ibid.*, I, 1894, 166–195. *Poesías y cartas inéditas*, ed. M. Serrano y Sanz, *ibid.*, IV, 1897, 266–313. *Poesías*, ed. P. Salinas, 1925 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 64). See Quintana, *Noticia hist. y lit. de M.*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XIX. E. Mérimée, *M. V.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, I, 1894, 217–235. Monner Sans, *Pasatiempo poético*, Buenos Aires, 1921. E. Alarcos, *M. V. en la Universidad de Salamanca*, in *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, XIII, 1926. P. Salinas, *Los primeros romances de M. V.*, in *Homenaje Menéndez Pidal*, II, 447–455.

made a brilliant record at Salamanca (1772–1781), and went to Madrid in the latter year. He became professor of the Humanities at Salamanca in 1781, then magistrate at Saragossa (1789) and Valladolid (1791). Jovellanos, when minister, gave him an official post in Madrid (1797). An unhappy weakness of will made him veer from one camp to the opposite, by turns. At first a patriot, then a militant *afrancesado,* he still could hail the return of Fernando VII; but he was, naturally, regarded with suspicion, and compelled to leave the country. He died at Montpellier.

As poet he was no less inconsistent, wavering and flabby. *Batilo* underwent first the influence of Cadalso, and, like him, composed anacreontics, idylls and endechas. Pastoral poetry seemed his real domain. His verses "exhaled the breath of thyme," it was said. Very true, adds Juan Valera maliciously, but he kept the perfume corked in a dainty little vial, and sprinkled it on his eclogues. His tender soul and *ingenio suave* marked him as predestined for that genre in which he won his academic successes, the eclogue *Batilo* (1780), the ode *La gloria de las artes* (1781), and the play *Las bodas de Camacho* (1784). It is in such rustic poetry and in anacreontic and amatory odes (*Los besos de amor*) that Meléndez displays his full power. He chants with gusto his successive amours, which seem not to have been imaginary, and the fickle "Salamancan Anacreon" flits rapidly from Ciparis to Rosana, then to Filis, Dorila, Galatea and Cloris, "till his sweethearts number twelve, according to careful reckoning."

But soon he was not satisfied with that. He wished, like Jovellanos, to rise to the moral, philosophic, social and political ode. And as he was well taught and well read, and possessed remarkable powers of assimilation, he made a decent showing at it (*Epístola a Jovellanos, Sobre la beneficencia, El filósofo en el campo, De las miserias humanas, La despedida del anciano,* etc.). Next our poet, who was too good a follower, followed the fashion of English poetry, which came in about 1790. There were, in fact, no less than three translations of Young about this time, by Escóiquiz, Cladera and Schwager.[1] The pseudo-Ossian was rendered four times: by Ortiz (1788), Montengón, Marchena and Gallego (the last via a French play). Milton [1] and Pope were translated by Palazuelos, Jovellanos, Hermida and Escóiquiz; Thomson's *Seasons* by Gómez Romero. Gessner's *Idyllen* and Goethe's *Werther* mark the first glimpses of German literature. But Pope's *Essay on Man* and Young's *Night Thoughts* were the favorite models of Meléndez. So, at the touch of his pen, the gleaming plains of Salamanca soon were veiled by a sad Scotch mist; rustic pipes were laid aside for the tearful lute of northern bards (cf. *La noche y la soledad*, with the accompanying letter to Jovellanos).

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[1] Cf. E. Allison, Peers, *The Influence of Young and Gray in Spain,* in *Mod. Lang. Rev.,* XXI, 1926, 404–418. Cf. p. 428, note 1.

All this gives the impression of an art without depth or originality, a mere echo and reflection. Yet perhaps, without realizing it himself, he introduced a new element into the lyric, and in a way revived it. It was doubtless with this in mind that Azorín deemed it possible to say that "Meléndez is the first romantic poet." At any rate, though he ranks far below Jovellanos in a moral and philosophical order, he is certainly a better poet. He has a real talent for descriptive detail, he possesses the visualizing gift. His rustic pictures, in the style of Watteau and Boucher, are charming. His seven- and eight-syllable lines are light and harmonious; they are music to the ear and sometimes a delight to the imagination. He worked hard over his style, and it is not always free from affectation, nor is his diction always simple. His contemporaries, Iriarte at their head, reproached him for archaisms, and Hermosilla saw in him the leader of the *magueristas*.[2] Such faults, however, are not particularly noticeable today, and his merits outweigh them.[3] His poetry was at once futile, philosophical and humanitarian; and so, taken as a whole, reflects a correct image of the close of that century.

5. Most of Meléndez's weaknesses, with only a few of his good qualities, are found in all the poets of the so-called Salamancan school. They appear, for example, in Fray **Diego Tadeo González** (1733–1794),[4] said to be an excellent sacred orator, who devoted himself with touching (and slightly ridiculous) fervor to pastoral poetry. The same may be said of his fellow-religionist Padre **Juan**

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[1] E. Allison Peers, *Milton in Spain*, in *Studies in Philology*, XXIII, 1926, 169–183.

[2] *Maguer*, archaic for *aunque, a pesar*.

[3] For an excellent summing up, see Juan Valera, in his *Florilegio de poesías castellanas del siglo XIX*, I, 1902, 11–14.

[4] *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXI. *El murciélago alevoso*, ed. L. Verger, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXXIX, 1917, 294–301.

Fernández de Rojas (d. 1819). These two worthy Augustinians decked themselves with names of shepherds, *Delio* and *Liseno*, respectively; Fray Diego celebrated his shepherdesses *Melisa* and *Mirta*, beside *Batilo* (Meléndez), *Dalmiro* (Cadalso), *Arcadio* (Iglesias), *Aminta* (Forner), *Damón* (Estala) and the *mayoral* or head shepherd *Jovino* (Jovellanos), whose crook guided the bleating flock with grave authority. The shepherd *Delio* at least, Fray Diego González, that is, wrote a few poems that give out some distant echo of Luis de León, and, besides, *El murciélago alevoso* (*The Treacherous Bat*), a bit of racy invective much superior to his didactic poem *La niñez*, undertaken at Jovellanos's suggestion. As for *Liseno*, he left a most ingenious satire on the scientific methods and processes of research of the encyclopedists, under the title *Crotalogía* or *The Art of Playing Castanets* (1792).

José Iglesias de la Casa (1748–1791),[1] priest of a village near Salamanca, belongs to the same group. He began with epigrams and fugitive verse which is not without delicacy and spirit. But after he was ordained priest in 1783 he did penance, and doubtless wished to inflict penance on his readers, by composing poems as soporific as they are moral: *La niñez laureada* (1785), in honor of a three-year-old prodigy, and *La Teología* (1790). His chief merit, probably, is that he wrote his attractive light verse (not published till after his death) in the pure speech of Old Castile, without ever incurring the reproach of gallicizing,—a reproach that neither Meléndez nor Cienfuegos nor Jovellanos escaped. Perhaps after all Iglesias does not deserve much credit, since he had never read a foreign book.

Juan Pablo Forner (1756–1797)[2] passed from the magistracy to literature, like Jovellanos, Meléndez, and another poet, **José María Vaca de Guzmán**[3] (author of *Las naves de Cortés destruidas*, 1778, *Granada rendida*, 1779, both Academy prize winners, etc.). Forner was a born critic and controversialist. Abundant proof exists in the

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[1] *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXI. *Poesías inéditas*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Rev. Hisp.*, II, 1895, 77–96.

[2] *Obras*, ed. L. Villanueva, 1844. *Poesías* and *Composiciones varias*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXIII. *Exequias de la lengua castellana*, in Cueto, *Hist. crít. de la poesía cast. en el siglo XVIII*, III, 147–338. *Id.*, ed. P. Sainz Rodríguez, 1925 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 66). *El asno erudito*, ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori, in *Iriarte y su época*, 1897, 540–544.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Ideas estéticas*, III, 1886, II, 82–99. Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, *passim.* A. González Blanco, *Ensayo sobre un crítico esp. del siglo XVIII*, in *Nuestro Tiempo*, 1917, vol. 4, 157–170.

[3] *Las naves de Cortés*, ed. Rosell, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XXIX. *Poesías*, *ibid.*, LXI.

Sátira contra los vicios introducidos en la poesía castellana (1782); the *Reflexiones contra Tomé Cecial* (1784), aimed at Huerta; the *Oración apologética por la España y su mérito literario* (1786), an answer to a certain scornful judgment which had appeared in the French *Encyclopédie;*[1] the *Exequias de la lengua castellana,* the deepest, most vigorous and best of all his works, though it remained long unpublished; the various satires against Iriarte: *El asno erudito* (1782), a fable in verse, with prose preface; *Los Gramáticos, historia chinesca* (suppressed by the censors, and still unprinted), a pamphlet against the whole Iriarte family, the scholar uncle D. Juan and the nephews Tomás and Bernardo; and a dozen other violent personal polemics, against Trigueros, López de Ayala, Huerta, the Academy, etc. In this guerrilla warfare of many skirmishes he displayed passionate partisanship, but, on the other hand, he gave proof also of much stout and spirited common sense, and an uncompromisingly ardent love for his native literature and the classic speech. His attempts in the field of the epic (*La paz, canto heroico,* 1796), drama (*El filósofo enamorado,* 1796, *El ateísta*), and philosophy (five *Discursos filosóficos sobre el hombre,* 1787, in verse, with prose *Ilustraciones,* against the sophistries of unbelief), were less successful.

6. That same **Tomás de Iriarte** (1750–1791),[2] against whom the irascible Forner contended so hotly, was the author of *Fábulas literarias* which were one of the biggest successes of that time. These apologues, all of which are designed to lay down precepts for the art of writing, appeared in 1782 and have become classics. But their swift success aroused some hostility. The relative originality of the collection, full of ingenious novelty, the moderation and justness of the satire, which never passed the bounds of good taste, the grace of style, the masterly handling of the forty different meters used, these are qualities which justify the author's success and explain his rivals' jealousy. His lively arguments with Samaniego, Forner, Huerta and Meléndez show how seriously literary quarrels were taken then. Besides the two bright comedies mentioned above (p. 419, *El señorito mimado* and *La señorita mal criada*), Iriarte published several literary pamphlets, as *Los literatos en cuaresma* (1773), and a didactic poem in five cantos, *La música* (1779); though famous in its day and praised by Metastasio, few think of reading it now.

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[1] See P. Sainz y Rodríguez, *Las polémicas sobre la cultura esp.*, 1919.

[2] *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXIII. *Poesías inéditas*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Rev. Hisp.*, II, 1895, 70–76. *Fábulas literarias*, ed. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Oxford, 1917. *Id.*, English transl. by Robert Rockliff, 1851.—See E. Cotarelo y Mori, *I. y su época*, 1897. *Procceso inquisitorial contra Don T. de I.*, ed. Cotarelo, in *Rev. de Arch.*, IV, 1900, 682–683. F. Vézinet, *I. et Florian*, in *Molière, Florian et la litt. espagnole*, Paris, 1909, 179–252.

Fables were quite the rage just then. Lokmân was rendered into Spanish in 1779 and 1784; La Fontaine in 1787. In 1781 and 1784 appeared the two parts of the collection of fables by **Félix María Samaniego** (1745–1801),[1] a landed gentleman of the Basque Provinces, though born in La Guardia (Rioja). He had written them especially for the pupils of the *Seminario* recently founded at Vergara. Many of these *Fábulas morales* are original; the substance of others is borrowed from earlier fabulists (Phaedrus, La Fontaine and John Gay). They were no less successful than Iriarte's, and, like his, have remained classic. Others were not so fortunate; forgotten are the *Fábulas en verso castellano* (2 vols., 1789–1797) of **Ibáñez de la Rentería**; the *Fábulas originales en verso* (not printed till 1819) of **Ramón de Pisón**; the *Parábolas morales, políticas y literarias* (in prose, 1803) of **Francisco Gregorio de Salas** [2] (better known for his rural poem, *El observatorio rústico*, 1772–1774); and the fables of **Pablo de Jérica** [3] (published in 1831, in a *Colección de cuentos, fábulas*, etc.).

Nicasio Álvarez de Cienfuegos (1764–1809) [4] brought to the lyric (*La escuela del sepulcro, La primavera, El otoño, En alabanza de un carpintero, En elogio del general Bonaparte*, etc.) and to the theater (*La Condesa de Castilla, Zoraida*, etc.) undisciplined ardor, fiery imagination (some one said his name was a correct index to his character), and even disdain for grammar and syntax, which all together stamp him with real originality and save him from being commonplace. His rather disorderly passionateness, his imaginative power, sentimentality that stops at nothing, scorn of the Spanish national drama, and certain stylistic innovations have caused him to be regarded as a precursor of Romanticism. He speaks of Lope as the Frenchmen of 1830 spoke of Racine: "I am not acquainted with the *Estrella de Sevilla*," he said, "but I have heard it discussed by persons who have read it. . . . I believe that all the good in that tragedy is due to Trigueros and not Lope de Vega." Those were then the sentiments of the "reform" group. His heroic struggle against Murat, who condemned him to death, the devotion of his friends, who saved him without his ever uttering a word of retraction, his death soon after his arrival in Orthez, the spot to which the French carried him for exile, have placed a halo of glory upon this poet who disappeared too soon to fulfil his promise.

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[1] *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXI. *Obras inéditas o poco conocidas*, ed. E. Fernández de Navarrete, Vitoria, 1866. *Obras críticas*, ed. J. Apraiz, Bilbao, 1898. *Fábulas en verso*, ed. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Oxford, 1917.

[2] *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXVII.

[3] *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXVII.

[4] *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXVII.—See E. Piñeyro, *C.*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XI, 1909, 31–54. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 96.

Jovellanos, Moratín, Meléndez and Cienfuegos, not all in the same camp, were all victims of the unhappy Peninsular War, which affected poetry in many ways. To it we owe the finest lines of Quintana, Gallego, Sánchez Barbero and a few other contemporaries, with whom our summary of the lyric at this time will be concluded.

Francisco Sánchez Barbero (1764–1819),[1] a distinguished Salamancan humanist, is one who was indebted to political events for his most brilliant inspirations (*A la batalla de Trafalgar; La invasión francesa en* 1808; *El patriotismo o A la nueva constitución*, 1814; etc.). His tragedies (*Saúl*, *Coriolano*, etc.) are forgotten, and his long poem *Las cuatro edades del hombre* was lost, with other works, while fleeing before the French. He composed in Latin as well as in Spanish. He died in the presidio of Melilla, whither his liberal opinions sent him after the return of Fernando VII. There he wrote an *Epístola a Ovidio*, which, with a few satirical compositions, deserves to be saved from oblivion.

7. But the most illustrious by far of these patriot-poets is **Manuel José Quintana** (1772–1857).[2] Though for a moment he was the protégé and disciple of Meléndez, he resembled that master far less than he did Jovellanos. Like the latter, he toiled all his life in the

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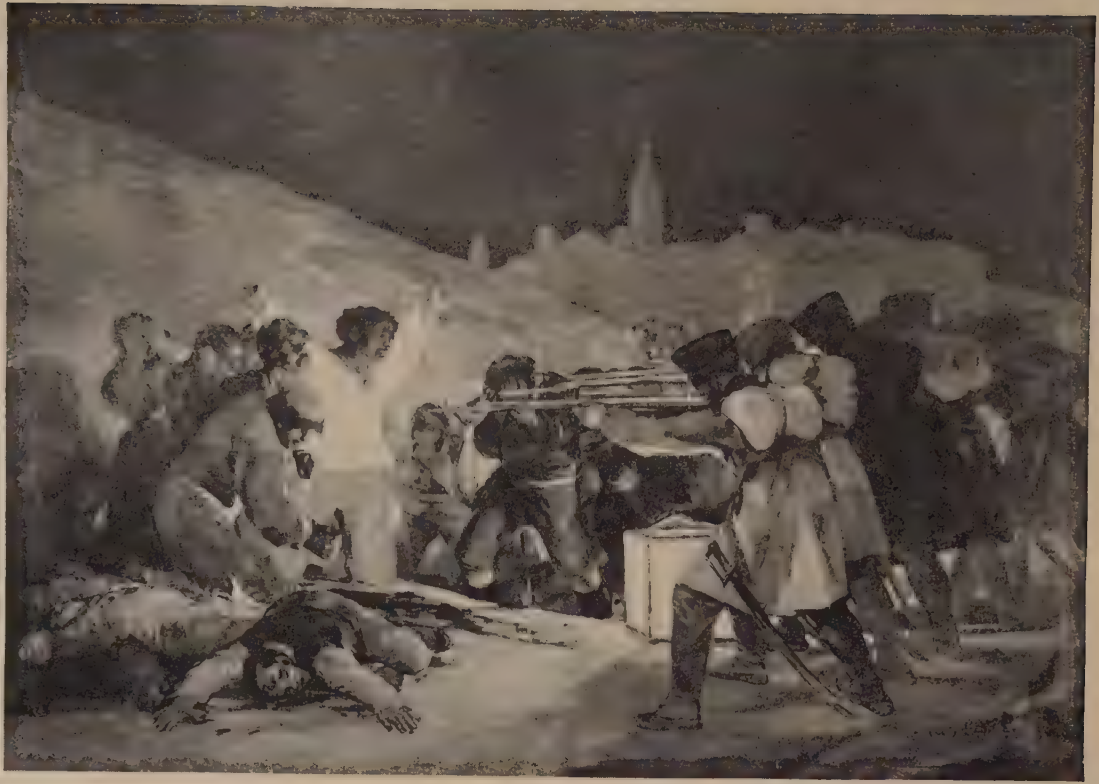
[1] *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXIII.

[2] *Obras*, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XIX. *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXVII. *Juicios críticos*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, VII, LXI, LXIII, LXVII. *Obras inéditas*, 1892. *Obras completas*, 3 vols., 1897–1898. *Vida de Vasco Núñez de Balboa*, ed. G. G. Brownell, Boston, 1914. *Vidas de los españoles célebres* (*El Cid*, *Guzmán el Bueno*), ed. Plá, Oxford, 1921. *Poesías*, ed. N. Alonso Cortés, 1927 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 78).—See E. Piñeyro, *M. J. Q.*, Paris, 1892. E. Mérimée, *Les Poésies lyriques de Q.*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, IV, 1902, 119–153. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Don M. J. Q. considerado como poeta lírico*, in *Estudios de crítica lit.*, V, 1908, 297–352.



EXECUTIONS IN MADRID, MAY 3, 1808
From a Painting by Francisco de Goya (El Prado Museum)

cause of liberty, but with greater ardor and decision. After early literary ventures, he threw himself into the struggle against Napoleon, became secretary of the insurrectionist *Junta Central*, and in that capacity addressed to the Spanish colonies in America a call to independence, for which some reproach and others praise him. When the Bourbons returned he was imprisoned in the citadel of Pamplona (1814–1820); the liberal triennium brought his release and made him Director of Public Instruction (1821–1823). From 1823 to the death of Fernando VII he lived mainly in exile in Extremadura and busied himself wholly with literary labors. With the accession of Isabel II he was restored to his posts, and his life closed amid the respect of all. The vicissitudes of his existence obeyed with much exactness the movement forward or backward of liberty in Spain.

Quintana was patriot, poet and philosopher. His love of independence and liberty shows in his earliest poetic compositions (*Epístola a Valerio*, 1790, on painting; *A Don Ramón Moreno*, 1798, on the study of poetry), but more in his splendid *Odas* and patriotic poems, which placed him quickly in the first rank (*A Juan de Padilla*, 1797; *A la paz entre España y Francia en 1795*, written two years later; *A la invención de la imprenta*, 1800; *El Panteón del Escorial*, 1805; *Al combate de Trafalgar*, 1805; *Al armamento de las provincias españolas contra los franceses*, 1808; *A España, después de la revolución de marzo*, 1808; and that to Balmis, who led an expedition to America to spread the use of vaccine, 1806). These poems, worthy of a good citizen and a solid thinker, were collected in 1813, and dedicated by the author to Cienfuegos, "from whom I learned not to make literature an instrument of oppression and servitude." Unfortunately this excellent vein of poetry was soon worked out, and the singer of liberty stopped in discouragement. He explained the motives of his silence in the *romance* to Somoza, in 1826. But he never lost his interest in the *res publica;* he served it with deeds, and, on occasion, with writings, such as his fine *Report on the Reorganization of Public Instruction*, Sept. 9, 1813, and the *Address* at the Universidad Central of Madrid, Nov. 7, 1822. The ten *Letters to Lord Holland* (from Nov. 20, 1823 to April 12, 1824) contain a narrative of the dramatic events from 1820 to 1823 and an impartial evaluation of the facts; they are varied with brief and profound philosophical reflections in the manner of Tacitus. There are masterly portraits (the King, Espoz y Mina, Calatrava, etc.) and some vigorously painted scenes (the King's oath, his stepping into the launch at Cádiz).

But in Quintana, poet and patriot, there existed also a literary critic, who made an early appearance. *Las reglas del drama*, which is pure Boileau, goes back to 1791. Boileau and Voltaire are for him the law and the prophets. Sticking close to the theories of the first and the examples of the second he composed two tragedies. *El Duque de Viseo* (1801), a tissue of horrors for which the Englishman "Monk" Lewis is partly responsible (*The Castle Spectre*, 1798), unites queerly a wild juvenile imagination and ultra-classic formulas. *Pelayo* (1805) shows how the love of independence which Quintana could express so eloquently when he spoke for himself became congealed and frozen by the chilly apparatus of pseudo-classic tragedy. For all that, this play overshadowed those of Nicolás F. de Moratín and Jovellanos on the same subject. Quintana collaborated in the review *Variedades de ciencias, literatura y artes* (1803–1805) with stimulating results. His taste gradually broadened, and probably the process was aided by the great poetic anthology which he edited, *Tesoro del Parnaso español, Poesías selectas castellanas* (1807, revised form in 1830–1833). This collection, superior to those of Sedano, Huerta and "Ramón Fernández," is divided into three parts: poems of the 16th and 17th centuries, three volumes; poems of the 18th century, one volume; *Musa épica*, two volumes.

Another collection that does great credit to Quintana is that of *Vidas de los españoles célebres*. He conceived a vast plan, which was to embrace many men famous in various activities, but it was never carried out. He left but nine biographies: *El Cid, Guzmán el Bueno, Roger de Lauria, El Príncipe de Viana* and *Gonzalo de Córdoba*, issued in 1807; *Vasco Núñez de Balboa* and *Pizarro* (1830); *Álvaro de Luna* and *Fray Bartolomé de las Casas* (1833). Quintana, taking Plutarch as his model, at first intended merely to perform a moral and patriotic task, but his aim was raised as he went on, and the last biographies are real historical studies.

Quintana, in short, was the most authoritative interpreter of the Salamancan School, which occupies an intermediate position and serves as transition between two diverse literary ages. He tried to do justice to both the opposed schools, and, since he judged the great writers of the past with more equity than either, himself reached a place among the great. By example, if not by precept, he reminded his compatriots of a truth which they were in danger of forgetting, namely, that it is not rules, but genuine passion and sincerity of heart that create masterpieces.

8. The Sevillan Poets

After the Salamancan School and the poets connected with it, it is fitting to review those who form the so-called Sevillan School or group. They occupy the space in letters between the 18th century and the Romantic period. They represent with considerable accuracy the ideas current at that time, and they exercised a notable influence upon society in the first half of the 19th century.

The most brilliant period of this school corresponds to the last years of the 18th century and the first two decades of the 19th. The names of the chief members of the group are the following: Félix José Reinoso (1772–1841), Manuel María de Arjona (1771–1820), José María Blanco (1774–1841), Alberto Lista y Aragón (1775–1848); and, in second rank, José María Roldán (1771–1828), Francisco de Paula Castro (1771–1827), Francisco de Paula Núñez Díaz (1766–1832), Manuel María del Mármol (1776?–1840), Félix María Hidalgo (1790–1835), José Marchena (1768–1821).[1]

In principle at least, the object of this gathering of cultured men, priests, professors, magistrates, members of the *Academia de Letras Humanas*, was to diffuse the principles of " good taste " among the public. They were, then, first of all, teachers of the humanities, professors of rhetoric. Several actually conducted classes. **Lista,**[2] who was a great educator of several generations, followed the teaching profession as often as political events allowed him leisure for it. He began at Seville (1796), passed (after an exile) to Bilbao, then to Madrid (*Colegio de San Mateo*), and finally to Cádiz (*Colegio de San Felipe Neri*, 1838). We are dealing, then, with a real "School." In it criticism held the post of honor; through that channel these cultured persons exerted their influence on the minds of others. Lista began with an imitation of Pope's *Dunciad*, *El*

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[1] Poems of all but Mármol in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXIII and LXVII. Cf. also Juan Valera, *Florilegio de poesías castellanas del siglo XIX*, 5 vols., 1902–1904.

[2] *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXVII. *Poesías inéditas*, ed. J. M. de Cossío, 1927.

imperio de la estupidez, a review of all the eccentricities of contemporary authors. The following year (1799) he wrote a critique of Balbuena's *Bernardo*, and forty-five years later he was publishing *Ensayos literarios y críticos*. He gave a course in dramatic literature at the *Ateneo* of Madrid, of which some lectures were published (*Lecciones de literatura española*, 1836). His *Poesías* appeared in 1822 and 1837. **Reinoso** [1] too was a professor and critic. He taught humanities in the *Sociedad Económica* of Seville in 1815. Before that he had been one of the founders of the *Academia de Letras Humanas* (1793–1801), and by it his poem *La inocencia perdida* (published 1804) was awarded a prize in 1799. **Arjona** [2] was not so much a poet as a humanist who wrote and read a great number of dissertations in the Academies of Seville and Madrid. Among the pensioners to whom he taught theology in the *Colegio Mayor de Maese Rodrigo* in Seville was Blanco-White, who was to do him honor by his talent if not by the firmness of his religious convictions. Arjona planned a *philosophical* history of Spanish poetry, which would certainly have been interesting. This **Blanco-White** [3] (**Blanco y Crespo** by birth) wrote critical articles for all the reviews of the time, particularly the *Semanario patriótico*, *El Español* (1810–1814) and *Variedades* (1823–1825), the last two of which he founded in London, after having renounced his native land and his childhood beliefs. He was born in Seville of pious parents; his father was of Irish descent. He is known for some moving poems in Spanish, the fine English sonnet *Mysterious Night* (*Night and Death*); *Letters from Spain* (1822), under the pseudonym of *Leucadio Doblado* ("Doubly White"), invaluable for the light they shed upon the Spain of that day; and controversial religious writings. First a Catholic priest, then a minister of the Anglican Church, he died a Unitarian. His long exile in England was marked by the pursuit of truth, a passion for independence and painful crises of the soul.

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[1] *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXVII. *La inocencia perdida*, ed. Rosell, *ibid.*, XXIX. *Obras*, ed. A. Martín Villa and F. de B. Palomo, 2 vols., Sevilla, 1872–1879 (*Sociedad de Biblióf. andaluces*, vol. 21).

[2] *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXIII.

[3] *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXVII.—See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Heterodoxos esp.*, III, 1881, 547–583. E. Piñeyro, *B. W.*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XII, 1910, 71–100, 163–200. F. Rousseau, *Souvenirs d'un proscrit esp. réfugié en Angleterre*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXII, 1910, 615–647. M. Méndez Bejarano, *Vida y obras de Don J. M. B. y C.*, 1921. M. Artigas, *Night and Death*, in *Bull. Spanish Studies*, I, 1924, 125–134.

This school, for the most part, displayed no originality and discovered nothing new. All their ideas came from Père André, Rollin, Fleury, La Harpe, Batteux, Muratori and Blair. That is the same as saying that their ideas are strictly pseudo-classic. But since they understood that rules alone cannot go far, they attempted to catch the secrets of the sixteenth-century lyrists. It never occurred to them that a person can walk without leading-strings. They must have "models." "My model," said Lista, "is Rioja; my chief aim has been to clothe my inspiration (?) in the external forms and expressions of that great poet." What Lista did with Rioja, Roldán undertook to do with Herrera, as for example in his two much-praised odes, *A la venida del Espíritu Santo* and *A la resurreción de Jesucristo.* Such poetry is scholarly, laborious and likewise timid. It may have all the good qualities you like, but it can never have the only really indispensable quality, namely the original inspiration, spontaneity and freshness that reveal the genuine breath of genius. And then, as always happens in such cases, they imitated the faults more than the beauties of their models. Now, the faults of the Andalusian schools have always been inflation, pompousness and solemn verbiage. These are not lacking in our neo-Sevillans, especially in Roldán, Arjona and Reinoso. The last declared that it is permissible to use in poetry "extraordinary words, more expressive than the usual language of prose," which is precisely the theory of Góngora. "Altiloquence," he added, "is a virtue in a lyric."

But this *altisonancia* is a near cousin to the "*estilo crespo, sonoro, altisonante y campanudo, de repique y volteo*" so amusingly defined by the author of *Fray Gerundio,* the style in which Nietzsche later discovered "an impoverishment of organic power, accompanied by extreme prodigality of means and intentions." And unhappily some of the Sevillan poets joined to these defects the opposite defects of the "*estilo blondo, petimetre, almidonado y a lo Chamberí.*" On Delille they grafted Góngora. Arjona, in an *Ode to the Spanish Nobles,* whom he urged to show themselves more worthy of their ancestors, was unwilling to say simply *artilleryman, horseman, foot-soldier, sailor,* and wrote: "He who directs the fulminating chariot, spirited rival of the bolts of the king of the firmament;" "he who spurs the courser, son of the wind;" etc.

On certain points, however, this school was unfaithful to pure classic doctrine, for example, with regard to the desirability of using religious themes and miracles from the Bible. In 1799 the *Academia de Letras Humanas* proposed as a theme for competition, *Lost Innocence.* Reinoso won the prize and Lista the accessit. Quintana, true to French classicism, declared that the theme was ill chosen. Blanco wrote a counter-argument of some power, combating Boileau's thesis. At the same time another poet of the same school, Núñez Díaz, called by Lista *el Píndaro cristiano,* was developing the same anti-classic theory. In France, Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme* was about to appear (1802).

Although the school included some deeply religious poets (and nearly all of them were priests, canons, or theologues), yet taken as a whole it is heavily dyed with philosophism and heterodoxy. I do not allude merely to such men as the ex-abbé **Marchena,**[1] who was a refugee in France, a crony of the Girondins, a scribe for the public *Comité de Salut,* a contributor to the *Ami des Lois,* proscribed by the Directorate, secretary to Moreau and then to Murat; nor to Blanco-White: they were the black sheep of the group. But most of these bourgeois writers liked to call themselves *volterianos* and *rusoyanos,* like Lista and Arjona, or Condillacians and positivists, like Reinoso (cf. the preface to his *Poética*). As was to be expected, they were liberals in politics. Many welcomed not only French ideas but even the government of Joseph Bonaparte. Reinoso defended the *afrancesados* in a paradoxical book, *Examen de los delitos de infidelidad a la patria* (1816). These liberals were quite monarchical, and formed later the moderate or constitutional party; they raised no objection to despotism when disguised under a certain semblance of parliamentary form, *el despotismo ilustrado.*

In short the literary lights of this group deserve our attention less for the intrinsic value of their own works than for their theories of letters, politics and philosophy, their teachings, and the general influence they wielded upon society.

"Seven odes and elegies in thirty-six years, a few sonnets and *romances,* sufficed to place **Juan Nicasio Gallego** (1777–1853) [2] in the first rank among Spanish poets," said Ventura de la Vega. Gallego was a native of Zamora, a graduate of Salamanca, a priest and director of the King's pages (1805). His most celebrated ode is the famous *Dos de mayo* (1808). Those *On the Defense of Buenos Aires* (against the English, 1807) and *A la influencia del entusiasmo público en las artes* (1808) are likewise to be found in all the anthologies. I do not care so much for his elegies on the death of certain illustrious personages (the Duque de Fernandina, 1816, Queen Isabel de Braganza, 1819, the Duquesa de Frías, 1830); they are cold and studied. But Gallego's fame can rest secure upon the honor of having, at one tragic moment, given more perfect expression than any other man to the patriotic rage and enthusiasm of a whole nation.

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[1] *Obras literarias,* ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, 2 vols., Sevilla, 1892–1896. *Une lettre de M.,* ed. A. Morel-Fatio, in *Bull. Hisp.,* IV, 1902, 256–257.—See Morel-Fatio, *Documents sur M.,* in *Bull. Hisp.,* XXI, 1919, 231–242.

[2] *Obras poéticas,* ed. Acad. Esp., 1854. *Poesías,* in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* LXVII. *Quatre lettres de J. N. G. au duc de Frías,* ed. J. Sarrailh, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.,* XI, 1924, 383–401.—See E. González Negro, *Estudio biográfico de Don J. N. G.,* Zamora, 1901. J. M. de Cossío, *El realismo de G.,* in *Bol. Bibl. Menéndez y Pelayo,* V, 1923, 345–347.

The name of **Juan Bautista Arriaza** (1770–1837) [1] was likewise made popular by patriotic poems (*Poesías patrióticas*, London, 1810), such as *El dos de mayo de 1808*, theme ever fresh, *La profecía del Pirineo en julio de 1808*, and *El himno de la victoria.* This did not prevent Arriaza from becoming Fernando VII's favorite poet and the official bard of absolutism.

The work of **Juan María Maury** (1772–1845) [2] may serve as a transition between neo-classicism and Romanticism. He had published in 1806 a thoroughly classical epic, *La agresión británica.* Most of his life was spent in France, as a refugee, and he issued in Paris (1826–1827) *L'Espagne poétique,* an anthology of Spanish poems skilfully rendered into French by the collector himself. This work taught many French Romantics what they knew of Spain. Lastly, in 1840, Maury published in Paris a poem in twelve cantos, *Esvero y Almedora,* the subject of which is none other than Suero de Quiñones's *Paso honroso.* In it the influence of the newer poetry is plain. Good judges, like Juan Valera, laud its style as a model of richness and "purism."

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[1] *Poesías,* in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* LXVII.

[2] *Poesías,* in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.,* LXVII.

CHAPTER III

PROSE

1. History and Erudition

During this period history assumed an erudite character. Broadly speaking, its aim was not so much formal beauty as accurate and copious documentation. Gone are the sweeping generalizations, the bird's-eye summaries, beloved of Mariana, whose artistic sense was superior to his science. The older periods of national life, in all their rich variety, are now studied in archives, original documents and texts. Patient labor and profitable research produced at that time some of the most estimable results ever obtained by Spanish erudition.

A work by **Juan Ferreras** (1652–1735) in sixteen volumes, *Sinopsis histórica cronológica de España* (1700–1716), translated into French by d'Hermilly (1751), had in part supplanted Mariana's history, far better as an example of literary art. Ferreras, whose critical acumen did not avoid many errors, was one of the founders of the Spanish Academy. Only one volume ever appeared of the *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (1793) by **Juan Bautista Muñoz** (1745–1799?), but that one causes regret that the author, on account of the obstacles put in his way, was unable to complete the vast undertaking which had been entrusted to him. The historical works of Jovellanos and Quintana have already been mentioned.

We come now to various savants and critics, of whom the most important is the Galician Benedictine Fray **Benito Jerónimo Feijóo y Montenegro** (1676–1764).[1] This learned man wrote nearly all his works at Oviedo, in his humble cell of San Vicente; the capital items are the *Teatro crítico universal* (8 volumes, 1726–1739), with an additional volume of supplements and corrections (1741), and the *Cartas eruditas y curiosas* (5 volumes, 1742–1760), which complete the *Teatro.* In these he undertook to draw up a critical inventory of all the ideas, opinions, prejudices and superstitions current in his day, "*para desengaño de errores comunes.*" He displayed in this thorny enterprise (not free from danger, in Spain) a high degree of knowledge, determination and perseverance. Many a new idea of scientific trend became public property thanks to him, but it was uphill work. The publicist Salvador José Mañer (d. 1751) printed three volumes of counter-criticism (*Anti-teatro crítico*, 1729–1731), in which he claimed to pick out " nine hundred and ninety-eight errors " of Feijóo. The Benedictine Fray Martín Sarmiento rushed to the defense of his confrère in the *Demostración crítico-apologética del teatro crítico universal* (1732), to which in turn Mañer made a two-volume reply (*Crisol crítico*, 1734). A certain **Armesto y Osorio** then intervened with a *Teatro anticrítico* (1735), and in 1748 a new and ridiculous refutation appeared, *Reflexiones crítico-apologéticas*, by the Franciscan **Soto y Marne.** The controversy continued in this fashion for a long time. It proves at least what a powerful influence the laudable labors of this patient polygraph had upon his age. The *Teatro* and *Cartas* contain not less than two hundred and seventy original articles. An alphabetical index by José Santos (1774) facilitates their use.

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[1] *Obras escogidas*, ed. V. de la Fuente, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LVI. *Teatro crítico universal*, ed. A. Millares Carlo, 3 vols., 1923, 1924, 1925 (*Clásicos cast.*, vols. 48, 53 and 67). *Cartas eruditas*, ed. A. Millares Carlo, 1928 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 85).—See E. Pardo Bazán, *Examen crítico de las obras del P. Maestro Feijóo*, 1877. Concepción Arenal, *Juicio crítico de las obras de F.*, in *Rev. de España*, 1877, vols. LV, LVI and LVII. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Heterodoxos esp.*, III, 67–82. Id., *Ideas estéticas en España*, III, 1, 159–175. M. Morayta, *El padre F. y sus obras*, Valencia, 1913. A. Millares Carlo, *F. y Mayans*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, X, 1923, 57–62.

The Augustinian monk **Enrique Flórez** (1702–1773) [1] erected a vast monument of solid erudition in his *España sagrada*, the complete title of which indicates clearly its scope and contents: *Teatro geográfico-histórico de la Iglesia de España. Origen, divisiones y límites de todas sus provincias. Antigüedad, traslaciones y estado antiguo y presente de sus sillas, con varias disertaciones críticas* (1747–1918). The first twenty-seven volumes were published during the author's life. The two following (XXVIII and XXIX), left in manuscript by Flórez, were edited by P. **Manuel Risco** (1735–1801), who continued the collection up to volume XLII inclusive. Fray **Antolín Merino** and Fray **José de la Canal** in collaboration issued XLIII and XLIV, while La Canal alone was responsible for XLV and XLVI; XLVII and XLVIII (1862) were done by **Pedro Sainz de Baranda.** The Academia de la Historia then took charge. The last volume published is LII (1918). A very necessary *Índice* was issued by A. González Palencia in the same year. This monumental publication is still absolutely indispensable for the study of church history in Spain, and incidentally for the study of literature, for it contains many texts which touch that field. Such an undertaking places in the highest rank of scholarship the man who conceived its plan and in large part carried it out himself. Flórez executed also other works, among them *Memorias de las reinas católicas . . . y nuevo aspecto de la historia de España* (1761).

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[1] See J. M. Salvador y Barrera, *El Padre F. y su España sagrada*, 1914.

P. **Manuel de Larramendi** (d. 1750) was one of the first to devote himself to the study of the Basque language, which has since then crazed so many brains (*El imposible vencido, Arte de la lengua vascongada*, 1729; *Discurso histórico sobre la antigua famosa Cantabria*, 1736; *Diccionario trilingüe del castellano, vascuence y latín*, 1745). **Juan de Iriarte** (1702–1771),[1] uncle of the fabulist and, like Voltaire, a student at the Collège Louis-le-Grand, was royal librarian during nearly half a century. He published many critical and learned articles in the *Diario de los literatos*, compiled a valuable catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in the Biblioteca Real (1769), and collected more than two thousand Spanish proverbs (1774). He showed himself a skilled Latinist in verse and prose. **Liciniano Sáez** left a learned memoir on the coinage of the reign of Juan II (1786). **Francisco Pérez Bayer** (1711–1794) [2] wrote a Latin study of Jewish coins (2 volumes, 1781–1790) and other scholarly dissertations. **Juan Francisco Masdeu** (1744–1817), born in Palermo, wrote his twenty-volume *Historia crítica de España y de la cultura española* (1783–1805) first in Italian, and translated into Italian the *Poesie di ventidue autori spagnuoli del cinquecento* (Rome, 1786). **Francisco Cerdá y Rico** (1730–1792),[3] bibliographer and antiquarian, annotated old chronicles and edited many early texts. **Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro** (1735–1809) [4] composed an extraordinary and very learned *Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas* (6 volumes, 1800–1805), which anticipated the modern science of linguistics in more than one respect, and a *Storia della vita dell' uomo* (in Italian, then in Spanish), the first attempt at scientific anthropology.

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[1] *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXVII.

[2] *Nueve cartas*, ed. E. de Ochoa, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXII.

[3] A. González Palencia, *Don Fr. C. y R., su vida y sus obras*, 1929.

[4] A. González Palencia, *Nuevas noticias bibliográficas del Abate Hervás y Panduro*, in *Rev. Bibl., Arch., y Museo*, V, 1928, 345–359.

2. Literary and Artistic Criticism

Among the critics and literary historians most worthy of mention are the following:

P. **Martín Sarmiento** (1695–1771),[1] a Benedictine like Feijóo, concerning whose *Teatro*, as has been said, he published a discussion both critical and apologetic, left many notes which were collected and issued after his death (*Obras póstumas*, 1 volume, 1775). His best known work is the important *Memorias para la historia de la poesía y poetas españoles*, included there. **Luis José Velázquez de Velasco** (1722–1772),[2] was the author of a book that is still useful, though narrowly conceived: *Orígenes de la poesía castellana* (1754). His erudite works include a monograph on medals of the Gothic period (1759), and an investigation into historical sources collected during a research trip ("*Viaje de España*," 1765). In 1753 he published the poems of Francisco de la Torre, but attributed them to Quevedo. At about the same time (1760–1770) **Miguel Casiri** was issuing his *Biblioteca arabico-hispana escurialensis*, which marks a new era in that branch of erudition.

Gregorio Mayáns y Siscar (1699–1781),[3] one of the best informed scholars of the eighteenth century, was the first to make known, through his *Orígenes de la lengua castellana* (1737), some precious texts: the *Diálogo de la lengua*, Santillana's *Refranes*, works of Bernardo de Aldrete and Enrique de Villena, Hidalgo's *Vocabulario de germanía*, etc. His Latin letters (*Epistolarum libri sex*, 1732), his *Cartas eruditas* (1791), his biographies of Antonio Agustín (1734) and Nicolás Antonio (1733, in a collection of letters by the latter and Solís), his *Specimen bibliothecae hispano-majansiensae* (1753), reveal the extent and accuracy of his knowledge. The correspondence, as voluminous as valuable, which he carried on with many contemporary scholars has never been published complete.

A frequent activity toward the end of the century was the publication of manuscript literary texts and the formation of anthologies.

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[1] E. Álvarez Jiménez, *Biografía del R. P. Fr. M. Sarmiento*, etc., Pontevedra, 1884. A. López Peláez, *El gran gallego*, La Coruña, 1895. Id., *Los escritos de S. y el siglo de Feijóo*, La Coruña, 1901.

[2] *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXVII. *Juicios críticos*, *ibid.*, XXXII and XLII.

[3] *Cartas*, ed. E. de Ochoa, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXII. *Elogios* and *Juicios críticos*, *ibid.*, XXIII, XXXVII, LXV and XLII. *Correspondencia literaria*, in *Rev. de Arch.*, XII, 1905, XIII, 1905, and XIV, 1906. *Cartas* to P. Luis Galiana, see *Bol. Acad. Hist.*, LXXXIII, 1923, 159–233.—See A. Morel-Fatio, *Un érudit espagnol du XVIII^e siècle*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XVII, 1915, 157–226.

Of the latter the most famous is that of **Tomás Antonio Sánchez** (*Colección de poesías castellanas anteriores al siglo XV*, 4 volumes, 1779, 1780, 1782, 1790). Here appeared for the first time, in volumes 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively, the *Poema del Cid*, the poems of Berceo, the *Alexandro* and the work of Juan Ruiz.—**Pedro Estala,** using the pseudonym "Ramón Fernández," began a *Colección de poetas españoles* (20 volumes, 1789–1920) which was completed by others. The Italian **Juan Bautista Conti** made a *Colección de poesías castellanas traducidas en verso toscano* (4 volumes, 1782–1790). **Juan José López de Sedano's** *Parnaso español, colección de poesías escogidas de los más célebres poetas castellanos* (9 volumes, 1768–1778) was made with little taste and judgment, but performed a service by reason of the prefaces and reprinting of rare texts. The Catalan **Antonio de Capmany** (1742–1813) compiled an admirable prose anthology in his *Teatro histórico-crítico de la elocuencia española* (5 volumes, 1786–1794); in this and in his *Filosofía de la elocuencia* (1777) he attempted to defend the purity of the Castilian language. Similar was the aim of **Gregorio Garcés** in the *Fundamento del vigor y elegancia de la lengua castellana* (2 volumes, 1791). Fray **Rafael** and Fray **Pedro Rodríguez Mohedano** were unable to get beyond the first century A.D. in their twelve volumes of *Historia literaria de España* (1766–1791). **José Rodríguez de Castro** (1739–1799) furnished interesting data upon rabbinical literature and Spanish literature before the thirteenth century in his *Biblioteca española* (2 volumes, 1781–1786). **Antonio Valladares y Sotomayor** issued, from 1787 to 1791, a literary review, the *Semanario erudito,* the thirty-four volumes of which are full of invaluable information. The *Biblioteca de los mejores escritores del reinado de Carlos III* (6 volumes, 1785–1789), by **Juan Sempere y Guarinos,** allows its reader to grasp the entire intellectual movement of that period. Quintana's *Tesoro del Parnaso español* has already been mentioned (p. 438).

If one wished to give a complete idea of the interest then taken in erudite and historical research, it would be necessary to mention the many reviews and periodicals which followed the *Diario de los literatos* (1737–1742); for example *El Pensador* (1762–1767) of Clavijo y Fajardo; *El Censor* (1781–1786); *El Correo de los ciegos de Madrid* (1786–1791); *El Espíritu de los mejores diarios* (1787–1797); *El Semanario erudito,* noted above; *El Correo literario de la*

Europa (1781–1787); *El Memorial literario* (1782–1808); *Las Variedades de Ciencias, Literatura y Artes* (1803–1805); etc. To these one should add the journeys of exploration among the archives, libraries and collections of the land, or in search of artistic monuments. Such were the trips made by L. J. Velázquez (see above); by the Jesuit **Andrés Marcos Burriel** (1719–1762),[1] who, during the years 1750–1752, burrowed in cathedral archives, and left us hundreds of copies of unpublished documents on the Middle Ages; by **Antonio Ponz**[2] (*Viaje de España*, 18 volumes, 1772–1794, plus two volumes of the *Viaje fuera de España*, 1785); by **Joaquín Lorenzo** and **Jaime Villanueva** (*Viaje literario a las iglesias de España*, 22 volumes, 1803–1852); by **Pérez Bayer** (p. 446; *Diario del viaje desde Valencia a Andalucía y Portugal*, MS.); and by some others.

This picture of the intellectual activities of the period could be rounded out by a narrative of the frequent and lively literary quarrels to which passing allusion has been made. The longest and most famous was the one which arose in Italy between several historians of that nation and certain of the Spanish Jesuits who had taken refuge there after their expulsion from Spain (1767).[3] At first the discussion centered about the question whether Italy or Spain was the source of the wave of bad taste which corrupted the two literatures in the seventeenth century (Marinism and Gongorism). But soon the field grew wider and embraced a comparison of the two literatures as a whole. Bettinelli (*Risorgimento d'Italia negli studj*, etc., 1775) and Tiraboschi (*Storia della letteratura italiana*, 13 volumes, 1771–1782) attacked Spanish literature. P. **Serrano** and P. **Juan Andrés** (1740–1817) defended it (Andrés, *Dell' origine, progressi e stato attuale d'ogni letteratura*, 7 volumes, Parma, 1782–1799; volume 8, 1822). The battle was continued by Vannetti and Zorzi for the Italians, and for the Spaniards by **Esteban Arteaga** (*Rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano*, 1783, and, more important, *Investigaciones filosóficas sobre la belleza ideal . . .*, 1789), Isla, **Antonio Eximeno** (1729–1808), and, finally,

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[1] See *Col. de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, VIII, 1845, 568–571 and XII, 1848, 229–365.

[2] See F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *El "Viaje de España" y el arte español*, in *Rev. de Occidente*, VIII, 1925, 307–330, and J. Dantín Cereceda, *ibid.*, 331–358. Ponz's work is of great value for the history of art in Spain.

[3] V. Cian, *L'immigrazione dei gesuiti spagnuoli letterati in Italia*, Torino, 1895.

P. **Francisco Xavier Llampillas** (1731–1810). The work of the last-named, *Saggio storico-apologetico della letteratura spagnuola* (6 volumes, 1778–1781), was translated into Spanish (1782–1786) and became very popular.

3. The Novel

The novel, seemingly exhausted by the overproduction of the preceding period, appears now in manifest decadence. Two names, Torres Villaroel and Padre Isla, will suffice to represent it here.

Doctor **Diego de Torres Villarroel** (1693–1770),[1] whose life itself was a veritable picaresque romance, left fifteen volumes of *Obras* (1794–1799). Several of his works may be classed as novels, for example, that in which he relates his curious personal adventures (*Vida, ascendencia, nacimiento, crianza y aventuras . . . , escrita por él mismo* . . . , 1743–1758); in addition, certain imitations of Quevedo, who was his favorite author and model, such as *Anatomía de lo visible e invisible* (1738), *Sueños morales, visiones y visitas de D. Francisco de Quevedo* (1743), *Los desahuciados del mundo y de la gloria* (*Cast-Offs of the World and Fame*, 1736–1737), *El ermitaño y Torres, en que se trata de la piedra filosofal* (1752–1789), etc. In 1738 he issued a volume of *comedias* and *sainetes*, under the title *Juguetes de Talía.* He was a fertile lyric poet as well. But most of his popularity and money came from the long series of his *Pronósticos* and *Almanaques* published under the name of *El gran Piscator de Salamanca.* He became, after strange vicissitudes, a professor of mathematics at Salamanca, and his account of the state of teaching in Spanish universities is anything but flattering. This polygraph, whose bad taste and eccentricities of thought and style are only too evident, is not so well known as he should be, for he is one of the writers who most enlighten us concerning the states of mind, ideas and aspirations of Spanish society in the middle of the eighteenth century.

The Jesuit Father **Francisco de Isla** (1703–1781) [2] is much more famous than Torres Villarroel, and deservedly. His early writings are, however, of slight importance: *La juventud triunfante* (1727), a description of a festival held at Salamanca in honor of the saints of the Company of Jesus, Luis de Gonzaga and Stanislas Kotzka; and *Triunfo del amor y de la lealtad, o Día grande de Navarra* (1746), a solemnly ironical account of a celebration at Pamplona upon the accession of Fernando VI. But the *Historia del famoso predicador fray Gerundio de Campazas, alias Zotes* gave its author a solid and wide-spread fame. The first volume (1758) met with unusual and extraordinarily rapid success, but the Inquisition, receiving a charitable suggestion, banned it, and the second volume (1768) did not appear till after the author had been compelled to leave Spain, in 1767, with the other members of the Jesuit Order.

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[1] *Poesías*, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXI. *Vida*, ed. F. de Onís, 1912 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 7). *Id.*, 2 vols., Calpe, 1920.—See A. García Boiza, *Don D. de T. V.*, Salamanca, 1911. Id., *De la vida lit. salmantina en el siglo XVIII*, Salamanca, 1916. Id., *Nuevos datos sobre T. V.*, Salamanca, 1918.

[2] *Obras escogidas*, ed. P. F. Monlau, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, XV. *Fray Gerundio de Campazas*, ed. D. E. Lidforss, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1885. *Cartas familiares*, ed. J. M. Reyero, León, 1903.—See Léo Claretie, in *Lesage romancier*, Paris, 1890. B. Gaudeau, *Les prêcheurs burlesques en Espagne au XVIII*^{e} *siècle, Étude sur le P. Isla*, Paris, 1891. N. Alonso Cortés, *El supuesto autor del "Fray Gerundio,"* in *Misc. vallisoletana, 1*^{a} *serie*, Valladolid, 1912. S. Gili, *Contribución a la bibliografía del P. I.*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, X, 1923, 65–70.

Fray Gerundio is first of all a literary satire: it exposes the ridiculous mannerisms of certain bombastic conceptist preachers who were very fashionable just then. It ruthlessly lays bare the "barbarity of the Spanish pulpit," to use Hartzenbusch's phrase. This "barbarity" had often received attention before, notably at the hands of Mayáns in his *Orador cristiano* (1733) and *Rhetórica* (1757). Once read, Isla's portraits of some of the sacred rhetoricians can never be forgotten; in passing he sticks a few pins in certain rival religious Orders, and sounds a call for rhetoricians and Orders alike to return to common sense and self-respect. Isla's satire is lively, witty and amusing. No one was better equipped than he to do the job, for he was a specialist in a disease which had attacked him in his youth; the six volumes of *Sermones* that he left (printed 1792–1793) demonstrate his thorough knowledge of the subject. But, I repeat, this satire was a literary parody, nothing more, whilst the *Quijote*, to which one is tempted to compare it, far outstripped the immediate goal of the author's first intention. Despite that fact, *Fray Gerundio* is almost the sole novel of its time that is still readable. It has retained its popularity.

The satirical poem *Cicerón* (ca. 1775), of which only a few fragments have been published,[1] covers varied themes, being formed of a sequence of digressions and literary or moral satires, which are the essential part of the work. It is scarcely more than a free translation from an Italian author, Giancarlo Passeroni, whose *Cicerone*, in no less than one hundred and one cantos, had appeared in 1768–1774. The twelve thousand lines of the Spanish adaptation carry the Roman orator's life only to its eighteenth month. Three *Cartas de Juan de la Encina* were written at Segovia in 1732 against an unlucky blood-letter, Doctor Carmona, a rival of Sangrado and Cuchillo of *Gil Blas;* they were meant to do for the doctors what *Fray Gerundio* later did for the bad preachers. It was in vain; doctors are harder to kill off than monks.

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[1] Le P. Bernard Gaudeau, *Les Prêcheurs burlesques en Espagne au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1891, appendice IX.

Padre Isla, who dearly loved to mystify, translated Lesage's *Gil Blas*, using the anagram Joaquín Federico Issalps; he averred that the French novel was a mere plagiarism, and that his translation (which did not appear till 1787–1788, after his death), was merely a "restitution of the original to its native land and tongue." This claim, based on a slanderous assertion of Voltaire, started a lengthy argument. All that Isla succeeded in demonstrating was that Lesage's *Gil Blas*, thoroughly French in spirit and manner, had neatly profited by all the author's borrowings from Spanish picaresque novels. The translation is excellent, and the Spanish *Gil Blas* is entirely worthy of his first cousin *Fray Gerundio.* For *Fray Gerundio* is the last [1] and, with Torres Villarroel's *Vida*, the most unexpected, of the many avatars of the picaresque novel; it was hardly to be expected, despite the precedent of the *Donado hablador*, that the *pícaro* would end his days in a convent, or mount a pulpit.

It would be a mistake not to mention the six volumes of *Cartas familiares* left by Isla (1789–1794); they form, in fact, one of the most interesting epistolary collections in all Spanish literature—an honor to their signer.

Padre **Pedro Montengón** (d. 1820), a confrère of Isla and like him exiled, was influenced by both Fénelon and Rousseau in his pedagogical novels *Eusebio* (1786–1788) and *Eudoxia* (1793). In prose likewise he wrote two "poems," *El Antenor* (1788) and *Rodrigo* (1793). But only the inquisitive would think of exhuming this dead literature, purely documentary in value. Montengón also made a verse translation (1804) of *Fingal*, by the supposed Ossian.

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[1] [The word "last" is not to be taken too literally. *El Periquillo Sarniento* (1816), by the Mexican Fernández de Lizardi, belongs in the true formula, and, as Prof. Northup has pointed out, modern novels like Pereda's *Pedro Sánchez* and some of Baroja's represent a modified picaresque tradition. Kipling's *Kim* is not far from it.]

FIFTH PERIOD

ROMANTICISM

Second Third of the Nineteenth Century

1. Political Summary. General Characteristics of the Period

Death of Fernando VII, 1833; Isabel II proclaimed Queen, with her mother Cristina as regent.—First Carlist War, 1833–1840.—New constitution adopted, 1837.

Nearly a third of a century (1808–1833) elapsed between the abdication of Carlos IV and the accession of the child-queen Isabel, and in that span it is hard to discern, at first glance, anything more than a confused sequence of disconcertingly illogical events governed by no law, a series of irregular endeavors followed by violent reactions in the opposite direction. Yet during that period, and through that very succession of tragic conflicts, modern society was being created and old Spain was being transformed. The profound revolution which then took shape, the results of which appear with some clearness at the beginning of the constitutional era, deserves our attention for a moment, for it is more important than any single detail; it explains the new directions of literature which are to be examined. Let us then glance for an instant at this society in process of change.

In the political order we find a last effort, the supreme protest of traditional despotism and absolutism against the new spirit issuing from the French Revolution. This struggle, marked by all sorts of crises, by momentary triumphs of liberty (1808–1814 and 1820–1823), by two counter-offensives of reaction (1814–1820 and 1823–1833) and two foreign invasions (1808–1814 and 1823), reached a definitive end in the defeat of the old régime and the establishment of a constitutional parliamentary system.[1]

Such grave events cannot take place in a nation without its whole organism feeling the effect; its intellectual activity and the forms that clothe it are necessarily modified thereby.

From the social point of view the outstanding fact is the increasing influence in the nation of the middle classes, the bourgeoisie.

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[1] [Since in government nothing is definitive, the year 1923 saw a return of absolutism in Spain with the establishment of the *Directorio*.]

This change of front represents a new orientation of prime importance, when one remembers that the bourgeoisie, appearing now for the first time in the rôle of one of the powers of the State, was for the most part imbued with a spirit hostile to the traditional order. In this respect literature is an exact reflection of social reality. "When one examines from an historical point of view the comedies of Bretón and the articles of Larra, Lafuente, Segovia, López Pelegrín, Somoza, Antonio Flores and especially of Mesonero, it becomes plain that they represent the arrival of the bourgeois spirit." [1]

The people, on the other hand, were not yet affected by the gusts from the approaching revolution, and by "the people" I mean the great masses of the nation, peasants, artisans and workingmen (except in some industrial centers more in touch with foreign countries). Their psychology is easy to outline: they were more royalist than the King, more Catholic than the Pope. Hopeless ignorance isolated them from the world; their patriotism, which rose to heroic heights during the War of Independence, allowed them to see only invaders in the French, and only heresy in everything that came from France. In the people and in the regular clergy—"people" themselves in many ways—absolutism found its most fanatical defenders. They it was who in 1814 overturned the "stones of the Constitution" by acclaiming *el rey neto*. They it was who in 1823 formed the apostolic army of Fray Antonio Marañón, *El Trapense*, the monk who entered cities with a whip in one hand and a crucifix in the other. Again it was they who in 1824 tried to reëstablish the Inquisition under the name of *Juntas de Fe;* who hanged Cayetano Ripoll, suspected of deism, for having taught his pupils to say *Alabado sea Dios* instead of *Ave, María purísima*. It was they, finally, who found Fernando himself too lukewarm and after his death enlisted under the banner of his brother Carlos, fomenting a bloody civil war that lasted till the *Convenio de Vergara* (1839). In only one respect is this people different from the Spanish people under Carlos II: now they feel their strength, they are proud of their power, which they have tested against the invader, till the time shall come to use it against their master.

The aristocracy was no longer to be feared, it was now merely ornamental. By tradition, loyalty and interest it remained blindly attached to the old order of things, but it had no influence on public opinion. Here and there one may find some revolutionary of the Voltairian "grand seigneur" type, but they were scarcer than in France. Many young nobles had been educated in French *collèges*, at Sorèze, for example. Yet, intellectually considered, the aristocracy scarcely counted. It was informed of the fact by many, from Jovellanos to Marchena. Though certain of its members, like Toreno, the Duke of Rivas and others, occupy an honorable position in literature, they represent for the most part ideas, passions and interests opposed to those of their class.

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[1] Georges Le Gentil, *Bretón de los Herreros*, Paris, 1909, pp. 489–490.

The clergy, by the solidity of their organization and their relatively higher culture, were a more important element of society. With few exceptions, however, they proved lamentably unequal to the task of arresting the revolution. The virile traditions of the old scholasticism were forgotten, and nothing had been put in their stead. Freed of all contradiction, thanks to a severe censorship, the clergy had in the end suffered the natural consequences of lack of opposition: flabbiness of mind, laziness and ignorance. Attacked while off their guard, they found themselves unarmed, or at least with weapons rusty, out of date and ridiculous. Toward the close of the previous period some apologists, like Ceballos, Valcárcel, Forner, Piquer and Alvarado, called *El filósofo rancio*, had attempted resistance, but they disappeared and none took their places. Yet, rather unexpectedly, the revolutionary ideas of the Encyclopedia were well received by a number of clerics. I do not refer merely to such Jansenists as Villanueva, Martínez Marina, Torres Amat and Masdeu; though possibly under suspicion of heterodoxy, they were at bottom thoroughly hostile to the ideas of the new France. But the philosophic doctrines from the north were looked upon at times with an indulgence bordering on complicity. Besides rebels and fugitives like Marchena, Blanco and Antonio Llorente, author of the famous *History of the Inquisition* (in French, 4 volumes, 1817–1818), a large group of professors and ecclesiastics became propagandists for Condillac's sensualism or the materialism of Destutt de Tracy and Cabanis. The works of Voltaire, Diderot, Volney, Holbach and Bentham circulated in secret and were read greedily. Jovellanos stuck closely to the doctrines of Condillac. The Sevillans scarcely went beyond. "Good," said Reinoso, "is identical with pleasure, just as evil is pain." A priest, Juan Justo García, ex-professor of the University of Salamanca and deputy to the Cortes in 1820–1821, composed a summary (1821) of the *Idéologie* of Destutt de Tracy. In his preface he made excuse for the author because he had failed to discuss the existence and immortality of the soul. His colleague in the Cortes, Santa María, professed that "*el hombre es un compuesto de afinidades químicas.*" Equally bold assertions may be read in a commentary upon Bentham's *Principles of Legislation*, by two Salamancan professors, Ramón de Salas and Núñez (1821): "Every good or evil is a physical good or evil," etc. Hermosilla's *Gramática general*, officially adopted as a text by the government of Fernando VII, was based upon a similar sensualism.

But the bourgeoisie changed its ideas, manners and habits even more radically than the clergy. Let us repeat that it was precisely the middle classes which were called to occupy an increasingly important place in the government, by reason of political and social transformations and the establishment of constitutional rule. The modification in their thought resulted from two causes: French philosophy of the eighteenth century, and the French Revolution. Liberal ideas and the doctrines of the *Encyclopédie* were a more potent ferment in this class than in the others. Two historical facts aided powerfully in the propagation of the new teachings: the French invasion, which threw the frontiers wide open to the entry of books hitherto forbidden, and emigration. It is unnecessary to dwell at length upon the social consequences of the invasion; it is harder to combat ideas than armies. The emigration of cultured Spaniards, from 1810 to 1820, and from 1823 to 1828, was serious. The number of *emigrados* has been reckoned at forty thousand. They included the intellectual élite of the nation: Meléndez, Moratín, Silvela, Llorente, Martínez de la Rosa, Salvá, Maury, Espronceda, Olózaga, who found shelter in France; Blanco, Arriaza, Mendívil, Puigblanch, Villanueva, Gallardo, Mendizábal, Alcalá Galiano, Istúriz, Flórez Estrada, Eugenio de Tapia, Telesforo de Trueba y Cossío, etc., in England; Ángel Saavedra, in Malta; others, in Germany and America. Some learned to write the language of their adopted land with purity and talent (Martínez de la Rosa, Maury, Blanco, Trueba y Cossío, etc.).[1]

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[1] Cf. *Ocios de españoles emigrados, periódico mensual*, London, 7 vols., 1824–1827. E. A. Peers, *The Literary Activities of the Spanish Emigrados in England (1814–1834)*, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XIX, 1924, 315–324 and 445–458.

In all the countries visited by the *emigrados* a sweeping movement of intellectual revival, either in philosophy or letters, was under way. They could not escape it. In **France,** it was represented by the names of Chateaubriand,[1] Mme. de Staël, Benjamin Constant, Bonald, de Maistre, Guizot, and a little later, Cousin, Thiers and Augustin Thierry. In 1816 Villemain was beginning to teach at the Sorbonne. The year 1819 saw the performance of Casimir Delavigne's *Vêpres siciliennes.* Lamartine published his *Méditations* in 1820;[2] Victor Hugo his *Odes et Ballades* in 1822, *Cromwell* in 1827, *Les Orientales* in 1829. Sainte-Beuve began his long career as a critic with the *Tableau de la poésie au XVI^e siècle* (1828). The Romantic School was about to triumph; its progress was followed with interest in the literary circles of Spain. Many translations were printed, especially from the French. Critics were glad to review all the outstanding works that appeared across the Pyrenees; they were passionately discussed, they were freely imitated and translated. A legion of adapters, good, bad and indifferent, sprang up to earn a living, and as adaptation does not pay except for the stage, it was chiefly dramatic works that had the honor to be thus deprived of their trademarks.[3] Besides the critical writings of men like Larra, Mesonero Romanos, Gil y Zárate, and others, such publications as the *Museo dramático o Colección de comedias del teatro extranjero representadas en los principales de la corte* (1842–1844) allow the reader to estimate the importance of these influences almost day by day. The development of literature can be followed best in the literary journals (*El Artista,* 1835–1836; *El Semanario pintoresco,* 1836–1857; *El Observatorio pintoresco,* 1837; *No me olvides, periódico de literatura y bellas artes,* 1837–1838; *Revista hispano-americana,* 1848, etc.).[4]

In **England,** Thomas Moore's masterpiece, *Lalla Rookh,* dates from 1817. Lord Byron (1788–1824), who had left England the year before, had already published *The Giaour, The Bride of Abydos,*

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[1] E. A. Peers, *La influencia de Chateaubriand en España,* in *Rev. Filol. Esp.,* XI, 1924, 351–382.

[2] E. A. Peers, *The Fortunes of Lamartine in Spain,* in *Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXXVII, 1922, 458–465.

[3] Interesting details may be found in Le Gentil, *op. cit.,* pp. 75 ff. For the counter influence of Spain upon French Romanticism, see E. Martinenche, *L'Espagne et le Romantisme français,* Paris, 1922.

[4] Cf. Georges Le Gentil, *Les revues littéraires de l'Espagne pendant la première moitié du XIX^e siècle,* Paris, 1909. E. Hartzenbusch, *Apuntes para un catálogo de periódicos madrileños desde el año 1661 al 1870,* 1894.

The Corsair, *Lara*, and begun *Childe Harold*. Keats (1795–1821), Shelley (1792–1822), Southey (1774–1843), Wordsworth (1770–1850), Coleridge (1772–1834) and Walter Scott (1771–1832) were at the height of their talent. Scott, in particular, stimulated imaginative literature in Spain no less than in other European countries.[1]

In **Germany,** the fame of Schiller, who died in 1805, still endured in its full strength, while Goethe's went on increasing till his death (1832). But German influence on Spain was a phenomenon of a later time. At the moment we are now considering, Germany was turning with sympathetic admiration toward Spanish literature, where she thought she found some of the principles of modern Romanticism. German critics were not sorry to set up a rival to the overmastering literature of France; Calderón would serve to steal a little glory from Racine.

When the *emigrados* returned to Spain, they brought with them a current of new ideas. As translators and authorized commentators of foreign works, they leavened the nation. Thanks to them, the literary conceptions of the bourgeoisie were rapidly modified, as well as their politics. At the beginning of the century they were devotees of classicism; 1830 found them veering toward Romanticism, not without some protests. Their philosophical ideas have already been outlined. It may be added that in the latter part of Fernando VII's reign one can observe a timid revulsion against materialism, under the influence of the Frenchmen Laromiguière and Royer-Collard, precursors of Cousin and Jouffroy, or under that of the Scotchmen Thomas Reid and Dugald Stewart. In politics the middle classes were openly of the liberal faith. They applauded the offensive against the religious orders in 1835 and the reëstablishment of the Constitution of 1812 in the following year, although in 1832 they had been satisfied with the *despotismo ilustrado* of Martínez de la Rosa. The middle classes and the army furnished most recruits to the secret societies. Scottish Rite Masonry had been introduced in the Peninsula as far back as the time of Fernando VI. The Grand Orient developed tremendously during the French domination. Nearly all the important politicians under Fernando VII and Isabel

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[1] See Philip A. Churchman and E. Allison Peers, *A Survey of the Influence of Sir Walter Scott in Spain*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LV, 1922, 227–310. E. A. Peers, *Studies in the Influence of Sir Walter Scott in Spain*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXVIII, 1926, 1–160. Id., *Minor English Influences on Spanish Romanticism*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXII, 1924, 440–458.

II belonged to it, as well as many men of letters, Quintana, Espronceda, Lista, Gallardo, Rivas, Ventura de la Vega, Martínez de la Rosa, etc.[1] In 1822 the *Comuneros y Vengadores de Juan de Padilla* numbered ten thousand. The Italian *carbonari* had *ventas* at Barcelona and Valencia. The Moderates had a society of *Amigos de la Constitución* or *Anilleros.*

Finally, the Revolution gave rise to two genres of literature which, if not new, had prospered little before then: 1°, parliamentary eloquence, and 2°, political journalism. The former flourished during the War of Independence and the liberal triennium (1820–1823); the chief names are, on the liberal side, Argüelles (*el Divino*), Antonio Alcalá Galiano,[2] Muñoz Torrero, the Duke of Rivas, Istúriz; among the moderates, the Conde de Toreno, Martínez de la Rosa, Gareli; among the *exaltados,* Romero Alpuente, Moreno de Guerra. The political press first flourished in 1812: *El Robespierre español, El Duende de los Cafés, El Conciso* (of Sánchez Barbero); then, from 1820 to 1823, came *El Imparcial* (of Javier de Burgos), *La Miscelánea de Comercio, Artes y Literatura, El Universal, El Censor* (of Hermosilla, Miñano and Lista); not to mention pamphlets, like Miñano's *Cartas del pobrecito holgazán,* and the satires and *Diccionario crítico-burlesco* of Bartolomé José Gallardo.

Such, broadly considered, was the state of the nation when, almost simultaneously, constitutional government and Romanticism became established with some permanence south of the Pyrenees. The struggle between past and future was more violent and prolonged in politics than in literature; only the principles involved can inspire any interest in the monotonous ministerial see-saw which then began to function, supposedly after the English model.[3] The regency of María Cristina marked a new era. The universities, closed in 1830, were reopened. Primary schools and normal schools were created, thanks chiefly to the initiative of a great citizen, Pablo Montesino. The monastic Orders were suppressed in 1835. Secondary education was reorganized in 1845 by Gil y Zárate and the Marqués de Pidal, and other reforms or innovations were effected in the universities between 1840 and 1850. All these facts are vastly more significant than a record of palace revolutions and sneaking ministerial intrigues.

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[1] Miguel Morayta, *Páginas de la Masonería española,* 1915. Menéndez y Pelayo presents the subject from the opposite point of view in *Heterodoxos esp.,* III, libro VII, caps. i and iii. Vicente de la Fuente, *Hist. de las sociedades secretas,* 2 vols. in 3, Lugo, 1870.

[2] His *Recuerdos de un anciano* (1878) and *Memorias* (1886) are instructive for this period.

[3] It is said that the ninety years from 1833 to 1923 saw 118 changes of prime minister.

In literature, the period which roughly includes the second third of the century is called Romantic, because Romanticism was its salient feature, but it goes without saying that this tag cannot be applied indiscriminately to all the works that appeared during the period. In reality, many sprang from different, even opposite, principles. It appears, too, that the enthusiasm with which the younger generation welcomed the new doctrines cooled rather speedily.

In Spain, Romanticism manifested itself chiefly in poetry, the novel and the drama. Besides the general causes which affected Spain in common with other countries (first and foremost, the bankruptcy of the neo-classic school), there were special national reasons for its vogue. Spain was in a way the portal to the Orient, so dear to the Romantic heart. She had preserved, too, much of the picturesqueness associated with the Middle Ages. The *Romancero*, the *Comedia*, the picaresque novel, all seemed made to order as exemplifications of the new literary principles. In Spain the intruder, the stranger, was pseudo-classicism. Spain of the 1830's, in turning Romantic, appeared to revert purely and simply to the tradition of the *siglo de oro*, rather than to adopt a foreign initiative. Romanticism was regarded by some of its adepts, Alcalá Galiano for example, as first of all a *cosa de España*, a form of patriotism. It existed in germ in Cadalso, Meléndez, Cienfuegos, even in Jovellanos. And it is certain that because it appeared to be a return to the past, Romanticism encountered less opposition in Spain than in France. It was a restoration, not a revolution.

Revolution or restoration, Romanticism announced a new era. "Just as the Renaissance ushered in and sealed the classical age, Romanticism, one may assert, consecrated the modern era. For that reason, in studying contemporary literature, it is not possible to leave Romanticism out of the reckoning or deny its capital importance." [1]

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[1] E. Pardo Bazán, *El lirismo en la poesía francesa*, n. d. (*Obras completas*, vol. XLIII), p. 288. The manifesto of the new school in Spain (less resounding than Hugo's *Preface to Cromwell*), was the *Prólogo* written by Antonio Alcalá Galiano for the Duke of Rivas's *Moro expósito* (1834). It has been reprinted as an appendix

Four names sum up the literature of Romanticism in Spain with more brilliance than all the rest: Martínez de la Rosa, the Duke of Rivas, Espronceda and Zorrilla.

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to vol. II of the *Romances históricos*, 1912 (*Clásicos castellanos*, vol. 12). The literature on Spanish Romanticism is fairly extensive. The chief items: Enrique Piñeyro, *El romanticismo en España*, Paris, 1904. Narciso Alonso Cortés, *Zorrilla, su vida y sus obras*, 3 vols., Valladolid, 1917–1920, vol. I, cap. iii. Juan Valera, *Del romanticismo en España y de Espronceda* (1854), in *Obras completas*, XIX, 7–46. F. M. Tubino, *Introducción del romanticismo en España*, in *Rev. contemporánea*, VII, 1877, 79–98, 184–198. J. Martínez Ruiz ("Azorín"), *Rivas y Larra*, 1916. Américo Castro, *Les grands romantiques espagnols*, Paris, 1923. E. Allison Peers, *Some Spanish Conceptions of Romanticism*, in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XVI, 1921, 281–296. Id., *Rivas and Romanticism in Spain*, Liverpool, 1923. Id., *Later Spanish Conceptions of Romanticism*, in *Mod. Lang. Review*, XVIII, 1923, 37–50. Id., *El romanticismo en España: Bibliografía*, in *Boletín Bibl. Menéndez y Pelayo*, VII, 1925, 250–269.

CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS OF ROMANTICISM. POETRY

2. Transition

Francisco de Paula Martínez de la Rosa (1787–1862) [1] played an important part in politics and letters. He was a deputy to the Cortes of 1813–1814, and was exiled by Fernando VII to El Peñón de la Gomera (1815–1820). Riego's rebellion brought him to Spain again as deputy (1820–1823); the restoration of absolutism drove him to France (1823–1831). Under the regency of María Cristina he was prime minister (1834–1835), ambassador to France and twice ambassador to Rome. While in power he was author of the famous *Estatuto Real* of 1834; within the liberal party he stood for an increasingly " moderate " tendency. As writer he epitomizes the transition from one school to the other. His work falls naturally into two distinct parts, classical and Romantic; yet, since he was at all times a *moderado*, " a middle-of-the-road-man," he instinctively sought compromise, and softened the extreme formulas of each school. His youthful verse, such as his poem *Zaragoza* (1809), moral epistles, the tragedies *La viuda de Padilla* (1814) and *Moraima* (1818), and even his *Poética* (1827), a really distinguished writing which was long famous, are still in accord with pseudo-classic canons. So was his remarkable tragedy *Edipo* (1829). But the new era is felt in *Hernán Pérez del Pulgar* (1834), a novelistic biography, and *Doña Isabel de Solís* (1837–1846), a mediocre imitation of Walter Scott, and, before them, in the two dramas *Aben-Humeya* (given in French at Paris in 1830, then translated by the author), and *La conjuración de Venecia* (1834). These are no longer tragedies on the ancient formula, but real romantic prose dramas, with many characters, mixture of tragic and comic, use of " local color," all the recommended ingredients, in short. These novelties had already been given a proper introduction to Spain and been defended by Martínez de la Rosa himself in his *Apuntes sobre el drama histórico* (1830), a sort of manifesto of doctrines very different from those expressed in the *Poética,* but revealing the same spirit of moderation. "*La verdad está en un justo medio,*" such was this man's attitude in literature as well as in politics.

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[1] *Obras completas*, 5 vols., Paris, Baudry, 1845–1844. *La conjuración de Venecia*, ed. A. L. Owen and J. T. Lister, N. Y., 1917.—See Tubino, *op. cit.*, pp. 79–98. A. M. Dacarrete, *M. de la R.*, in *La España del siglo XIX*, II, 1887. C. de Castro, *Antología de las Cortes de 1820*, 1910. N. Alonso Cortés, *Retazo biográfico*, in *Viejo y nuevo*, Valladolid, 1916, 123–164.

In comedy he simply followed the tradition of Moratín, who, for all his classicism, remained the respected master in the comic realm. *La niña en casa y la madre en la máscara* (1821), much superior to *Lo que puede un empleo* (1812), is an amusing satire on various social failings. *El español en Venecia* (1843), one of the author's last dramatic works, recalls rather pleasantly the old Spanish *Comedia.*

3. Lyric Poetry.[1] Espronceda

Martínez de la Rosa opened the door of Romanticism. **José de Espronceda** (1808–1842) [2] leads us well within. Unruly in school, a conspirator as quickly as he left the *colegio,* jailed in 1824, he was soon an exile visiting Gibraltar, Lisbon, London and Paris. Here he fought on the barricades in behalf of the July Revolution (1830). He invaded Spain with the *guerrilleros* of Joaquín de Pablo (Chapalangarra). He would gladly have risked his life for the Polish revolutionists, for he was a natural rebel, ardent, generous, carried away by poetic visions, unbound by any check or restraint, even that of morals. *Pelayo*, a youthful effort, may be left out of account, in spite of a few brilliant anthology passages. His lyrics, collected and published in 1840, touch many themes in many moods. There are poetical meditations (*A la noche*, *Himno al sol*), picturesque and romantic songs (*Canción del pirata*, *Canto del cosaco*, *El mendigo*, *El reo de muerte*, *El verdugo*), Bacchic chants (*A Jarifa en una orgía*), historical themes (*A la muerte de D. Joaquín de Pablo*, *A la muerte de Torrijos*, *A la patria*, *Despedida del patriota griego*). It is plain that he was influenced by Byron, Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Béranger and Casimir Delavigne. Espronceda's pot-pourri contains a little of everything.

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[1] Juan Valera, *La poesía lírica y épica en la España del siglo XIX,* vols. XXXII and XXXIII of his *Obras completas.* Id., *Florilegio de poesías castellanas del siglo XIX,* 5 vols., 1902–1904. Boris de Tannenberg, *La poésie castillane contemporaine,* Paris, 1889.

[2] *Obras poéticas y escritos en prosa,* ed. P. de la Escosura, 1884. *Obras poéticas, ed. definitiva, precedida de una biografía del autor,* ed. J. Cascales Muñoz, 1923. *Poesías y El estudiante de Salamanca,* ed. J. Moreno Villa, 1923 (*Clásicos cast.,* vol. 47. *El diablo mundo,* ed. J. Moreno Villa, 1923 (*Clásicos cast.,* vol. 50). *El estudiante de Salamanca,* etc., ed. G. T. Northup, N. Y., 1919. *Blanca de Borbon,* ed. P. H. Churchman, in *Rev. Hisp.,* XVII, 1907, 549–703. *More inedita,* ed. P. H. Churchman, in *Rev. Hisp.,* XVII, 1907, 704–740. P. H. Churchman, *Some E. Miscellany,* in *Rev. Hisp.,* LVI, 1922, 508–521. *Sancho Saldaña, o El castellano de Cuéllar,* 1914.—See Ant. Cortón, *E.,* 1906. P. H. Churchman, *An E. Bibliography,* in *Rev. Hisp.,* XVII, 1907, 741–777. Id., *E., Byron and Ossian,* in *Mod. Lang. Notes,* XXIII, 1908, 13–16. Id., *Byron and E.,* in *Rev. Hisp.,* XX, 1909, 5–210. A. Bonilla y San Martín, *El pensamiento de E.,* in *España moderna,* CCXXXIV, 1908, 69–101. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *E.,* in *Mod. Lang. Rev.,* IV, 1908, 20–39. J. Cascales y Muñoz, *Don José de E., su época, su vida y sus obras,* 1914. Luisa Banal, *Il pessimismo di E. ed alcuni rapporti col pensiero di Leopardi* in *Rev. crítica hispano-americana,* IV, 1918, 89–134. Angela Hämel, *Der Humor bei José de E.,* Halle, 1922.

El estudiante de Salamanca, based on a fantastic old Spanish legend, is more original. It displays the poet's imagination at its best, and this poem has become popular and taken its place in the memories of Spaniards, beside Zorrilla's legends. Yet Espronceda's masterpiece is *El Diablo mundo* (*The Devil-World*, 1841), an unfinished philosophical poem, a synthesis of the history of Humanity. Nature is shown in opposition to the conventionalities of social laws. It is an amazing medley of admirable strokes of genius (*Introduction*, songs of Death and Immortality in Canto I, and the superb elegy *A Teresa* in Canto II, a confession perhaps more poignant than Musset's *Souvenir*) and extravagant fantasies, grotesque side-play, Bohemian outbursts intended to scandalize bourgeois and Philistines. Here all Espronceda's sources of inspiration jostle one another with strange effect: Byron and Musset, Faust and the Wandering Jew, Don Juan and the Huron (of Voltaire's *L'Ingénu*). Philosophy (harangue of Satan), politics (apostrophe to the ministers and deputies), social and literary satire, love lyrics and songs of revelry follow one another in the strangest hodgepodge. It is the masterpiece of a visionary, but incontestably a masterpiece; it took powerful hold upon the young generation. Espronceda's friend **Miguel de los Santos Álvarez** (1818–1892), who himself wrote a poem *María* (1840) and some short stories, added one canto to the *Diablo mundo*, and others attempted to complete it.[1] Other works, a mediocre historical novel, *Sancho Saldaña* (1834) and some dramatic attempts (*Blanca de Borbón; Ni el tío ni el sobrino*, a verse comedy, 1834) add nothing to Espronceda's reputation. Even in his so-called epic (and perhaps there especially), he remains, with Zorrilla, the great type of the Spanish romantic lyrist.

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[1] N. Alonso Cortés, *Los continuadores de " El Diablo mundo,"* in *Revista castellana* VIII, 1924, 1–14.

4. **José Zorrilla** (1817–1893),[1] a native of Valladolid, was both lyric poet and dramatist. A piece of verse read emotionally at the grave of Mariano de Larra, who had just committed suicide (1837), made his name famous overnight. "I shot up," he said, "like a poisonous herb beside the tomb of an evil-doer." After studying or scribbling poetry at Toledo, Valladolid and Madrid, he published four collections of verse (1837–1838), followed by various others (*Vigilias del estío*, 1842; *Recuerdos y fantasías*, 1844; *Ecos de las montañas*, 1868; *El cantar del romero*, 1883); historical or imaginary legends in verse, echoes of national traditions (*La leyenda del Cid*, 1882), a poem *María* (1849) finished by the American **José Heriberto García de Quevedo** (1819–1871),[2] who himself wrote some estimable lyrics and poems. In this extensive inspirational production two works stand out. The collection *Cantos del trovador* (1840–1841) enjoyed great and deserved success; it afforded free scope to Zorrilla's rich imagination and his rare power of divining and recreating, at least on the picturesque side, bygone ages as the author conceived them. Second, the poem *Granada* (1852), unfortunately never completed, shows the marvelous improviser for once supporting his talent by laborious documentation, as may be seen in the notes to the first volume of the first edition. His plan was to paint a vast comprehensive picture of Arab civilization in Spain. The project was too ample, and the author carried it out only in part. The main work was preceded by a prologue in which he defined his own inspiration and poetic accomplishment:

> Cristiano y español, con fe y sin miedo,
> Canto mi religión, mi patria canto;

and by *La leyenda de Al-Hamar*, developed in five books, *Los sueños, Las perlas, Los alcázares, Los espíritus* and *Las nieves.*

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[1] *Obras*, 3 vols., Paris, Garnier, 1864. *Últimos versos inéditos y no coleccionados*, 1908. *Poesías*, ed. N. Alonso Cortés, 1925 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 63).—See Boris de Tannenberg, in *La poésie castillane contemporaine*, Paris, 1889, pp. 77–119. N. Alonso Cortés, *Z., su vida y sus obras*, 3 vols., Valladolid, 1917–1920. J. F. Menéndez, *Apuntes para la biografía del poeta Z.*, in *Bol. Bibl. Menéndez Pelayo*, V, 1923, 117–141. R. Menéndez Pidal, *L'Épopée castillane*, Paris, 1910, 258–278.

[2] *Obras poéticas y literarias*, Paris, Baudry, 1863.

The poem *Granada* itself contains nine books, and recounts the court intrigues which preceded the city's fall. The plot is trivial. But, as in a Moorish palace, the mediocre frame is beautified by splendid ornamentation and coloring. In the richness and brilliance of its hues, in the curiously complicated rhythms, which exhaust all possible combinations, in the rather feminine and futile elegance of the tracery, this poetry gives the impression that the author really meant to rival the endless capriciousness of the gorgeously illuminated arabesques, the sweeping grace of that fairy palace the Alhambra. It is a pity that he chose never to finish this *poema oriental:* of all his works it is the one most characteristic of his poetic genius. Too, it defines most clearly his limitations.

The poem *Granada,* and the early plays which will be mentioned below (p. 479), established Zorrilla's reputation. Fame had come to him, but the poet was woefully ignorant of the art of transforming it into solid coin of the realm. Others did it for him, at his expense. Improvident as any grasshopper, Zorrilla dragged about in Europe (he went to Paris in 1845) and in Mexico (1855–1866), leading a pitiful needy life which reminds one of the old age of Lamartine. He had a solitary day of glory, June 22, 1889, when, in Granada itself, before an enthusiastic crowd, the illustrious white-haired poet received an honor which had been granted to Quintana in 1855, and was later to be vouchsafed to Campoamor and Núñez de Arce: a crown of gold. His admirers did not sense the irony of it. Zorrilla has recounted the trials and rewards of his own life in *Recuerdos del tiempo viejo* (1880–1882).

His lyrics, once so admired, have aged somewhat. Setting aside a few of the earliest, one finds in them all the double inspiration of religion and native land which he acknowledged in the prefaces of *María*, *Granada*, and the *Cantos del trovador*. His favorite instrument for evoking ancient Spain was the *leyenda*, such as *Recuerdos de Toledo; Para verdades, el tiempo, y para justicia, Dios; A buen juez mejor testigo; Justicias del rey don Pedro; Los borceguíes de Enrique II; El montero de Espinosa; El capitán Montoya; Margarita la tornera*, a theme often treated under various forms; *La azucena silvestre; La pasionaria;* etc. In them, if anywhere, his masterpieces are to be found. "If any part of my work is to endure," he wrote, " it will be my *leyendas*, not my plays."

Zorrilla's extraordinary facility injured the perfection of his work.

He was an improviser, the last of the troubadours; this name, which he loved to apply to himself, suits him admirably. But his verse, wonderfully flowing and harmonious, too often shows the failings of improvisation. Set formulas, trade tricks and clichés are too likely to replace real emotion, ripened thought and the voice of an individual. Purists reproach him also with all sorts of licences: crimes against vocabulary and syntax, faulty rhymes, incongruous metaphors piled one on another, vague incoherent padding; and, besides, they accuse him of parading his amazing virtuosity in puerile *tours de force.* For all that Zorrilla still remains in the admiring memory of the Spanish people as one of the most significant types of their race. The impetuous *improvvisatore* who loved to declaim his own verses publicly in sonorous tones, represented to the crowd the ideal type of poet, or of troubadour, if one prefers. He was the most copious, ornate and harmonious of lyric poets; he was, in short, the true descendant of Lope and Calderón. " Zorrilla is the incarnation of all Spain's vast legendary history. His spirit is the most Spanish, the most autochthonous of all, as well in the multiple world that sprang from his luxuriant imagination, one of the most fecund and musical that ever existed in any literature, as in the classic and genuine (*castiza*) impeccability of form, worked with his own peculiar caprices of rhythm and brilliant turns of expression." [1]

5. Secondary Lyric Poets

Among lyrists of the second rank at this time, the following deserve mention.

Patricio de la Escosura and **Ventura de la Vega** are better known as dramatists and will be discussed later (pp. 480 and 483).

Nicomedes Pastor Díaz (1811–1863),[2] a precocious poet, born at Lugo, left an honored name in politics also. His *Poesías* (1840) reveal a spirit of melancholy brooding in which some have seen an ancestral Celtic influence. " In the verse of Pastor Díaz," wrote Valera, " there is a quality which rounds out the poetry of Spanish Romanticism, for it does not exist in Espronceda, Zorrilla or the Duke of Rivas. It is a vague and gentle melodiousness, dreamy and Celtic. . . ." His poetry reminds one now of Ossian, now of Lamartine (cf. *A la luna, La sirena del Norte, Una voz*). The form is as precise as the thought is nebulous. The author was also one of the best orators of the " liberal-conservative " party.

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[1] Rubén Darío, *España contemporánea,* Paris, 1901, p. 62. For Zorrilla's dramatic work, see below, pp. 479—480.

[2] *Obras,* ed. A. Ferrer del Río, 6 vols., 1867.—See J. del Valle Moré, *P. D., su vida y su obra,* Habana, 1911.

Enrique Gil y Carrasco (1815–1846) [1] died at the age of thirty-one in Berlin, where he had a special diplomatic mission. Like Pastor Díaz, he seems less known today than he deserves. He was a mild and melancholy soul who sang, like Millevoye, *La caída de las hojas*, or the modest grace and penetrating perfume of the violet, in a poem (*La violeta*) which seems the accurate definition of his talent. With homesick yearning he described the landscapes and types of his native province, El Bierzo (León): the migrant shepherd, the industrious *maragato*, Leonese mountaineers, Galician reapers, etc. He left interesting travel notes taken during his diplomatic service. But he could rise to a more virile tone. Every martyr and hero of liberty was sung by this friend and disciple of Espronceda. His ode *Polonia* recalls the spirited lines of Filicaja and Leopardi. His historical novel is mentioned below (p. 486).

Manuel de Cabanyes (1808–1833) [2] died even younger than Enrique Gil, his promise unfulfilled. The year of his death saw also the publication of *Preludios de mi lira*, which revealed a scholarly poet of much delicacy and penetration; his bent was more classical than that of most of his contemporaries. This may have been because he lived apart in his native Catalonia, buried in study of the ancients and removed from the literary movement of his day.

Another Catalan lost before his prime was **Pablo Piferrer** (1818–1848), but his poems are not of so great value as his three volumes of *Recuerdos y bellezas de España* (1839); these cover only the Balearic Isles and most of Catalonia, but the work was continued by José María Quadrado and Pí y Margall (p. 574).

The Sevillan **Gabriel García Tassara** (1817–1875) [3] displayed a more vigorous talent and great mastery of form in such compositions as *Dios, Al firmamento, La fragata, A un amigo en la muerte de su esposo*, and especially the *Himno al Mesías*. An intimate friend of

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[1] *Obras*, ed. G. Laverde, n. d. *Obras en prosa*, 2 vols., 1883.—See J. R. Lomba y Pedraja, *E. G. y C.: su vida y su obra literaria*, in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, II, 1915, 137–179.

[2] *The Poems of M. de C.*, ed. E. A. Peers, Manchester, 1923.—See C. Oyuela, *Estudio sobre la vida y escritos del eminente poeta catalán M. de C.*, Barcelona, 1881. E. A. Peers, *The "Pessimism" of M. de C.*, in *Mod. Philology*, XXI, 1923, 49–52.

[3] *Poesías*, 1872.

Donoso Cortés, he frequently turned the ideas of that eloquent Catholic publicist into fiery verse. "No Spanish poet," said Menéndez y Pelayo, "possessed in higher degree Horace's *os magna sonaturum.*"

The brothers **Bermúdez de Castro, José** and **Salvador,** treated the favorite themes of the new school, the former with puerile fondness for the horrible and wild, so much abused just then, the latter (1814–1883) with more variety and talent (*Ensayos poéticos,* 1840).

Juan Martínez Villergas (1816–1894) [1] was primarily, in prose as well as verse, a popular satirist, whose lively pugnacity found free scope in politics. In adult life he several times visited Cuba and other parts of America, and everywhere he scattered witty attacks on the conservative party, in numberless pamphlets and journals, such as *La risa, El tío Camorra, El moro Muza,* etc. His first collection of verse was *Poesías jocosas y satíricas* (1842).

José Joaquín de Mora (1783–1864) [2] in his younger days joined with his friend Antonio Alcalá Galiano to attack Böhl von Faber (p. 495) in a brisk literary polemic, the two former upholding neoclassic doctrine. Later he obtained real popularity in South America, where he lived from 1827 to 1843, with his *Meditaciones poéticas* (1826) and *Leyendas españolas* (1840). He published another volume of *Poesías* in 1853, after his return to Spain.

Juan Arolas (1805–1849),[3] a priest in Valencia, published two volumes unusual in his calling, *Poesías caballerescas y orientales* (1840) and *Poesías religiosas, orientales, caballerescas y amatorias* (1842). They contain, in fact, a mixture of religious poems which, like Mora's, show the influence of Lamartine, *Orientales* which attempt to rival Hugo's, imitations of Byron, chivalric verse in the manner of Zorrilla, and lastly, what one is less prepared for, love poems considered rather too ardent for a good priest of the *Escuelas Pías.* This poet, endowed with greater imagination than originality, died insane.

A few women poets must not be omitted. Without pausing for

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[1] See N. Alonso Cortés, *J. M. V.*, 2nd ed., Valladolid, 1913.

[2] See M. L. Amunátegui, *Don J. J. de M.: apuntes biográficos,* Santiago de Chile, 1888. C. Pitollet, *La querelle caldéronienne de J. N. Böhl von Faber et J. J. de Mora,* Paris, 1909.

[3] *Poesías escogidas,* ed. L. L. Roselló and J. Olea, 1921. *Poesías,* ed. J. R. Lomba y Pedraja, 1929 (*Clásicos cast.,* vol. 95).—See J. R. Lomba y Pedraja, *El P. Arolas, su vida y sus versos,* 1898.

Vicenta Maturana (1793–1859), who enjoyed a momentary fame as much for her graceful Andalusian dancing as her varied literary talents, the first is **Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda** (1814–1873).[1] She was a Cuban, born at Puerto Príncipe, and will be met again among both dramatists and novelists (pp. 481, 487). Her poems (*Poesías líricas*, 1841) have a strangely passionate note, which reminds one of those of Mme. Desbordes-Valmore (1786–1859). Her volume contains some of the most poignant lyrics in the Spanish language, evidently inspired by unfortunate personal experience. "If we except Saint Teresa," said Juan Valera, "no woman in Spain ever rivalled her in the art of writing," and Menéndez y Pelayo concurs fully in this judgment.

By her side, but, in my opinion, a little lower in the scale, **Carolina Coronado** (1823–1911)[2] also deserves an honorable place among the lyrists of the middle century. In 1843 and 1852 her poems appeared in two editions, said to be very incomplete; at any rate they were received with applause by numerous admirers, among them Espronceda (who had read them in manuscript) and Donoso Cortés, two men with little in common. Many of her verses stuck long in people's memories. The best known is *El amor de los amores*, a skilful imitation of Juan de la Cruz's paraphrase of the *Song of Songs*. Her fame rests upon her poems, but she displayed literary talent in other ways (p. 487).

Rosalía Castro de Murguía (1837–1885),[3] although her most original verse was written in the Galician dialect, takes high rank among her contemporaries. Her first poems were collected in the volume *Cantares gallegos* (1863), rich with the penetrating odor of her native soil. *Follas novas* (1880) is more intimate and also more dramatic. The rare merit of both was well analyzed by Doña Emilia Pardo Bazán in *De mi tierra* (1888). Rosalía's collection of Castilian verse (*En las orillas del Sar;* 1884) is devoted in part to her province, but more to universal experience, for her own sorrows gave her a cruel insight into the heart of life. A few stories and novels complete her work. The very personal note of her inspiration, the sincerity of her feeling and her efforts to broaden poetic vocabulary and technique allow her to be regarded as an innovator, who had real influence upon later schools. In her own day she passed unnoticed.

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[1] *Obras*, 4 vols., Habana, 1914–1918. *La A., autobiografía y cartas* . . ., ed. L. Cruz de Fuentes, Huelva, 1907. *G. G. de A.: Cartas inéditas y documentos* . . ., ed. J. A. Escoto, Matanzas, 1911. *Memorias inéditas de la A.*, ed. D. Figarola Caneda, Habana, 1914.—See J. M. Chacón y Calvo, *G. G. de A.; las influencias castellanas: examen negativo*, Habana, 1914. J. A. Rodríguez García, *De la A.*, Habana, 1914. Edwin B. Williams, *The Life and Dramatic Works of G. G. de A.*, Philadelphia, 1924. E. Bernal, *G. G. de A., su vida y su obra*, in *Cuba contemporánea*, XXXVII, 1925, 85–111. E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Una tragedia real de la A.*, in *Rev. Bibl. Arch. y Museo*, III, 1926, 133–157. Id., *La A. y sus obras*, in *Bol. Acad. Esp.* XV, 1928, and XVI, 1929; and as a volume, 1930.

[2] *Poesías*, ed. and biography by A. Fernández de los Ríos, 1843 and 1852. She married Horatio J. Perry, secretary of the United States Legation in Madrid.

[3] A. González Besada, *R. de C.*, 1916. César Barja, *R. de C.*, N. Y., 1923. Id., *En torno al lirismo gallego*, Northampton, Mass., 1926. E. Carré Aldao, *Estudio bio-bibliográfico de R. de C.*, in *Bol. de la Real Acad. Gallega*, XXI, 1926, and XXII, 1927.

This rapid enumeration makes no claim to being exhaustive; poets abounded in those times and it is enough to indicate the essential names, for it is time to approach the theater, which is scarcely less rich.

CHAPTER II

DRAMA

1. Romantic Drama

Martínez de la Rosa gave Spain its introduction to the Romantic drama, and the Duke of Rivas established it firmly with his brilliant *Don Álvaro*. **Ángel de Saavedra,** later Duke of **Rivas** (1791–1865) [1] had fought valiantly against the French. His first verse (*Poesías*, 1814) and early dramas (*Aliatar, El Duque de Aquitania, Malek-Adhel,* 1816–1818) [2] are quite in the classic manner. The influence of Quintana, Gallego and Lista is still evident in such compositions as *España triunfante, A la victoria de Bailén, Napoleón destronado* (1814), etc. He spent seven months in Paris (1821–1822), but his tragedy *Lanuza* was written in Cordova (1822–1823). Exiled as a liberal in 1823, he fled to England, composing topical verse (*El desterrado, El sueño del proscrito*). His stay in Malta (1825–1830) produced poems (*El faro de Malta, Las estrellas*), and some minor plays (*Arias Gonzalo*, a tragedy, and a Moratinian comedy, *Tanto vales cuanto tienes*, published in 1840). There, too, he planned the long epic *El moro expósito,* which displays inspiration of a very different type from that of his previous works. Back in France in 1830, he went over wholeheartedly to the new art, and composed the drama *Don Álvaro,* which was performed (1835) after his return to Spain in 1834. Peer of the realm, Academician, *ateneísta*, Minister of the Interior in 1836, he was compelled by the La Granja revolt in the same year to flee to Portugal and Gibraltar. In 1837 he returned to Spain. He was Ambassador to

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[1] *Obras completas*, 7 vols., 1894–1904 (not complete: *El desengaño en un sueño* must be read in earlier eds., as, 2 vols., Barcelona, 1884–1885). *Romances*, ed. C. Rivas Cherif, 2 vols., 1912 (*Clásicos cast.*, vols. 9 and 12). *Don Álvaro*, ed. C. J. Winter and E. B. Williams, Chicago, 1928.—See M. Cañete, in *Escritores esp. e hispano-americanos*, 1884, 3–148. Juan Valera, in *Critica lit.*, 1887–1889 (*Obras completas*, XXVII, 71–196). "Azorín," *Rivas y Larra*, etc., 1916. A. Castro, in *Les grands romantiques espagnols*, Paris, n. d. E. A. Peers, *Rivas and Romanticism in Spain*, Liverpool, 1923. Id., *A. de S., Duque de Rivas: A Critical Study*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LVIII, 1923, 1–600. G. Boussagol, *A. de S., Duc de Rivas: sa vie, son oeuvre poétique*, Toulouse, 1927. Id., *Le Duc de Rivas, essai de bibliographie critique*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXIX, 1927, 5–98.

[2] Two early plays, *Ataulfo* and *Doña Blanca*, are lost.

Naples (1844–1850) and Paris (1859–1860); then his health failed, he withdrew from active politics and died, laden with honors, June 22, 1865.

At various times in his life Rivas wrote many lyrics, plays and a historical study (*Sublevación de Nápoles, el año 1647*, 1848), but his three really important works are the following:

1° *El moro expósito, o Córdoba y Burgos en el siglo décimo* (Paris, 1834), which recounts the old legend of Mudarra the Bastard and the Infantes de Lara. It is a lengthy poem in *romance heroico* (hendecasyllables with assonance in alternate lines). The plot amounts to little, but framework and setting are highly picturesque. As a presentation of the two civilizations, Christian and Arabic (epitomized respectively by Burgos and Cordova), it is dressed in colors of great richness, but often false and without historical value. The spirit of the poem, however, is truly national, and its verses, sometimes a little hollow, are at least harmonious and resonant. As early as 1812 Saavedra, manifestly attracted by the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, had composed a poem in octaves on the *Paso honroso* (cf. p. 117), which shows how he was drawn unconsciously into the Romantic spirit simply by following national tradition.

2° the *Romances históricos* (1841). Here the nationalistic character is still more in evidence, both in form (*romance*, i.e., octosyllabic assonants) and substance.[1] The eighteen subjects are taken from all periods of Spanish history. *Una antigualla de Sevilla* and *El fratricidio* relate to the reign of Peter the Cruel (or *el Justiciero*). *Don Álvaro de Luna, Recuerdos de un grande hombre* (Columbus), *La victoria de Pavía, Una noche en Madrid* (the murder of Don Juan de Escobedo, in 1578), *El Conde de Villamediana, Bailén,* bring before the reader a procession of very diverse happenings. The variety and the *españolismo* of these scenes make them pleasant to read, but in expanding the *romance* meter to such proportions, the author was unable to avoid diffuseness, monotony and padding. The artificial quality of these pastiches soon becomes apparent.

3° *Don Álvaro o la fuerza del sino* (*The Power of Destiny*, March 22, 1835), a drama in mingled prose and verse, was to Spain what *Hernani* had been to France five years before. In subject, however, it stands closer to the elder Dumas's *Antony*, performed May 3,

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[1] The preface is important for the history of Spanish Romanticism.

1831. The protagonist of *Don Álvaro* is in fact Fate, the Romantic ’ανάγκη. It pursues Don Álvaro, thrice a murderer, and separates him from his beloved up to the very moment when he commits suicide. Like Hugo, Rivas possessed a sense for picturesqueness even in the least details and incidents; it is attested by his scrupulous attention to stage setting. For Spain this was a revolution. A more important point is the skill with which this innovator assigns a speaking rôle to a personage too often dumb in earlier drama, namely, the crowd. The opening scene and that in the *mesón* (inn) at Hornachuelos, like a page from the *Quijote* dramatized, are in this respect masterpieces of naturalness, precision and true local color. The minor characters are perfect; none more so than Fray Melitón, who so uncharitably performs works of charity. Those pictures are as fresh today as ever. Not so the great dramatic scenes. Though they may pass as mild compared with Hugo's *Angelo* and *Lucrèce Borgia*, to us of today they appear declamatory, violent, and melodramatic. Such as it was, with all its merits and defects, *Don Álvaro* marked a literary epoch, and steered the theater in a new direction. This famous drama was written (wholly in prose at first) in France, at Tours, in 1832. Alcalá Galiano translated it into French that it might be performed in Paris.[1]

One may naturally bracket with Rivas **Mariano Roca de Togores,** Marqués de **Molins** (1812–1889),[2] who also cut an important figure in politics and literature. At first he wrote poems in the classic manner (odes, epistles, etc.), then Romantic *Fantasías*, narratives and historical *Romances*. Of his dramas one, *Doña María de Molina* (1837), was a great success, although the same subject had been treated by Tirso de Molina (*La prudencia en la mujer*) in a way which, one would suppose, would have discouraged imitators.

The resounding success of *Don Álvaro*[3] did not remain unparalleled. But first, it is only just to note at this point that Larra's drama *Macías* was played September 24, 1834, some months before the work of Rivas. *Macías* is a dramatic version of the novel *El*

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[1] [It was probably never actually played in French. See Peers, *Rivas, A Critical Study*, p. 66, and Boussagol, in *Bull. Hisp.* XXIX, 1927, p. 27.]

[2] *Obras*, 6 vols., 1881–1890. See A. Gallego, *El Marqués de M., su vida y sus obras*, Albacete, 1912.

[3] [The play was given only eleven times, and was criticized as well as praised by reviewers. But its influence was powerful.]

doncel de Don Enrique el Doliente, printed earlier in the same year. By reason of its date at least this drama is entitled to a place in the history of Romanticism; but Larra, great humorist and satirist as he was, did not receive from Providence talent for drama or novel.

At that moment, indeed, everything favored the development of the theater. Literary drama was welcomed in many playhouses. Actors were excellent (Latorre, López, Luna, Julián Romea, Valero, Arjona, Ossorio, Mario, the Catalinas, C. Rodríguez, Matilde Díez, Teodora Lamadrid, etc.). The public did not flag in interest. The relative liberty of thought which followed Fernando's death fostered certain experiments impossible before. Even the craze for Italian opera was more favorable than hurtful to Spanish drama, though Bretón, as early as 1828, complained sharply of it in his satire *El furor filarmónico.* Finally, authors promptly put in an appearance to continue the labors of Martínez de la Rosa and Rivas. Gil y Zárate, Hartzenbusch, García Gutiérrez, Zorrilla, represent drama; Bretón de los Herreros, Ventura de la Vega, Rubí and a few others, comedy.

2. **Antonio Gil y Zárate** (1796–1861),[1] a politician, and, in 1844, director of Public Instruction, is the author of a *Manual de literatura* (1842–1844) that enjoyed a long but undeserved success. As journalist he collaborated in the *Semanario pintoresco* and composed some of the *Tipos españoles.* His most celebrated play, *Carlos II el Hechizado* (1837) excited enthusiasm and wrath, for motives which were more political than literary. His pieces, cut to the new pattern just arrived from Paris, are nearly all based on historical episodes (*Rosmunda, Don Álvaro de Luna, Un monarca y su privado, El Gran Capitán, Guzmán el Bueno, Masaniello*). Among his comedies two are charming, *Un año después de la boda* (*One Year After the Wedding*) and *¡Cuidado con las novias!* (*Beware of Engaged Girls!*).

Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch (1806–1880),[2] son of a German cabinet-maker, was a self-taught, industrious scholar; he earned a living as carpenter, then as stenographer. His first and greatest success on the stage was the fine drama *Los amantes de Teruel* (1837), in which he skilfully gave new life to a well-worn theme. After that came *Doña Mencía, o la boda en la Inquisición* (1838), *Don Alfonso el Casto* (1841), *La jura en Santa Gadea* (1845), *La madre de Pelayo* (1846), *La ley de raza* (1852), etc. He wrote comedies also, but not so well (*Un sí y un no, La coja y el encogido, Juan de las Viñas*), and even some plays of magic (*comedias de magia*), two of which are notable (*La redoma encantada*, 1839, and *Los polvos de la madre Celestina*, 1841). His *Fábulas* (1844 and 1861), reveal him as a good-humored satirist. Director of the Escuela Normal (1854), he held a post in the Biblioteca Nacional in 1844, and became its director (1862–1875). Hartzenbusch was one of the most active editors in that very useful collection, the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, published at the initiative of Manuel Rivadeneyra. His *Ensayos poéticos* (1843) and prose stories are quite forgotten. It will be seen that he essayed every branch of literature. He and Aureliano Fernández Guerra were among the few erudites who have obtained real success on the stage. The 1633 notes of his commentary to the *Quijote* (1874) still deserve to be consulted, though with caution.

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[1] *Obras dramáticas*, Paris, Baudry, 1850.—See Marqués de Valmar, in *Autores dramáticos contemporáneos*, ed. Novo y Colsón, II, 1882, 217–246.

[2] *Obras*, 5 vols., 1887–1892.—See Eugenio Hartzenbusch, *Bibliografía de H. . . . formada por su hijo*, 1900. E. Cotarelo, *Sobre el origen y desarrollo de la leyenda de los "Amantes de Teruel,"* 1907. A. S. Corbière, *J. E. H. and the French Theatre*, Philadelphia, 1927.

Antonio García Gutiérrez (1813–1884) [1] possessed a more vigorous dramatic temperament than Hartzenbusch, and a more ardent imagination. He began by translating Scribe, but, inspired perhaps by Larra's *Macías*, he produced *El trovador* (March 1, 1836), one of the most brilliant successes of the century. It remains a perfect type of Romantic drama; with no effort it was transformed into an opera, with Verdi's setting (1853). *El rey monje* (1837), *Simón Bocanegra* (1843), *Venganza catalana* (1864), and *Juan Lorenzo* (1865; his masterpiece, in my opinion), all contain admirable scenes of great theatrical effect. García Gutiérrez left, including translations, sixty-eight plays, among them some attractive comedies. Two volumes of verse (*Poesías* and *Luz y tinieblas*) appeared in 1840 and 1842 respectively. After having served against the Carlists and journeyed extensively in America (1844–1850), England (1854–1857) and France, he was appointed Spanish consul at Bayonne (1868), and then Director of the Archaeological Museum at Madrid (1872), an unexpected termination of a career devoted exclusively to the theater.

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[1] *Obras escogidas*, 1866 (16 plays). *El trovador*, ed. A. Bonilla y San Martín, 1916. *Teatro* (*Venganza catalana, Juan Lorenzo*), ed. J. R. Lomba y Pedraja, 1925 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 65).—See Nicholson B. Adams, *The Romantic Dramas of G. G.*, New York, 1922.

3. The most fertile and popular of the Romantic dramatists was assuredly **José Zorrilla** (p. 467). His theatrical production [1] is both varied and abundant. It includes half a dozen true *comedias de capa y espada* in three acts and verse, after the 17th century formula: *Ganar perdiendo* (1839); *Cada cual con su razón* (1839); *Lealtad de una mujer y aventuras de una noche* (1840), an episode from the life of the Príncipe de Viana; *La mejor razón, la espada* (1843); and *Más vale llegar a tiempo que rondar un año* (1845).

Of his fourteen historical plays, the best known are the following: *El zapatero y el rey*, in two parts (1840, 1841); *El puñal del godo* (1842), in one act, written in twenty-four hours on a wager, and having as subject Roderick the last of the Gothic kings; and a fantastic-religious drama, *Don Juan Tenorio* (1844). This new incarnation of the immortal Don Juan has remained the most conspicuous and persistent dramatic success of the nineteenth century in Spain, despite all criticism and the author's own disesteem. The play is still performed each year, at the approach of All Saints' Day, for the edification of true believers, one may suppose; it has become a national institution. Yet Zorrilla wrote, whether or not in entire sincerity: "This play contains more improbabilities and extravagances than any other I ever wrote; the hero's character is not consistent; the lyric passages, in particular the famous love stanzas *that everyone knows by heart*, are out of place. . . ." Notwithstanding the severity of the father who so ungratefully mistreated the most illustrious child of his inspiration, this recast of Tirso de Molina's old *Burlador*, or, more exactly, of the elder Dumas's *Don Juan de Marana* (1836) [2] certainly owed its unexpected success to causes not mentioned by the author; namely, to the popularity of the theme, the sovereign charm of the Don Juan type, in which every man would like to recognize something of himself, the combination of romantic adventure with pseudo-

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[1] *Galería dramática: Obras completas*, 4 vols., 1905. *Sancho García*, ed. A. Bonilla y San Martín, 1917.

[2] [Antonio de Zamora's *No hay deuda que no se pague, y convidado de piedra* (printed 1744, and performed regularly in Spain up to and even after the appearance of *Don Juan Tenorio*) was undoubtedly known to Zorrilla and utilized also by him. See J. W. Barlow, *Zorrilla's Indebtedness to Zamora*, in *Romanic Review*, XVII, 1926, 303–318.]

Christian miracles, of sensuality with mysticism (for these two are close allies), and, finally, also, with small doubt, to the Gongoristic style (cf. the *ovillejos* of the second act, the *décimas* which so stick in the memory). These are all sources of eminent delight to Spanish hearts. The music was pronounced divine, and the charm still continues to work upon the mob, whatever be the reservations of the *científicos*. In this case, as in that of Lope de Vega, the people were perhaps right and the author wrong.

After *Don Juan Tenorio,* Zorrilla's brilliant dramatic career continued for some years. We may mention, as most characteristic of his manner, the drama *El alcalde Ronquillo* (1845); and *Traidor, inconfeso y mártir* (1849), the story of the false Dom Sebastian of Portugal, whom popular emotion persisted in bringing to life again, like so many other lost princes, from King Arthur and the false Demetriuses down to the Dauphin Louis XVII.

In all his plays Zorrilla shows much indebtedness to Calderón as well as to the modern Romantics, French and Spanish. He drew rather at random from many diverse sources; in that too he resembles Lope. But in spite of all his borrowings he remained profoundly Spanish, in weakness even more than in strength. What Rubén Darío said of him as lyric poet (and he was that always, in all his writing) would apply still better to him as dramatist. Neatly spun intrigues; brisk action that appears to be carried forward even when it is really turning in a circle; unforeseen happenings; picturesquely archaic types, derived from the repertory of Lope and Calderón but rejuvenated with Romantic color and costumes; cavalier vivaciousness of style, in which even padding and *ripios* seem consecrated by worthy tradition; ease and harmony of versification; but above all and before all glittering and spirited lyrical inspiration: these are the traits which are combined to form a truly personal type of drama, on which Zorrilla has forever set his seal.

Toward the middle of the century dramatic production was very abundant. Authors and works became so numerous that there is no possibility of entering into great detail. A few names must suffice. **Patricio de la Escosura** (1807–1878) had success with a few historical dramas (*La corte del buen retiro, Bárbara de Blomberg, Don Jaime el Conquistador, Roger de Flor,* etc.). He was also a novelist (p. 486). **Aureliano Fernández Guerra y Orbe** (1816–1891) began as dramatist and ended as scholar. After writing a respectable play on *Alonso Cano,* he collaborated with Tamayo y Baus to produce *La Ricahembra* (1854), a richly deserved success. **Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda** (p. 472) was as talented for theater as for lyric, and proved it in historical and Biblical plays, the most important being *Alfonso Munio* (1844), her masterpiece; *El Príncipe de Viana* (1844); *Saúl* (1849); and the strong Old Testament drama *Baltasar* (1858),[1] in which the figure of the King of Babylon, once sketched by Calderón, does not lack grandeur. The critic Marqués de **Valmar** (Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto, 1815–1901) brought out one play well received by critics, *Doña María Coronel;* the subject had been used by Lope in *La corona merecida.* **José María Díaz, Gregorio Romero Larrañaga** (1815–1872), **Eusebio** (1822–1892) and **Eduardo** (1826–1892) **Asquerino, Ramón de Navarrete, Ignacio García Ontiveros, Juan Ariza** (1816–1876), **Eugenio de Ochoa** (1815–1872), **Pedro Calvo Asensio** (1821–1863), and many others were industrious purveyors to the stage. One and all, in greater or less degree, they found their inspiration in the old national drama and foreign Romantic writers. They usually took their subjects from anecdotal history, but did not hesitate to introduce very modern passions which falsify accurate historical color. These passions are expressed in bursts of violence, the general tone is declamatory, and tactless effectism is much in evidence. Those are the brand-marks of Romanticism.

Whatever the weaknesses of this period, one would need to go back to the 17th century to find an equal abundance of works. The seed of the drama, ever flourishing in Spanish soil, was far from becoming sterile.

4. Comedy[2]

Moratín had pointed the way for Spanish comedy. But the political upheavals of the time caused him to have few imitators at first. The Mexican **Manuel Eduardo de Gorostiza** (1789–1851)[3] wrote *Indulgencia para todos* (1818), *Dieguito* (1820) and *Contigo pan y cebolla* (1833), besides several adaptations from the French and topical trifles composed during the liberal triennium,

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[1] Ed. Carlos Bransby, New York, 1908.

[2] Ch. de Mazade, *La Comédie moderne en Espagne: Bretón, Ventura de la Vega, Rodríguez Rubí,* in *Revue des Deux Mondes,* 1er août, 1847, 432–461.

[3] *Obras,* 4 vols., México, 1899–1902. *Contigo pan y cebolla,* ed. E. McGuire, Boston–New York, 1922.—See J. M. Roa Bárcena, *Datos y apuntamientos para la biografía de Don M. E. de G.,* in *Memorias de la Acad. Mexicana,* I, 1876, 89–204.

1820–1823. But comedy did not experience a real rebirth till the Romantic period began. The Duque de Rivas, Gil y Zárate, Hartzenbusch, Zorrilla and most of the dramatists already treated wrote comedies as well, but all of them were eclipsed by **Manuel Bretón de los Herreros** (1796–1873).[1] Born at Quel (La Rioja), Bretón served in the army from 1812 to 1822, and lost his left eye, but did not rise above the rank of corporal; Cervantes, to be sure, never reached so high a grade. His first play, *A la vejez viruelas* (*In Old Age, a Disease of Childhood*), dates from 1824. Journalist, government clerk, he came to the Biblioteca Nacional and was made its Director in 1847. His comedies number 177, of which 103 are original, 64 translations, and 10 adaptations (*refundiciones*). To these must be added 386 separate poems and endless articles of news, manners or criticism, scattered in the reviews and periodicals of the time.

His prime characteristics are, then, fertility and variety: "I think I may say without boasting," he wrote, "that in an equal number of works no one has offered a greater variety of subjects, happenings and different characters . . . I have copied no one, but I have often repeated myself." [2] These declarations must be taken with some reserve, however. In the first place, Bretón, like Moratín and Scribe, depicts the bourgeoisie almost exclusively, more from predilection than from prudence or timidity. Next, his painting of passions is likely to be confined to the narrow region of the *juste milieu*. Nor is his morality at all heroic in its teaching; it stops short of that. He is best in portraits of women (*Marcela, o ¿cuál de los tres?*, 1831; *Una de tantas*, 1837; *Ella es él*, 1838). Like Molière's Philinte, he is optimistic and indulgent, but neither blind nor a dupe. You may read his whole philosophy in *Todo es farsa en este mundo* (1835) and *Muérete y verás* (1837). Bretón lacks depth, assuredly; his passions are but skin-deep, they are the common vulgar passions; that, no doubt, is why the lesson to be derived from these every-day adventures (for Bretón is even more of a moralist than a dramatist) is quite within the reach of all. The simplest plots are the best (*Marcela; El pelo de la dehesa*, 1840; *El cuarto de hora*, 1840; *Dios los cría y ellos se juntan*, 1841). But on occasion he can invent more complicated intrigues (*¿Quién es ella?*, 1849; *La batelera de Pasajes*, 1842; *A Madrid me vuelvo*, 1828, and its corollary, *Me voy de Madrid*, 1835; *Una noche en Burgos*, 1843; *La escuela del matrimonio*, 1852; etc.). An excellent comic poet, he had little success in historical drama or lofty comedy. *Elena* (1834), *Mérope*, *Don Fernando el Emplazado*, and *Vellido Dolfos* are wholly forgotten now.

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[1] *Obras*, 5 vols., 1883–1884. *Obras escogidas*, 2 vols., Paris, Baudry, 1853. *Teatro* (*Muérete y verás; El pelo de la dehesa*), ed. N. Alonso Cortés, 1928 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 92).—See Marqués de Molins, *B. de los H.: recuerdos de su vida y de sus obras*, 1883. Georges Le Gentil, *Le poète M. B. de los H. et la société espagnole de 1830 à 1860*, Paris, 1909.

[2] Ed. Baudry, I, p. xviii.

Bretón, who had translated or adapted so many French pieces, both classic and contemporary, had qualities that are very French, but he is also very Spanish, and he even ridiculed wittily the current mania for imitating foreigners, as in *Un francés en Cartagena* (1843). "In handling the language, in skill of versification, in brillance of dialogue," says Hartzenbusch, "no writer ancient or modern maintains his level. Fertile and graceful wit is his dominant characteristic." Nearly all his comedies are in verse; in *romance* at first, later, beginning with *Marcela* (1831), in rhyme of varied types. Bretón is, in short, one of the most remarkable dramatic authors of the century. His work gives a complete and often charming picture of the days of Doña Cristina and Doña Isabel. He well deserves the thorough study which M. Le Gentil has given him.

5. Ventura de la Vega (1807–1865) [1] was by no means so prolific as Bretón. Born in Buenos Aires, educated in Lista's *colegio*, he was a member of the Academia del Mirto and also of the radical political society *Los Numantinos;* but his revolutionary and Voltairian tendencies quickly abated. He became the tutor and then the private secretary of the young Queen Isabel; later, Director of the Teatro Español and the Conservatorio de Artes y Declamación, and member of the Spanish Academy. Some elegant and clever verse, a few critical articles and a certain number of plays assure his reputation. Of the last, three are important: 1, *La muerte de César* (1865), a classical tragedy, to be bracketed with similar dramas of Tamayo, Aureliano Fernández Guerra and La Avellaneda; these writers attempted to galvanize classic tragedy as Ponsard did in France with his *Lucrèce* (1843), by going directly back to ancient models. 2, *El hombre de mundo* (1845), a verse comedy, the author's masterpiece. *The Man of the World* is based upon an accurate observation (*Quien tal hace, tal lo paga*), skilfully worked out in a plot that flows smoothly, naturally and clearly; the dialogue is brisk and lively, and the rapid action quite properly veils the private opinion of the author, who lets his characters do their own talking. 3, *La crítica de El sí de las niñas* (1848) is a pleasant whimsy written for the birth anniversary of Leandro F. de Moratín.

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[1] *Obras poéticas*, Paris, 1866. *Obras escogidas*, 1874.—See Menéndez y Pelayo *Antología de poetas hispano-americanos*, IV, 1895, pp. cxlvi–clxi.

Tomás Rodríguez Rubí (1817–1890),[1] who likewise became Director of the Teatro Español and a member of the Academy, was at one time (1868) Colonial Minister into the bargain. Throughout the reign of Isabel II he was the most popular author of comedies, and turned out an unceasing flood of plays. He had no clearly defined specialty; on the contrary, diversity is one of his marked literary characteristics. Early in his career he published fluent and witty verse (*Poesías andaluzas*, 1841; he was a native of Malaga). He tried his hand at the *sainete* of popular customs in *Del mal el menos, Toros y cañas* and *La feria de Mairena* (1843). He worked extensively in historical *haute comédie*, sometimes giving chief place to the comic element, as in *La corte de Carlos II* (1846); *Alberoni o la astucia contra el poder* (1846); and *La rueda de la Fortuna* (two parts, 1843–1844), containing the truthful history of Zenón de Somodevilla, Marqués de la Ensenada; or again, emphasizing the tragic side, as in *Los dos validos* (1842; *The Two Favorites*, on the fall of P. Nithard and his replacement by Peñaranda); *Bandera negra* (1844; the death of Luis de Haro, minister of Felipe IV); *Borrascas del corazón* (1847); and *Isabel la Católica* (1849). It appears from this list that our author specialized in adventures of famous political favorites, which was wise and prudent in a minister. Finally, Rubí in some of his best works appears as a progenitor of modern comedy based upon a more realistic study of society; so *El arte de hacer fortuna* (1845) and *El gran filón* (1874). He was in this respect an innovator, like Ventura de la Vega, and aided in the transition from Romanticism to the drama of Eguílaz, Ayala and Echegaray.

After Bretón, Vega and Rubí, in their day lords of the comic stage, there are few names to mention: the brothers **Luis** and **José Olona,**

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[1] For his dramatic work, see J. O. Picón, *Don T. R. R.*, in *Autores dramáticos contemporáneos*, II, 1882, 65–81.

Andalusians who acquired a reputation for various types of popular comedy; **Luis Valladares** (*Las travesuras de Juana*, 1843); **Carlos García Doncel** (*Los hijos de Satanás o el diablo anda en Cantillana*, 1845); **Francisco Flores Arenas** (1801–1877), whose *Coquetismo y presunción* (1831) appeared in the same year as Bretón's *Marcela*, and seems like a rather faded copy of the same subject. The list could be made longer, but it may appear too long already.

The " Andalusian farce " arose toward the close of this period; it will be discussed farther on. As to the ancient *zarzuela*, which much resembled an operetta with topical songs, it came into fashion again at this time. " The *zarzuela*," wrote Bretón in 1852, " was in the beginning poor in composition and execution, but it is a legitimate (*de buena ley*) type of spectacle. It was needed in Madrid, the public is patronizing it, and from it will spring a Spanish opera worthy of the name. We do not lack elements which may in time make our own opera rival that of Italy." [1]

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[1] *Obras escogidas*, ed. Baudry, I, p. lx.

CHAPTER III

PROSE

1. Novelists [1]

From about 1830 to 1850 the historical novel was in vogue. The favor it enjoyed was due in part to the development of historical studies, but more to the influence of Walter Scott. **Larra** (p. 491) wrote *El doncel de don Enrique el Doliente* (1834),[2] a version in contemporary taste of the old story of Macías *el Enamorado;* in an archaic background, none too well studied, he hid under false names painful heart experiences of his own. **Espronceda** failed completely in *Sancho Saldaña o El Castellano de Cuéllar* (1834).[3] At least he stopped after his one unlucky trial, whereas **Patricio de la Escosura** (p. 480), between 1832 and 1850, poured forth a torrent of narratives which attracted some attention at the time (*El Conde de Candespina*, 1832; *Ni Rey ni Roque*, 4 vols., 1835; *La conjuración de Méjico*, 1850). The strangest of his novels is *El Patriarca del valle* (1846), a tangled allegorical tale imitated from Eugène Sue's *Wandering Jew;* it pretends to give a picture of Spain during the first decades of the century. **Martínez de la Rosa,** too, turned out his historical novel, *Doña Isabel de Solís, Reina de Granada* (1837–1846), an episode in the struggle between the Catholic Monarchs and the Moorish Kings of Granada. But the best works of this type are **Enrique Gil**'s *El Señor de Bembibre* (1844), a love-story combined with the events of the fall of the Templars, the whole placed in the fresh setting of the Bierzo countryside; *Doña Blanca de Navarra* (1847) and *Doña Urraca de Castilla* (1849) by **Francisco Navarro Villoslada** (1818–1895).[4] This Navarrese, holding faithfully to an exhausted genre, published, as late as 1877, his *Amaya, o los vascos en el siglo VIII.* Works of this nature (and many other titles could be adduced) prove how readily the historical novel can lend itself to the study of ancient customs in the provinces. Or it may border at times on history, as in the romance of **Amós de Escalante** (1831–1902; cf. p. 517), *Ave, Maris Stella* (1877), a study of the Asturias of Santillana in the seventeenth century.

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[1] Andrés González Blanco, *Hist. de la novela en España desde el romanticismo hasta nuestros días*, 1909. E. Allison Peers, *Studies in the Influence of Sir Walter Scott in Spain*, in *Revue Hisp.*, LXVIII, 1926, 1–160.

[2] Reprint, 1925.

[3] Reprint, 1914.

[4] *Beatrice Q. Cornish, F. N. V.*, Berkeley, Calif., 1918 (*Univ. Calif. Publ. in Mod. Philol.*, vol. VII). Id., *A Contribution to the Study of the Historical Novels of F. N. V.*, in *Homenaje Carmelo Echegaray*, San Sebastián, 1928, 199–234.

So much for the novel of the Scott, Hugo and Dumas types. As to the social novel, in the manner of Eugène Sue and George Sand, it also was freely cultivated. **Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda** (pp. 472, 481), whose brilliant lyrics and dramas have been discussed, wrote a series of such novels: *Sab* (1839), an anti-slavery work, like *Uncle Tom's Cabin; Espatolino* (1844); and *Guatimozín* (1845), in which the influence of George Sand is plain. Her many short stories tend to the romantic. One may also place in this class the highly popular tales of **Enrique Pérez Escrich** (1829–1897), one of the chief purveyors of the instalment novel (*novela por entregas*): *El cura de aldea* (1861); *El Mártir del Gólgota* (1863–1864). Other instalment writers tend toward history rather than morality: **Wenceslao Ayguals de Izco** (1801–1873), with *María o la hija de un jornalero, La Marquesa de Bellaflor, Pobres y ricos o la bruja de Madrid,* etc.; and **Antonio Flores** (1821–1866), with his three-volume *Fe, esperanza y caridad* (1850), far less interesting than his curious collection of pictures of Madrid entitled *Ayer, hoy y mañana o la fe, el vapor y la electricidad, cuadros sociales de 1800, 1850 y 1899,* which first appeared in 1853. Finally, **Manuel Fernández y González** (1821–1888), whose efforts in verse (*Poesías varias,* 1857) and drama are quite forgotten, was then beginning to flood the market with his inexhaustible prose. He had not yet stifled the spark of his talent, which was real, under a weight of mechanical drudgery. He was still the author of *El Condestable don Álvaro de Luna* (1851), *Men Rodríguez de Sanabria* (1853), *Los Monfíes de las Alpujarras* (1856), and *El cocinero de Su Majestad* (1857), novels that interest and amuse in the same way as the good romances of the elder Dumas, whose extraordinary popularity in Spain he shared. No less prolix and tireless in this inferior genre was **María del Pilar Sinués de Marco** (1835–1893). She and **Faustina Sáez de Melgar, Carolina Coronado, Rosalía Castro de Murguía, Patrocinio de Biedma,** with a few others, form the attractive group of women novelists of that time.

There are several imaginative prose works which leave the beaten path and point to an approaching change. Pastor Díaz's *De Villahermosa a la China* (2 vols., 1858) is one of the earliest psychological novels. *Cosas del mundo* (2 vols., 1846) by Antonio Hurtado (p. 515) was called *novela de costumbres.* This leads to a consideration of the *costumbristas* or painters of customs, among whom the three famous names for this period are Estébanez Calderón, Mesonero Romanos, and Larra.

2. Costumbristas. Estébanez Calderón

Serafín Estébanez Calderón (1799–1867),[1] a Malaga lawyer, *jefe político* of the Moderate party in Logroño and later in Seville, reached the honors of judge of the Supreme Court of the Army and Navy (1847–1854) and Councilor of State (1856–1864). Though he wrote verse (*Poesías,* 1831) and a novel (*Cristianos y moriscos,* 1838), he is known only by one book, *Escenas andaluzas* (1847), a veritable flower of the local soil, whose perfume vanishes quickly when it is removed from *la tierra de María Santísima.* The *Scenes* appeared first in *Cartas españolas* (1831–1832) signed *El Solitario,* a name suggested possibly by the pseudonym *L'Hermite de la Chaussée d'Antin,* used by the French essayist Étienne Jouy. The only fault one can find in this brilliant collection is a certain exaggerated archaism of style, a slightly artificial *casticismo.* There are in all nineteen sketches. The themes are essentially Andalusian: descriptions of native types, photographic reproductions, a bit retouched, but charmingly personal, of the most characteristic eccentrics. The best are *Pulpete y Balbeja; Manolito Gázquez,* the perfect type of Andalusian braggart, a true Tartarin of the Guadalquivir; the charming *Feria de Mairena; Un baile en Triana; Gracias y donaires de la capa,* which celebrates the thirty-three thousand nine hundred and forty-four and one-half and three-eighths *suertes* (positions) of the national garment; and *Fisiología y chistes del cigarro;* all pages full of color, despair of the translator and delight of the stylist. Their author had little success with his early volume of poems. We would gladly exchange them for his private letters, especially those to his friend Prosper Mérimée, even with the excisions which, as we know, they would require.[1]

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[1] *Escenas andaluzas,* 1883. *De la conquista y pérdida de Portugal,* 2 vols., 1885. *Poesías,* 1888.—*Novelas, cuentos y artículos,* 1893.—See A. Cánovas del Castillo, "*El Solitario*" *y su tiempo,* 2 vols., 1883. A. González Palencia, *Una oda inédita de S. E. C.,* in *Homenaje a Bonilla y San Martín,* I, 1927, 289–299.

3. Ramón de Mesonero Romanos (1803–1882) [2] was a pure *madrileño.* In 1831 he published a *Manual de Madrid,* and, beginning in 1832, wrote articles for *Cartas españolas* and later (1836–1842) for *El Semanario pintoresco,* over the signature *El Curioso parlante.* The first series (1832–1835) was republished in book form as *Panorama matritense* (3 vols., 1835–1838); the second series (1836–1842) as *Escenas matritenses* (1842). Later scattered articles appeared collected as *Tipos y caracteres* (1862). The *Manual,* freed from censorship and much remodeled, took final form as *El antiguo Madrid* (1861), which remains our most precious guide to the Madrid of yore. In his *Scenes* Mesonero gives us a panorama of Madrid at the moment when the capital was being transformed and modernized; its every phase is caught by a keen and witty bourgeois who loved his city even where it was not beautiful. He fixed this transition moment to perfection by taking, so to speak, a series of snap-shots which constitute most valuable documents for a historian. *La calle de Toledo, La comedia casera* (*The Drawing-room Performance*), *La procesión del Corpus, Las ferias, La capa vieja, La casa a la antigua, Las visitas de días, El barbero de Madrid, El patio de correos,* describe ancient Madrid and its vanishing society. The revolution in manners comes to light in *Las costumbres de Madrid, El día 30 del mes, Las tiendas, La politicomanía, Las niñas del día, Las casas de baños,* etc. The triumph of the new is forecast in *1802 y 1832, El aguinaldo, El extranjero en su patria, El sombrerito y la mantilla,* and *La vuelta de Paris,* in which the *agabachados* are neatly impaled. It must be said that Mesonero's own sympathies are rather on the side of the past, not that he is at all reactionary (conflicts of ideas or beliefs are not in his line), but every foreign importation, whether in fashion, language or manners, is to him new proof of the folly and ugliness of imitation. His stand is firm for *mantilla* against hat, for *capa* against overcoat; and I shall never blame him for that. His archaizing taste appears to good advantage too in the *Memorias de un setentón* (1881), the septuagenarian showing himself an agreeable *laudator temporis acti.* The *escena* entitled *El romanticismo y los románticos* proves him one of the few contemporaries of Romanticism who kept their heads amid the general furore; it is a sane, balanced critique. His sketches sometimes turn into real scenes from a comedy (*El amante corto de vista, Tomar aires en un lugar* [*The Summer Vacation*], *El retrato, Los paletos* [*Rustics*] *en Madrid*). *Una noche de vela* might be signed by Bretón de los Herreros, and *El día de toros* by Ramón de la Cruz. Mesonero's style is as different as possible from that of Estébanez Calderón; it is a pencil drawing, delicate, exact, but a trifle colorless, beside the pastel or the shimmering aquarelle of the *Escenas andaluzas*. As Larra said very justly: "*Mesonero retrata más que pinta.*"

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[1] A few letters from Prosper Mérimée to "El Solitario" have been published by Rafael Mitjana (*Revue bleue,* 12 et 19 nov., 1910). One satirical sonnet against the book-collector Gallardo ("Don Bartolo Gallardete") is a famous *tour de force* of invective, beginning *Caco, cuco, faquín, bibliopirata.* It was not included in the first edition of the *Poesías,* but may be read in the second (p. 335) or in M. Sánchez de Enciso, *El soneto en España,* 1917, p. 117.

[2] *Obras,* 8 vols., 1881. *Algo en prosa y en verso,* 1883. *Trabajos no coleccionados,* 2 vols., 1903–1905. *Obras,* 1925 on.—See C. Pitollet, *M. R., costumbrista,* in *La España moderna,* Oct., 1903. G. T. Northup, *Selections from M. R.,* New York, 1913. E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Elogio biográfico de M. R.,* in *Bol. Acad. Esp.,* XII, 1925, 155–191, 309–343, 433–469. J. Sarrailh, *Le "Manual de Madrid,"* in *Rev. Bibl. Arch. y Museo,* II, 1925, 159–164. H. C. Berkowitz, *M's Indebtedness to Jouy,* in *P. M. L. A.,* XLV, 1930, 553–572.

Mesonero and *El Solitario* created a school. There ensued a real epidemic, or, if you like, a social game of what might be called "typomania." *Spanish Types*, or *Los españoles pintados por sí mismos* (2 vols., 1843–1844), formed by the collaboration of all the painters of customs, is its most complete monument. Here you may see the portrait of the *torero*, by Rodríguez Rubí; the maid-servant (*criada*), by Andueza; the village mayor (*alcalde de monterilla*), by Fermín Caballero; the notary (*escribano*) by Bonifacio Gómez; the water-seller (*aguador*), by *Abenámar* (López Pelegrín); the gypsy woman, by Sebastián Herrero; the coachman (*calesero*) by Martínez Villergas; the provincial host (*hospedador de provincia*) and inn-keeper (*ventero*), by the Duke of Rivas; the cabin-boy (*grumete*), by Ribot y Fonseré; the *cigarrera* by Antonio Flores; the stockholder in a mine, by Pedro de Madrazo; and many more, for there are nearly a hundred articles. The method is still French. "From 1830 to 1850, it may be said that Spaniards viewed their own country solely through a screen of French reminiscences."[1] This work served as model for later collections, like *Las españolas pintadas por los españoles* (2 vols.,1871–1872), edited by Roberto Robert, and *Madrid por dentro y por fuera* (1873), by Eusebio Blasco.

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[1] G. Le Gentil, *Bretón de los Herreros*, p. 245.

4. Mariano José de Larra (1809–1837; cf. pp. 476, 486) [1] is the most important member of the satirical triumvirate, the writer who through his political, social and literary ideas most influenced his contemporaries, and the one whose reputation has never ceased to grow up to our own time. With him satire reached beyond a purely moral aim, and became political and social. He began with an imitation of a French comedy, *No más mostrador* (1831; from Scribe's *Les adieux au comptoir*, 1824), and some mediocre verse. But he really found himself in the *Cartas del pobrecito hablador* (*Letters of a Poor Talkative Fellow*, 1832–1833), exchanged between the bachelor Munguía, buried in the wild and forsaken district of *Las Batuecas*, and his friend Niporesas, who represents typical Spanish apathy. At this time his satire was still mild and courteous, for absolutism was barely past, and Cea Bermúdez had but just replaced Calomarde (October, 1832). But after the death of Fernando VII (Sept. 29, 1833), Larra sharpened his arrows as he wrote articles in increasing number, under the pseudonym of *Fígaro*, for the *Revista Española*, the *Revista Mensajera*, *El Observador* and *El Español.* In some the pamphleteer harries the Carlist rebels (*Nadie pase sin hablar al portero*, *La planta nueva o el faccioso*, *La junta de Castel-o-Branco*); in others he depicts national manias and follies (*En este país*, *La vida de Madrid*, *Vuelva usted mañana*, *Entre qué gentes estamos*, *La diligencia*, *Modos de vivir que no dan de vivir*, *Cartas de un liberal de acá a un liberal de allá*, *El castellano viejo*). *El día de difuntos de 1836* drips irony and bitter discouragement; it reveals the progress of the neurasthenia that led *Fígaro* to suicide, on February 13, 1837.

Larra has been compared to Voltaire, Beaumarchais and Paul-Louis Courier, but, despite his borrowings from French writers, especially Jouy, he has his own very personal manner. It is distinguished by richness in details patiently studied and pitilessly hammered home, by a pretense of good-nature which is more effective than open spleen, and by the precision and exactness of thrust that mark a born writer. Larra left a son, **Luis** (1830–1901) who wrote dramas and novels with some success in the last decades of the century.

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[1] *Obras completas de Fígaro*, 2 vols., Paris, Baudry, n. d. *Postfígaro, Artículos no coleccionados*, 2 vols., 1918–1919. *Cuatro artículos*, ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, in *Rev. Hisp.*, IV, 1897, 314–328. *Pages inédites*, in *Hispania* (Paris), V, 1922, 289–291. *Artículos de costumbres*, *Artículos de crítica literaria y artística*, *Artículos políticos y sociales*, ed. J. R. Lomba y Pedraja, 3 vols., 1923, 1923, 1927 (*Clásicos cast.*, vols. 45, 52, 77).—See M. Chaves, *Don M. J. de L.* (*Fígaro*), Sevilla, 1898. J. Nombela y Campos, *L.* (*Fígaro*), 1909. "Azorín," *Rivas y Larra*, 1916. J. R. Lomba y Pedraja, *M. J. de L.* (*Fígaro*), *como escritor político*, 1918. Id., *M. J. de L.* (*Fígaro*) *como crítico literario*, 1920. Carmen de Burgos, "*Fígaro*," 1919. A. González Blanco, *L.* (*Fígaro*), 1919. E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Los últimos amores de L.*, in *Rev. Bibl. Arch. y Museo*, I, 1924, 222–240.

There was no lack of the satirico-political literature to which Larra lent the most distinction. As early as 1820 **Sebastián de Miñano** issued his famous *Cartas del pobrecito holgazán* (*Letters of a Poor Loafer*),[1] which contributed to the success of the liberal idea during the second constitutional period. Later, the journal *El Zurriago* (*The Whip*, 1821–1823) gained a name for grossly violent abuse. Bretón in various journals (ca. 1834–1836), **Santos López Pelegrín** (1801–1846), under the pseudonym *Abenámar*, which gave the title to a review, *Abenámar y el estudiante* (1838–1839), **Antonio María Segovia** (1808–1874), who wrote as *El estudiante*, and founded a periodical of that name (1839), and the historian **Modesto Lafuente** (1806–1866), with his *Fray Gerundio* (1837–1842), were the cleverest rivals of Mesonero and Larra. The attractive figure of **José Somoza y Muñoz** (1781–1852) [2] stands a little apart; his *Recuerdos e impresiones* (1843) form one of the most vivid and intelligent pictures of bygone manners and the Spain that was passing. Many other articles of this delicate writer were gathered in *Artículos en prosa* (1842).[3]

5. Other Prose Writings: History, Philosophy, Oratory

History was relatively little cultivated at this time. The Conde de **Toreno** (José María Queipo de Llano, 1786–1843),[4] elected to the Cortes of Cadiz, twice exiled (1814 and 1823), twice Finance Minister, later president of the Council of Ministers, wrote the *Historia del levantamiento, guerra y revolución de España* (5 vols., 1835–1837), or *History of the War of Independence*, which is regarded as a classic, despite Espronceda's vicious animadversion. **Joaquín Francisco Pacheco** (1808–1865) left a *Historia de la regencia de la reina Cristina* (1841). His legal works, *Estudios de legislación*

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[1] Ed. E. de Ochoa, in *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXII.

[2] *Obras en prosa y verso*, ed. J. R. Lomba y Pedraja, 1904.—See "Azorín," *J. S.*, in *Al margen de los clásicos*, 1915, 183–219.

[3] On this type of literature in general, see G. Le Gentil, *Revues littéraires de l'Espagne pendant la première moitié du XIX^e^ siècle*, Paris, 1909.

[4] *Historia del levantamiento, guerra y revolución de España*, ed. L. A. de Cueto, Marqués de Valmar, *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, LXIV.

(1843), *Estudios de derecho penal*, are esteemed by specialists. He found relaxation from such trying studies by composing poems and semi-historical dramas, never performed, such as *Los Infantes de Lara* (1836) and *Bernardo del Carpio* (1848). It was not till 1862–1863 that the Marquis **Pedro José Pidal** (1799–1865) published his *Historia de las alteraciones de Aragón en el reinado de Felipe II*, in which some have seen partiality for the monarch; he is favorably known to students of literature for his edition of the *Cancionero de Baena* (1851). The dramatic story of Antonio Pérez was retold in 1841 by **Salvador Bermúdez de Castro** (p. 471) (*Antonio Pérez, estudios históricos*). Some years later **Antonio Ferrer del Río** (d. 1872) published a work on the *Comunidades de Castilla* (1850) and the *Historia del reinado de Carlos III* (1856–1857). One may class as historical also his useful *Galería de la literatura española* (1846), containing essays on many of his contemporaries. **Modesto Lafuente** (1806–1866), just mentioned as writing satire under the name of *Fray Gerundio*, began in 1850 the publication of his enormous *Historia general de España*, a huge compilation which does credit to the industry if not the literary talent of its author. The 29th volume did not appear till 1867; Juan Valera was said, but wrongly, to have aided in the continuation (1885). No less useful is the *Diccionario geográfico-estadístico-histórico de España* (16 vols., 1845–1850) by **Pascual Madoz** (1806–1870), an inexhaustible mine of every sort of information about the Spain of his day.

Philosophy was almost non-existent during this period. The Catalan priest and teacher **Jaime Luciano Balmes** (1810–1848) [1] was almost the sole Spaniard to display some originality and intellectual power; these qualities he placed in the service of the Catholic faith. His chief works are *El criterio* (1845), a treatise on logic, *Filosofía elemental* (1847), and especially the *Filosofía fundamental* (4 vols., 1846). Add to these his essay on *El Protestantismo comparado con el Catolicismo en sus relaciones con la civilización europea* (1844), and many articles collected in 1847 as *Escritos políticos*. For a long time Balmes was the unopposed leader of a school which kept jealous guard over the master's fame.

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[1] *Obras completas*, ed. Casanovas, 32 vols., Barcelona, 1925–1926.—See Ch. de Mazade, *Don Jaime Balmes, sa vie et ses oeuvres*, in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 oct., 1853, 319–351. J. Elías de Molíns, *Balmes y su tiempo*, Barcelona, 1906. Narciso Roure, *La vida y las obras de B.*, 1910. Id., *Las ideas de B.*, 1910. E. Ugarte de Ercilla, *B. el polígrafo*, 1923.

More brilliant, but less solid and original, **Juan Donoso Cortés,** later Marquis of **Valdegamas** (1809–1853),[1] took rank among the foremost apologists for Catholicism and the traditional monarchy with his famous *Ensayo sobre el catolicismo, el liberalismo y el socialismo* (1851), in which it is easy to detect the influence of de Bonald, de Maistre, Lamennais and even the less expected influence of Proudhon. Yet at first he upheld more liberal doctrines, less friendly to absolutism. He wrote poems and an epic, *El cerco de Zamora.* But he was first of all an orator, fluent, flowery and copious; an orator not only in his speeches (such as are preserved), but in all his works; and the reader will recall what Pascal thought of unending eloquence.[2]

Krausist philosophy, which later achieved a wholly unforeseen success, will be discussed below (p. 570). At this time it had scarcely begun to germinate in the brain of Professor Sanz del Río, whose two trips to Germany in search of a philosophy date from 1844 and 1847.

Oratory, for which every Spaniard seems to possess an inborn aptitude, fostered by the parliamentary system, was then as flourishing as philosophic thought was puny. Two generations of orators made the law-giving halls resound to their stirring tones, the echo of which is preserved for us in Edgar Quinet's *Mes vacances en Espagne* (1846). The men of the heroic era were Martínez de la Rosa, Argüelles (1775–1844) and Alcalá Galiano (1789–1865); the younger school included the fiery tribune Joaquín María López (1798–1855), Nicolás María Rivero (d. 1878), Salustiano Olózaga (1805–1873), Manuel de la Cortina (1802–1879), González Bravo (1817–1871), Ríos Rosas (1812–1873), Antonio Aparisi y Guijarro (1815–1872), Pidal, Moreno Nieto (1825–1882), Bravo Murillo (1803–1873), and others, besides Pacheco and Donoso Cortés. The Spain of Isabel the Second could boast at least an honorable rostrum.

6. Erudition

Scholarship and criticism do not offer perhaps at this time so great names as in the previous period, yet they produced some estimable results. Mention has already been made of Martínez de la Rosa and his *Poética* (1827), and of Lista, the true teacher of this whole generation. Works of a like order are Marchena's *Lecciones de filosofía moral y elocuencia* (2 vols., Bordeaux, 1820), and the bad but famous *Arte de hablar en prosa y verso* (2 vols., 1826) of **José Gômez Hermosilla** (1771–1837). At the beginning of the century, it must not be forgotten, the German **Juan Nicolás Böhl von Faber** (1770–1836),[1] in business at Cadiz, had brought to Spain the more intelligent critical art of A. W. Schlegel, and defended against Spaniards themselves the fame of their great writers. He published at Hamburg the three volumes of his *Floresta de rimas antiguas castellanas* (1821, 1823, 1825), and his *Teatro español anterior a Lope de Vega* (1832). His anthologies are much superior to the *Biblioteca selecta de literatura española* published in 1819 at Bordeaux by Mendívil and Silvela. Bibliography cannot be too grateful to **Bartolomé José Gallardo** (1776–1852).[2] This atrabiliary librarian of the Cortes of Cadiz doted on scurrilous quarrels, but he fought passionately in the cause of liberty, and no one did more than he to save scores of choice books from oblivion. His innumerable *papeletas,* or at least those that have survived, were used by Zarco del Valle and Sancho Rayón to compile the *Ensayo de una biblioteca de libros raros y curiosos* (4 vols., 1863–1889), the importance of which can scarcely be exaggerated. Other names of less importance are **José de la Revilla, Gómez de la Cortina** and **Nicolás Hugalde**; the last two translated, corrected and annotated the overpraised *History of Spanish Literature* by the German Bouterwek (1804; the Spanish version, only one volume published, 1829). **Diego Clemencín** (1765–1834) edited and provided a valuable commentary on the *Quijote* (*Comentario al Quijote,* 6 vols., 1833–1839).[3] **Agustín Durán** (1793–1862), with his intelligent appreciation of great works, was able to demonstrate the worth of the despised national theater, of Ramón de la Cruz's *sainetes*, and especially of the *Romancero*. His collection of ballads, following those of Grimm, Depping, Böhl and Diez, eclipsed them all; it first appeared in five volumes, 1828–1832, then, enlarged and improved, as volumes X and XVI of the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (1849, 1851). He did full justice to the principles of Romanticism in his *Discurso sobre el influjo de la crítica moderna en la decadencia del teatro antiguo español* (1828). The indispensable *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* was begun in 1846 under the direction of two Catalans, Buenaventura Carlos Aribau and Manuel Rivadeneyra: it finally included seventy volumes and one of *Índices generales*.[1] **Eugenio de Ochoa** (1815–1872) wrote numerous articles in the literary press of Madrid, especially in *El Artista* (1835–1836), in which he joined with Espronceda to defend Romantic doctrines. In Paris, where he lived from 1837 to 1844, he compiled various collections and anthologies of older literature for the so-called *Collection Baudry*, which was a power in making Spanish literature known in France. He also made many translations from the French, and drew up a *Catálogo* of Spanish manuscripts in four Parisian libraries (Paris, 1844), which has, however, been rendered obsolete, so far as concerns the Bibliothèque Nationale, by that of M. Morel-Fatio (1892). It would be unjust to omit from this list **Pedro José Pidal,** who added to his historical studies, already cited, *Estudios literarios* collected in volumes 79 and 83 of the *Colección de escritores castellanos* (1890); or the *gaditano* **Adolfo de Castro** (1823–1898), too much given to paradoxes (e.g. that the *Quijote* of the pseudo-Avellaneda is by Alarcón), sensational discoveries (plagiarism of Lesage), and hoaxes (*El buscapié*, alleged work of Cervantes); yet he put plenty of ingenuity into his vagaries as well as into his numerous literary studies. **José Amador de los Ríos** (1818–1878) left, besides his labors in the field of fine arts, *Estudios históricos, políticos y literarios sobre los judíos de España* (1848), a *Historia de Madrid* (4 vols., 1862–1875; in collaboration with La Rada y Delgado and Rosell), a monumental edition of Oviedo's *Historia de las Indias* (4 vols., 1851–1855), and, still more important, a learned *Historia crítica de la literatura española* (7 volumes, 1861–1865), which was brought down only to the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. It is for this work that he will be chiefly remembered. The Venezuelan **Andrés Bello** (1781–1865),[1] reckoned one of the greatest Spanish-American poets, can be named here only for his *Gramática de la lengua castellana destinada al uso de los americanos* (1847), which, in the form containing the notes of Cuervo (1874; cf. p. 584) has been and is the standard syntactical reference grammar. Aureliano Fernández Guerra, Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto, Marquis of Valmar, the Catalan professor Milá y Fontanals, and Manuel Cañete were at this time just beginning to be known. They will be met farther on.

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[1] *Obras*, ed. G. Tejado, 5 vols., 1854–1855. *Discursos parlamentarios*, ed. J. Burell and J. B. Catalá, 1915.—See Ch. de Mazade, *M. D. C., ses écrits et ses discours*, in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1er juillet, 1850, 142–169. R. M. Baralt, *Discurso . . . en la R. Acad. Esp.*, II, 1860, 5–53. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Heterodoxos*, III, 1882, 746–754, on both Balmes and Donoso Cortés.

[2] "La vraie éloquence se moque de l'éloquence." *Pensées*, I, 4.

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[1] See C. Pitollet, *La querelle caldéronienne de J. N. B. von F. et José Joaquín de Mora,* Paris, 1909. Id., *Quelques reliques de B. von F.*, in *Rev. de Arch.*, XXVIII, 1913, 323–337. Johannes Dornhof, *J. N. B. von F., ein Vorkämpfer der Romantik in Spanien,* Hamburg, 1925.

[2] *Obras escogidas,* ed. P. Sainz Rodríguez, 2 vols., 1928 (*Clásicos olvidados,* I and II).—See J. Marqués Merchán, *Don B. J. G.*, Málaga, 1921. P. Sainz Rodríguez, *Estudios sobre la hist. de la crítica lit. en España; Don B. J. G. y la crítica lit. de su tiempo,* in *Rev. Hisp.*, LI, 1921, 211–595. E. Gómez de Baquero, *G. y su tiempo,* in *De Gallardo a Unamuno,* 1926, 5–52.

[3] Carlos F. Bradford compiled a useful *Índice de las notas de Don Diego Clemencín,* 1885.

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[1] The continuation called *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, begun in 1905 under the editorship of M. Menéndez y Pelayo, numbers 25 volumes up to the present (the last published in 1918).

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[1] *Obras completas*, 15 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1881–93.

SIXTH PERIOD

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE

FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE 19TH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT TIME

1. Historical Summary

Isabel II (1843–1868).—Interregnum (1868–1870).—Amadeo of Savoy (1870–1873).—Republic (1873–1874).—Alfonso XII (1874–1885).—Regency for Alfonso XIII (1886–1902).—Alfonso XIII (1902–).

During the second half of the nineteenth century, political power in Spain oscillated between the two parties, liberal and conservative, which by turns guided the fate of the parliamentary monarchy. Under Isabel II, these opposed policies were personified by Espartero and Olózaga on the former side, and Narváez and O'Donnell on the latter. The regular alternation of power was disturbed only by such incidents as *pronunciamientos*, conspiracies and *coups d'état*, which indeed tended to become chronic. The revolution of 1868, managed by Generals Prim and Serrano, forced the Queen into exile, followed by abdication. But the provisional government (1868–1870), the reign of Amadeo of Savoy (Nov. 3, 1870 to Feb. 11, 1873), and lastly the republic (1873–1874) were only interludes, as dramatic as swift. On January 14, 1875, Alfonso entered Madrid; he died in El Pardo, November 25, 1885. His widow María Cristina, an Austrian Archduchess, was made regent during the minority of Alfonso XIII, born five months after his father's death. Under this long regency the two great constitutional parties again alternated in power; their outstanding leaders were now Sagasta and Cánovas del Castillo. The Carlists, defeated in their repeated efforts to gain the throne (seven years' war of 1833–1840, uprisings of 1848, 1855 and 1873), gradually lost their strength, while the radical parties, republicans, federalists, and socialists, were becoming more effectively organized. The corruptness and weakness of the professional politicians led to the *coup d'état* by General Primo de Rivera (Sept. 13, 1923) and the establishment of his military directory, which accomplished some reforms in administration, and quieted Morocco, at the expense of abridgment of liberties.

In foreign affairs Spain's rôle was not conspicuous. The Moroccan campaign of 1859, marked by a few brilliant battles, flattered national pride, if it accomplished little else. But that pride suffered cruel wounds in the last years of the century, saddened by the war with the United States and the consequent loss of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines, as well as by the disquieting agitation of *Catalanistas* and *Bizcaitarras*, and the vague but dangerous communistic ferment of the Andalusians. But at present, in the opinion of competent judges, the economic and industrial situation has improved. Yet that is but one element of the many that must enter into the "regeneration" of which the modern *arbitristas* prate constantly. There are other forms of wealth, no less necessary to the life of a people, that must be developed. It cannot be denied that public instruction in all three of its grades, primary, secondary and higher education, has long been awaiting a thorough reform which has never come, despite many promises and repeated overturns. *Analfabetismo* [1] is perhaps the most dangerous of all Spain's social ulcers; it is the source of innumerable ills, beginning with *caciquismo*.

2. Fine Arts

The different arts, though unable to boast of as illustrious names as in the seventeenth century, prove sufficiently that the nation has not lost all its creative force. In *painting*, Ribera, Madrazo, Gisbert, Casado, Manzano, Pradilla, Fortuny, Rosales, Moreno Carbonero, Muñoz Degráin, Sala, Llanos, García Martínez, E. Mélida, Santamaría, Plasencia, Martínez Cubells, Luis Menéndez Pidal, Sorolla, Zuloaga, the brothers Zubiaurre, Joaquín Mir, Santiago Rusiñol, have followed contemporary currents which came from beyond the Pyrenees, giving to them often a distinctly national bent; and Picasso (born in Malaga, 1881) enjoys European leadership. In *sculpture*, Agustín Querol, Benlliure, Vallmitjana, Bellver, Blay, Inurria, Julio Antonio, Macho, Mateo Hernández, are the most important names. In *architecture*, one may mention Juan Madrazo, Martorell, Aparici, the Marqués de Cubas, Gaudí, the creator of the tortuous church of the Sagrada Familia in Barcelona, and Vicente Lampérez, author of the *History of Spanish Architecture* so often referred to. In *music*, three successive generations are represented by these names: 1, Arrieta, Oudrid, Gastambide, Caballero and Barbieri; 2, Chapí, Bretón (Tomás), Chueca,

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[1] According to the 1910 census, there were 11,867,455 illiterates out of a population of 19,995,686; or 59.35%. The 1920 census reports 53.7% of the population over six years of age as illiterate.

Valverde, Emilio Serrano; 3, Albéniz, Jiménez, Vives, Lleó, José Serrano, Granados, Manuel de Falla.

It is true that most of these composers, especially those of the first group, made their reputations in a branch usually considered inferior, namely the *zarzuela*, or *sainete* with accompanying music and lyrics. But this genre was almost the only one which enjoyed real popularity during this half-century; it seems to have represented the national art at that time more brilliantly than other forms of music.

3. Contemporary Foreign Literatures

In the field of literature, it can safely be asserted that **France** was still the source to which writers turned for fresh inspiration. And so we find France keeping to the end the guiding rôle that she held at the very beginning. Romanticism gave way to realism and naturalism, and this change was even more obvious in poetry and novel than in drama. While the sovereign genius of Victor Hugo continued to burn bright, the impersonal, objective poetry of the Parnassians (Leconte de Lisle, 1818–1894, Hérédia, 1842–1905), the philosophic inspiration of Sully Prudhomme (1839–1907), and the curiously varied experiments of the modernist schools, all sought new paths leading at times in opposite directions. The novel in its evolution passed from Romanticism to naturalism with Flaubert (1821–1880), the brothers Goncourt (Edmond, 1822–1896; Jules, 1830–1870), Zola (1840–1902) and Maupassant, or toward psychological analysis with Bourget (b. 1852). Alphonse Daudet (1840–1897), Pierre Loti (1850–1923) and many others represent original variations. In drama, Augier (1820–1889) and the younger Dumas (1824–1895), as later Becque, Curel and Lemaître, etc., paid special attention to depiction of contemporary manners, attempting also (particularly Dumas) to influence them. Secondary genres, such as vaudeville and the operetta, acquired greater importance. In those branches of literature in which research, method and ideas are more important than form (criticism, history, philosophy, ethics, erudition), the scientific trend of the age becomes conspicuous. All the great French authors were known and some were imitated in Spain. The powerful magic of Anatole France (1844–1924) can be seen at work upon several living prose stylists.

Italian literature shows many important names, but it cannot be said that any direct influence from it is discernible in Spain. Neither the novelists Barrili (1836–1908), Farina (1846–1918), Verga (1840–1922), Matilde Serao (1856–1927), Fogazzaro (1842–1911), De Amicis (1846–1908), Grazia Deledda (b. 1875) nor even D'Annunzio (b. 1863); nor the dramatists Cossa (1830–1881), Gherardi del Testa (1815–1881), Ferrari (1822–1889), Giacosa (1847–1906), and Bracco (b. 1862); nor the great poet Carducci (1836–1907), with his successors Pascoli (1855–1912), Arturo Graf (1848–1913), Ada Negri (b. 1870), etc., established any close relations with Spanish thought. Pirandello (b. 1867) has been widely read in Spain, as elsewhere.

The **English** writers of this period require, for us, no more than enumeration. In the novel Dickens (1812–1870), Thackeray (1811–1863), George Eliot (1819–1880), Trollope (1815–1882), Meredith (1828–1909), Hardy (1840–1928), Stevenson (1850–1894), Galsworthy (b. 1867); in poetry Tennyson (1809–1892), Browning (1812–1889), Arnold (1822–1888), Swinburne (1837–1909), Yeats (b. 1865), Hardy, Kipling (b. 1865), Masefield (b. 1878) and Housman (b. 1859); in history Macaulay (1800–1859) and Carlyle (1795–1881); in science Darwin (1809–1882) and Huxley (1825–1895), are among the proudest boasts of English letters. The drama, excepting for the work of G. B. Shaw (b. 1856), Barrie and Galsworthy, shows nothing of notable power or originality; yet Oscar Wilde (1856–1900) is one of the few English authors translated and known extensively. Aside from him and Shaw it is hard to point to any Englishman in pure literature much read in Spain. Dickens, however, was greatly admired, if not imitated, by Galdós and Palacio Valdés.

The influence of the northern countries, particularly of Norway and Russia, was much more noticeable, though it usually arrived indirectly, by way of France. Ibsen (1828–1906) is plainly to be felt in the drama of Echegaray and Pérez Galdós. The philosophy of the German Krause (1781–1832) had in Spain a strong, belated and direct effect (p. 570), while Nietzsche (1844–1900) made little impression before Baroja. It is doubtful if Hauptmann (b. 1862) and Sudermann (1857–1928) were widely known. Of the great Russian novelists, Turgeniev (1818–1883) and Tolstoy (1828–1910) were closely studied by many Spanish writers of fiction. The meeting of the two opposite geniuses, of the North and of the South, produced some very curious effects.

4. General Character of Spanish Literature [1]

Spain of the Romantic period gave precedence to the drama over all other branches of literature. Since that time the novel has had a shade of preference. Not that theater and lyric have been neglected; on the contrary, both have had distinguished representatives. But by their side arose a group of novelists, small in number at first, then expanding enormously, which gained the public favor more and more. If this were the place for a detailed examination of these works of fiction, I could show that nearly every variety known elsewhere was then represented in Spain. It would be difficult, however, to find studies as penetrating and arrogant in their subjectivity as Chateaubriand's *René*, Goethe's *Werther*, Constant's *Adolphe*, or Sainte-Beuve's *Volupté*. In general, imagination is superior to psychological analysis.

The character of the drama changed notably. The salient fact, I believe, is the disappearance of comedy proper, of classical comedy, that is, as a distinct genre. Romantic drama had claimed the ability to absorb the comic element, but it could not grasp actual contemporary life, especially on its frailer, more ridiculous side; and that is why the comedy of Scribe in France, of Bretón de los Herreros in Spain, was able to develop outside the Romantic formula. But when authors came to find their themes, no longer in history or their own imaginations, but in the society which surrounded them, then indeed the classical distinction between comedy and tragedy disappeared: the two were fused into one.

A few other characteristic facts are to be noted. The first is the popularity of vaudeville, operetta or *zarzuela*, favored especially no doubt by the appearance of certain talented composers, Gastambide, Oudrid, Barbieri, Arrieta, etc. The second is the vogue of the theaters called *por horas*, or better " of one-act pieces." These fragmentary, clipped performances, within the reach of every purse, gave rise to the *género chico*. This last has been eloquently denounced, though it is not guilty of all the sins charged, and has to its credit many charming works.

During the Romantic period, as we have seen, lyric poetry invaded the stage (with Zorrilla, for example) and the epic (with Espronceda). Later drama, even when it retained metrical form, was beyond question less lyrical, save perhaps in Echegaray, a belated Romantic. Poets stuck more closely to their own domain, not alone because they held a stricter conception of their art, but rather because their inspiration was too intimate and personal to overflow its channel.

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[1] General works on this period: Fr. Blanco García, *La literatura española en el siglo XIX*, 3 vols., 1891–1894. César Barja, *Libros y autores modernos*, N. Y., 1924. A. F. G. Bell, *Contemporary Spanish Literature*, N. Y., 1925. Jean Cassou, *Littérature espagnole*, Paris, 1929.

We shall have occasion to observe, in the closing years of the century, the appearance of a school of younger poets who undertook to rejuvenate the form and thought of poetry, which they regarded as being then decrepit with age. In spite of the marked individuality of most of these poets, and the real originality of a few, they followed, sometimes unconsciously, forces emanating from without. It is easy to discern the influence exerted upon them by French lyrists, for example, from Baudelaire and Verlaine to the very latest, and the no less powerful influence of the subtle South American innovators, such as Rubén Darío and Rodó. Under the pressure of these various influences contemporary verse is striving for an originality of sentiment and expression which shall depart from the trodden traditional highway. Each pursues by an unfamiliar path the beauty he has glimpsed. It is not general truth that he seeks, nor broadly human emotion, but delicate nuance, rare sensation, suggestive allusion, images awakened by sounds and colors, a means of expression, in short, borrowed from other arts. So there have arisen little schools whose adepts shut themselves jealously within sanctuaries inaccessible to the vulgar. "Poetry," as D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal has recently said, "is in a way to renounce its office of voicing broadly human sentiments, and withdraws more and more into esoteric speculation; the schools strive to create new types of poetry totally individual, elusive, isolated, yearning toward some preciosity which, like a cipher, is not meant to be comprehensible to all; its authors, indeed, would be ashamed to be too well understood by the first comer." [1] Such men are the pure blood of Góngora, and they would certainly never deny such a glorious ancestor.

This will to rejuvenate on the part of lyric poets is in fact only one manifestation of more general tendencies which came to light in this *fin de siècle* society; an attempt has been made to baptize their sum total with the name **Regeneration.** It was natural, certainly, and there are famous historical precedents for it, that Spain, following a series of violent political and national shocks (the loss of what remained from her colonial empire, the disaster at Cavite in 1898, the bankruptcy of her domestic politics, etc.), should aspire to a new order of things in every sphere of life. It would surely be rather naïve to give to that fine word "regeneration," which became a pet phrase, an importance not as yet fully justified by subsequent facts. In reality the same familiar shepherds, or their duly appointed successors, are leading the flock in the same paths. But in the realm of intellect, and particularly in the restricted domain of letters, which alone concerns us here, there is no question that aspirations toward a new ideal did come into being. Old courses and traditional norms were abandoned, a severe "revision of values" set in,[1] new forms of art were proclaimed and tried out. Poetry was transformed in the direction already indicated, drama and novel sought unwonted formulas, there sprang up a great philosophic curiosity to learn and assimilate modern thought, in so far as Spanish genius permitted of it. Finally, and this is perhaps the most important fact, a serious attempt was made to revivify science in Spain; no attentive and well informed mind can fail to be struck by it. The movement is to be felt not only in the natural sciences, but also in all branches of erudition, in philology, history and kindred studies, literary history, philosophy, pedagogy. It manifests itself in practice by attempts to infuse new blood into the drooping universities and modernize antiquated methods by the creation of active centers of higher culture by the side of, or even outside, official teaching institutions; by a notable increase in the budget for public instruction, which was at last made independent of the *Ministerio de Fomento;* by sending abroad numerous investigators and holders of fellowships; by exchange of professors; and in short by steady tightening of the bonds of collaboration with the rest of the civilized world in intellectual and moral progress. All this together gives the first two decades of the twentieth century a special character; it is the affirmation and the promise of a regeneration deriving from patriotic emotion and national ambition;

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[1] *Poesía popular y Poesía tradicional en la Literatura Española*, Oxford, 1922, p. 35.

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[1] Cf. Américo Castro, *El movimiento científico en la España actual*, in *Hispania* (Calif.) III, 1920, 185–202 (also in *Rassegna bibliografica della lett. ital.*, XXVII, 1919); and many passages in the writings of "Azorín."

not the complete realization of these hopes, for that requires long years of labor. For such reasons the date 1898, humiliating in itself, has seemed to young Spain to initiate a new era. So it did, in some degree, as regards imaginative literature, which was sadly in need of a house-cleaning. It would be quite possible, therefore, to make another division of this book beginning with 1898–1900, and call it *Present-Day Literature*, or, if the title would not appear too ambitious or too vague, *Regeneration*. In any case, it must never be forgotten that literature and art are only elements in this social transformation, such as it is; the underlying causes of it must be sought in the reaction of Spanish spirit when faced with certain facts. We must remember, secondly, that the " generation of '98 " is after all only the heir of those men who, before that date, sowed generously for the future: Joaquín Costa, Ángel Ganivet, Giner de los Ríos, Salmerón, Pí y Margall, Leopoldo Alas, Unamuno, and many another noble-spirited worker.

Another fact not to be neglected, though much earlier in time than the movement just discussed, and appearing at first to lie outside our field, is the awakening, the *Renaixensa* of Catalan letters, the first manifestation of the regionalist spirit which later sought a political outlet. Begun by scholars, professors and Academicians, the movement gradually won over every class in the province of Catalonia, so deeply attached to its own language and traditions, and made itself felt in all branches of social activity. In literature, from Victor Balaguer and Juan Maragall to Fernando Maristany, from Jacinto Verdaguer to Santiago Rusiñol, it produced writers of high worth. Even leaving out of account their influence on their Castilian-speaking compatriots, we can no more overlook them in a general inventory of intellectual production in the Peninsula than we could omit Mistral and his school in France.[1]

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[1] On Catalan literature and the *Renaixensa*, see, besides the out-of-date work of Torres Amat (*Memorias para . . . un Diccionario crítico de los escritores catalanes*, Barcelona, 1836), Francisco M. Tubino, *Hist. del renacimiento lit. contemporáneo en Cataluña, Baleares y Valencia*, 1880. A. Elías de Molíns, *Diccionario biográfico y bibliográfico de escritores y artistas catalanes del siglo XIX*, 2 vols., Barcelona, 1889–1895. Tourtoulon, *Renaissance de la litt. catalane et de la litt. provençale*, Toulouse, 1868. J. de Fastenrath, *Katalanische Troubadours der Gegenwart*, Leipzig, 1890. Blanco García, *La lit. esp. en el siglo XIX*, vol. III, 1894 (2nd ed. 1912). Georges Dwelshauvers, *La Catalogne et le problème catalan*, Paris, 1926. W. J. Entwistle, *The Rebirth of Catalonia*, in *Romanic Review*, XVIII, 1927, 9–21. On the new directions of Catalan poetry, see Joaquim Folguera, *Les noves valors de la poesía catalana*, Barcelona, 1919, and the bibliography in Entwistle, *op. cit.*, p. 9, note 1.

CHAPTER I

POETRY[1]

5. The list of lyric poets during this period could be made very long, if the names of all were to be given. Many deserve to be retained, but three must occupy a preferential position at the head of the group: Bécquer, Campoamor, and Núñez de Arce.

The life of **Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer** (1836–1870)[2] was short and bitter. It is the old, old story of the poet in poverty and the painful struggle for which he is ill equipped. Bécquer came to Madrid from Seville in 1854, obtained a humble government clerkship, and earned with painter's brush and journalist's pen; but disease and Bohemian imprudence kept him in poverty. He died at the age of thirty-four, three months after his brother Valeriano, a talented draftsman, clever at sketches of popular customs.

Standing between Romanticism and the contemporary period, with some traits of each school, Bécquer comes before our eyes as a melancholy figure, passionate and gentle, half-hidden in kindly shadow. The collection of his works (1st ed. 1871) contains in prose: 1, twenty-two legends, in which the reader will find poetic imagination, a certain power to evoke bygone times, and an evident fondness for popular traditions, especially when they contain some supernatural and terrifying element. Among the best are *Los ojos verdes* and *El gnomo*, which come from beyond the Pyrenees and have nothing really Spanish in them; *La ajorca de oro* (*The Gold Bracelet*); *El Cristo de la Calavera* (*The Christ of the Skull*); *La rosa de pasión*, *El rayo de luna*, *El monte de las Ánimas*, and especially *Maese Pérez el organista* and *El Miserere*. 2, *Letters from my Cell* (*Desde mi celda, cartas literarias*), nine in number, written by the poet during his stay at the monastery of Veruela, near Tarazona, on the slope of the Moncayo, whither he had gone in search of health. 3, travel impressions and art notes jotted down at Toledo, Segovia, Soria, etc., which reveal a clear vision of natural and artistic beauty and unusual sensitiveness to emotion.

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[1] Boris de Tannenberg, *La poésie castillane contemporaine*, Paris, 1889. Valera, *Florilegio de poesías castellanas del siglo XIX*, 5 vols., 1902–1904. Translations in Thomas Walsh, *Hispanic Anthology*, N. Y., 1920.

[2] *Obras*, 10th ed., 3 vols., n. d. *Rimas*, ed. H. Serís, N. Y., 1919. *Páginas desconocidas*, 3 vols., 1923–1924. *Legends, Tales and Poems by G. A. B.*, ed. E. W. Olmsted, Boston, 1907. Engl. transl. by Young Allison, *The Infinite Passion*, Chicago, 1924.—See Mrs. Humphry Ward, *A Spanish Romanticist: G. B.*, in *Macmillan's Magazine*, XLVII, 1883, 305–320. Julio Nombela, *Impresiones y recuerdos de los años 1836–1912*, 4 vols., 1909–1912. J. López Núñez, *B., biografía anecdótica*, 1915. H. Madinaveitia, *Bécquer*, Vitoria, 1916. Franz Schneider, *G. A. Bécquers Leben und Schaffen*, Leipzig, 1914. Id., *G. A. B. as "poeta" and his Knowledge of Heine's "Lieder,"* in *Mod. Philol.*, XIX, 1922, 245–256. J. Domínguez Bordona, *El autógrafo de las "Rimas,"* in *Rev. Filol. Esp.*, X, 1923, 173–179.

But it is as poet that Bécquer exercised over his generation an influence analogous to that of Musset in France; and he resembles Musset more than he does Heine, to whom he is often compared. Yet his poems, the *Rimas* (probably revised by Narciso Campillo), are few in number. Their most obvious quality is the intimate accent of personal sorrow, and this is not at all in the Spanish manner either; it is a new note. The seventy-six [1] poems of the collection relate, nearly all, to a drama of love; we can catch the author's outpourings and follow the incidents of his story. Many of these moving verses have remained fixed in the hearts and on the lips of Spanish youth. Who, between the years of fifteen and twenty, has not declaimed *Volverán las oscuras golondrinas* . . . , and *Olas gigantes que os rompéis bramando* . . . , and *¿Qué es poesía?* . . . and *Antes que tú me moriré* . . . , and *Cuando me lo contaron sentí el frío* . . . , charged with such poignant emotion, and *Hoy como ayer, mañana como hoy* . . . , a poem that moans with the weariness of invincible suffering; and so many other elegies moist with weeping, true kin of Musset's *Nuits?* A few tears, a few throbbing melodies will preserve Bécquer's memory forever.

6. Ramón de Campoamor (1817–1901) [2] born at Navia (Asturias), is a far more complex character. His life, at least, was simple and unromantic; it was that of a well-to-do bourgeois, thrice governor of a province, who chiseled bitter *Doloras* even while he savored his comfortable *otium cum dignitate*. His early volumes of poems, *Ternezas y flores* (1840), *Ayes del alma* (1842), *Fábulas morales y políticas* (1842), scarcely count. His true talent did not show itself before *Doloras* (1846). The *Pequeños Poemas* (published at different dates, from 1872 to 1894) and *Humoradas* (1886–1888) consolidated his reputation. In addition there are: *Colón* (1853), in octaves, an epic weighted with scientifico-philosophic digressions; *El drama universal* (1869), a strange and ambitious work, powerful in streaks, whose twenty thousand lines embrace all ages and peoples and remind the reader by turns of the *Roman de la Rose*, the *Divine Comedy*, Espronceda and Sully-Prudhomme; *El licenciado Torralba* (1888), a verse legend in eight cantos, with philosophic pretensions; and finally, some mediocre dramatic efforts and a few didactic and polemical works. His well advertised and ambitious arguments with Castelar about social progress, and with Valera about metaphysics or what they dubbed such (1891), his dissertations on *El personalismo* (1855), *Lo absoluto* (1865), and poetics (*Poética*, 1883), furnish but a weak justification for the author's claim to profundity and originality. The poet persisted in wishing to appear a thinker. Did not Victor Hugo too often put forward a like claim?

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[1] [Seventy-nine in the autograph manuscript, as yet unpublished, of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. The order of the poems in this *Libro de los gorriones* is very different from that in the *Obras*. The original order does not lend itself to an actual "love drama," such as M. Mérimée alludes to.]

[2] *Obras completas*, 8 vols., 1901–1903. *Poesías*, ed. C. Rivas Cherif, 1921 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 40).—See Arthur Symons, *Cities and Seacoasts and Islands*, London, 1918, 82–93 (with translations). Campoamor, *El personalismo* (*Obras completas*, I), epilogue. H. Peseux-Richard, *Humoradas, Doloras et Pétits Poèmes de D. R. de C.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, I, 1894, 236–257. A. Sánchez Pérez, *R. de C., estudio crítico-biográfico*, 1889. E. Pardo Bazán, *Retratos y apuntes literarios*, in *Obras completas*, XXXII, n. d., 5–62. A. González Blanco, *C.*, 1911. E. Piñeyro, in *El romanticismo en España*, Paris, 1904, 255–273.

An *humorada*, according to the author's conception, is a sculptural, lapidary thought which distils for us the quintessence of poetry in the smallest volume,—for the sublime is brief. "It brings together every genre, from epigram and madrigal to ode and epic." Campoamor's detractors, less enthusiastic, defined it as "*unos suspirillos líricos, de corte y sabor germánico, exóticos y amanerados*,"—little lyric sighs, Germanic in cut and taste, exotic and mannered. They said an *humorada* greatly resembled a "bouquet for Chloris," or the poetry of fans and albums. And they were not altogether wrong.

The *Doloras* form the most popular of Campoamor's collections. A *dolora* is a dramatized *humorada*, " a little drama that contains, either in emotion or idea, a universal problem; it is the modern Fable." *¡Quién supiera escribir!* is probably the best known of all. As for the *Little Poems*, they number thirty-one, holding now a sentimental reminiscence (*El tren expreso*) or an anecdote (*La gloria de los Austrias*, *Los amores en la luna*), again a moral observation (*Los buenos y los sabios*, *Amoríos de Juana*) or a philosophic reflection (*Los grandes problemas*). Sometimes the thought is anything but weighty (*Dulces cadenas, Dichas sin nombre, El trompo y la muñeca*, etc.). It is an easy-going sort of poetry, familiar and often trivial; like that of François Coppée, it verges closely on prose. The most contradictory opinions have been expressed about Campoamor. For some " he is the most original and assuredly the most popular of all Spanish poets " (Manuel de la Revilla). Others find in him nothing but " commonplaces in rhymed prose, vulgar aphorisms put forward as profound thoughts, philosophic maxims cast in doggerel, axioms set to an artless rhythm, puerile hair-splitting, a fondness for treating serious matters lightly and light matters seriously " (Peseux-Richard). The truth probably lies midway between these extreme judgments. Whatever be one's personal opinion, it is just to recognize the important position occupied by Campoamor among recent outstanding poets by reason of the broad scope of his work, his occasional originality, and the clean-cut flexibility of his style in verse and prose. "The figure of Campoamor," said Rubén Darío, "bulks singularly large in Spanish poetry of the nineteenth century. If there were a gallery for poets in bronze and marble, the three statues which would first attract the eye as representatives of the lyric would be that of Zorrilla in the foreground, then those of Núñez de Arce and Campoamor. Close by, against a bank of dainty flowers, would stand the bust of Bécquer."[1] But it would be easy to find in present-day criticism a counterpoise to such praise. The younger generation treats Campoamor harshly. " Campoamor gives me the impression of an asthmatic gentleman reading a Galdós novel and going into raptures over the September revolution. . . . He is the incarnation of an era, the whole cycle of the " Gloriosa," with its astounding lie of Democracy. . . . His vulgarity, his total absence of idealism and generous impulses make him the definitive symbol of an epoch of triviality and platitude."[2] This outburst is obviously excessive in its severity.

7. Gaspar Núñez de Arce (1832?–1903)[3] differs from Campoamor in many respects. Born in Valladolid, a liberal in politics,

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[1] *España contemporánea*, Paris, 1901, p. 62.

[2] "Azorín," *La voluntad*, Barcelona, 1902, cap. X, p. 73; quoted by Rivas Cherif, *op. cit.*, p. 42, note 1.

[3] *El haz de leña*, ed. R. Schevill, N. Y., 1903.—See E. Pardo Bazán, in *Retratos y apuntes literarios*, n. d. (*Obras completas*, XXXII), 63–82. J. del Castillo y Soriano,

diputado (1865), governor of Barcelona after the revolution of 1868, he supported the monarchy of Amadeo of Savoy, and later that of Alfonso XII, under whom he became Colonial Minister (*de Ultramar*) in 1883, and President of the Section for Public Instruction. In all his acts, as in all his writings, he showed persistent solicitude for the public interest. "Poetry" he said, "ought to think and feel, it ought to reflect the ideas, passions, sorrows and joys of the society that surrounds it; and not merely to sing like a bird in a forest. Poetry must stir the deepest emotions of the heart, as a plow stirs the soil: by opening furrows. And the deeper it plunges into the flesh and heart of a people, the more it will be esteemed, the more incontestable will be its influence."[1] In all his works the poet remained faithful to this program. The conflict between science and faith, so distressing in Spain, touched him deeply. The effort to reconcile two concepts equally dear, and apparently contradictory both in religious and social spheres, is what creates the beauty of Núñez de Arce's sincere art, which, under a veil of symbols and allegories, strives to follow the thought of his day and seeks a rule of conduct through its mazes. His verse still echoes with the struggle (*La duda*, *¡Treinta años!*, *Tristezas*, etc.). This too is what gives meaning and interest to most of his little epico-lyric poems, such as *Raimundo Lulio* (1875), *La visión de Fray Martín* (Luther; 1880), two paintings in almost romantic colors, of conscience-crises; *La selva oscura* (1879), inspired by Dante; *La última lamentación de Lord Byron* (1879); and *El vértigo* (1879). All these works envisage grave problems of contemporary life under transparent disguises.

But beside the thinker, trying to solve these riddles, appears the statesman and citizen. He is seen most clearly in the fine collection entitled *Battle-Cries* (*Gritos del combate*, 1875), composed in the midst of the din and anguish of combat. Here too the poet's inspiration is compounded of liberalism and prudence. He abandons the dead portion of the past, fanaticism, the Inquisition, absolutism (see *Miserere*, *Discurso sobre la poesía*, 1887, etc.). He welcomes a future of progress, he has faith in it; he defends

N. de A., apuntes para su biografía, 1904. B. Pérez Galdós, in *Arte y crítica*, 1923 (*Obras inéditas*, vol. II), 139–150 (written 1894). Luis Casero, *El misterio de un poeta*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LVII, 1923, 202–206 (on date of birth). Manuel de la Cruz, in *Obras*, I, 1924, 251–276.

[1] *Gritos del combate, Prefacio.*

religious and political liberty, but he remains a Christian, a Spaniard and a monarchist. Liberty is not license, and tolerance is not impiety; democracy is not a synonym for anarchy (cf. *París*, i.e. The Commune, and its epilogue *¡Cartagena!*). Such are the ideas that he maintains in his firm verse,—a verse of greater force than imagination. Núñez de Arce displays more classical precision than he does rich verbal color. He reminds one at times of Quintana, whom he invoked as an intellectual ancestor and frequently as a source of inspiration. Thus, one may compare the *Panteón del Escorial* of the first poet with the *Miserere* of the second. His lyre lacks the string for tender emotion, or rather, he seldom fingers it. For he did write *Un idilio* (1878), *La pesca* (1884) and *Maruja* (1886), which show the poet in a less austere light. In these his tone, usually elevated and rhetorical, yields to the softness of more intimate, personal and familiar emotions.

Early in his career Núñez de Arce essayed the theater (*Deudas de la honra, Justicia providencial, Herir en la sombra o la familia de Antonio Pérez,* the last in collaboration with Antonio Hurtado). *El haz de leña* (*The Fagot,* 1872) contains some superior passages. But this noble poet displayed his full talent in the lyric, taking the word in its broadest interpretation. He handled all meters with equal ease, the Dantesque *terza rima* in the *Selva oscura, Raimundo Lulio,* and the *Elegía a la memoria de Alejandro Herculano,* the octave in *Última lamentación de Lord Byron,* the *décima* in the philosophico-novelesque legend *El vértigo,* blank verse in *La visión de Fray Martín,* and a great variety of lines and strophes in the *Gritos del combate.*

8. Other Lyric Poets

José Zorrilla, whose activities extended far into this period, has already been spoken of (p. 467). The most genial and most representative of Spanish poets, he was lyric in all his writings, and perhaps, like Calderón, more in his dramas than in his long poems or collections of verse. Other poets, by the side of, or more often below, the foregoing, gained local repute which rarely crept outside Castilian-speaking lands. The most important will now be enumerated, as nearly as possible in chronological order.

García Tassara and **Ventura Ruiz Aguilera** (1820–1881)[1] deserve to be named first by reason of talent, as well as date. The first (p. 470), most of whose literary activity belongs to the preceding period, was a real Andalusian in the glitter and luxuriance of his metaphors and similes, in his energy and spirit, in the rapidity with which one impression follows another. He liked to attempt great themes, and his inspiration did not lack power and flexibility. Ruiz Aguilera did not soar so high; but for that very reason he is the more accessible. He sang the gayety and grief of the people, he excited their patriotism, as Béranger had done in France, and the people adopted him early, as soon as they read his *Ecos nacionales* (1849), a collection of legends and traditions from Spanish history. *Elegías* (1862), dedicated to the memory of a beloved daughter, *Armonías* (1865), with occasional motifs from Lamartine, were followed by *Rimas varias* (1873). In the following year other volumes appeared with satires, epigrams, fables and eclogues (*Libro de las sátiras*, *Grandeza de los pequeños*). *The Seasons* (*Las estaciones del año*, 1879) are a series of descriptions which disclose an unsuspected vein in the author's fertile talent. "He is the most tender and spontaneous of poets," wrote Palacio Valdés.

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[1] See A. Palacio Valdés, *V. R. A.*, in *Semblanzas literarias*, nueva ed., 1908, 355–377. Fr. Giner de los Ríos, *Un poeta* (*don V. R. A.*), in *Obras completas*, III, 1919, 251–279.

José Selgas y Carrasco (1822–1882) [1] was very successful with his poems *La primavera* (1850) and *El estío*, but his name is more likely to be associated with satirical prose fantasies and sprightly daily articles collected in various volumes: *Hojas sueltas* (1861), *Delicias del nuevo paraíso* (1871), *Cosas del día* (1874), *Fisonomías contemporáneas* (1877), etc. Selgas was one of the chief editors of the famous conservative journal *El Padre Cobos*, which about 1854–1856 was used as a weapon against the liberals and revolutionists by Navarro Villoslada, Suárez Bravo (1824–1896), Garrido, González Pedroso and other publicists. In the novel Selgas made a failure.

Antonio Hurtado (1825–1878) collaborated with Núñez de Arce in some of his historical plays (*El laurel de la Zubia*, *Herir en la sombra*, *La jota aragonesa*), and obtained some hits on his own account (*El anillo del rey*, *La maya*, etc.). In 1847 he published the *Romancero de Hernán Cortés*, and then a series of historical sketches of Madrid, collected under the title *Madrid dramático*

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[1] *Obras*, 13 vols., 1882–1894.—See A. Palacio Valdés, *Semblanzas literarias*, 1908, 231–244. E. Díez de Revenga, *Estudio sobre S., poeta, novelista y satírico*, Murcia, 1915. R. Monner Sans, *Don J. S., El prosista, El poeta*, in *Rev. Univ. Buenos Aires*, XXXII, 1916.

(1870); they are legends in verse, analogous to those of Rivas and Zorrilla (*La ejecución de un valido, La muerte de Villamediana, Los padres de la Merced, Las gradas de San Felipe, Un lance de Quevedo*, etc.).

An Andalusian by birth, and very Andalusian in the character of his lyric inspiration, **Bernardo López García** (1840–1870), a native of Jaén, published in 1867 a most promising collection of verse (*Poesías*). Some of his odes (*El día de difuntos*) and especially his famous *décimas Al dos de mayo* became popular. But he died young, and several subsequent editions of his volume, the last in 1908, have scarcely been able to keep his reputation alive.

Federico Balart (1831–1905) gained public esteem by his volume *Dolores* (1893), poems in memory of his wife; they are sincere in their emotion, but necessarily somewhat monotonous. The later *Horizontes* (1897) is less attractive. He also enjoyed solid repute as a critic (*Impresiones, literatura y arte*, 1894).

Manuel del Palacio (1832–1906) [1] thriftlessly scattered sonnets, songs, *coplas*, satires and epigrams by the hundred in all the periodicals of his time, and wrote interesting critiques for *El Imparcial* and *La Ilustración*. Up to the 1868 revolution he was a fiery democrat; after that event he joined the conservatives. This too facile and productive improviser has left collections of the greatest variety: *Fruta verde* (1881), *Veladas de otoño* (1884), *Melodías íntimas* (1884), *Huelgas diplomáticas* (1887; he had been Spanish minister in Montevideo), and *Chispas* (1894).

Professor **Narciso Campillo** (1835–1900), author of two clever collections of humorous tales (*Una docena de cuentos*, 1878; *Nuevos cuentos*, 1881), lacks personality; too often he is but an echo or reflection. Yet his two books of poems (*Poesías*, 1858; *Nuevas poesías*, 1867) reveal a skilled and intelligent interpreter of life.

The two Valencian friends **Wenceslao Vicente Querol** (1836–1889) [2] and **Teodoro Llorente** (1836–1911),[3] not satisfied with having enriched the soft Valencian tongue with their verse (*Rimas* of the former, 1877; the charming *Llibret de versos*, 1885, and *Nou*

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[1] *Poesías escogidas*, ed. R. Acad. Esp., preface of J. O. Picón, 1916.—See N. Alonso Cortés, in *Jornadas*, Valladolid, 1920, 13–92.

[2] *Rimas*, preface by T. Llorente, 1891 (both Castilian and Valencian poems).

[3] See J. Navarro Reverter, *T. Ll., su vida y sus obras*, Barcelona, n. d. Id., *Biografía de . . . T. Ll.*, Valencia, 1912.

llibret de versos, 1902, of the latter), made themselves an honorable place among Castilian poets. Querol is known for *Eclipse*, *Cartas a María*, the elegy *A la muerte de mi hermana Adela*, *Las fiestas de Venus*, and other admirable lines that mark him as a poet of sincere emotion. Llorente, in addition to original verse (*Versos de la juventud*, 1907), made skilful Spanish renderings of various modern poets (*Amorosas, poesías de los principales autores modernos*, 1876; Goethe's *Faust*, 1882; Heine, 1885; *Poetas franceses del siglo XIX*, 1906).

9. **Joaquín María Bartrina** (1850–1880) was a Catalan. He left a bitterly pessimistic collection of verse called *Algo* (1876). **Antonio Fernández Grilo** (1845–1906) [1] came from Cordova. He has the ease and brilliance, and likewise something of the pretentious affectation of his compatriot Góngora, to whom some have boldly compared him, though lacking his predecessor's rare qualities (*Poesías*, 1879; *Ideales*, 1891). A court and salon poet, he had neither strength nor depth. One might be tempted to say the same of the Valladolid Academician **Emilio Ferrari** (1850–1907), who was however one of the best disciples of his compatriot Núñez de Arce. Like him, he wrote poems (*Pedro Abelardo*, 1884; *La muerte de Hipatia*) and dramas (*Quien a hierro mata . . .*; *La justicia del acaso*). The Andalusian **José Velarde** (1849–1892) treated themes similar to those of the *Gritos del combate*, and wrote as well long pieces (*Alegría*, *Fray Juan*, *La velada*), some of them *leyendas*. He had begun by imitations of Zorrilla. He is not to be confused with **Fernando Velarde,** who, with **Casimiro del Collado** and **Amós de Escalante** (1831–1902), represents the *montañés* lyric. The last left a posthumous collection (*Poesías*, 1907) with a preface, perhaps too flattering, by his compatriot Menéndez y Pelayo; but he does express with considerable delicacy the poetry of sea-coast and mountain, as he had done in his book of prose sketches, *Costas y montañas* (1871).

The influence of Núñez de Arce is also evident in the collections of **Manuel Reina** (1856–1905): [2] *Andantes y alegros* (1877), *Cromos y acuarelas* (1878), *La vida inquieta* (1894), and *Poemas paganos* (1896). The charming *Aires murcianos* (1899) and *La canción de*

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[1] See A. Palacio Valdés, *Semblanzas literarias*, 1908, 317–331.

[2] See E. de Ory, *M. R., estudio biográfico*, etc., Cádiz, 1916.

la huerta (1905) in Murcian dialect,[1] by **Vicente Medina** (b. 1866), are more penetrating and original, but somewhat monotonous. They transport the reader to the pleasant Levantine shores, where also the Majorcan **Juan Alcover** (b. 1854) composed his songs and narratives (*Poesías*, 1887; *Meteoros*, 1901; *Lalagé;* etc.). **Ramón Domingo Perés** (b. 1863) published in 1903 a book of verse called *Musgo* that was hailed as the first fruit of a new talent of vigor and real personality: the promise has scarcely been fulfilled. As to **Salvador Rueda** (b. 1857),[2] who will be found also among the novelists (p. 569), he seems to me the most typical and most talented of the modern Andalusian school. He displays surprising, even excessive, virtuosity, quite ready for any *tour de force;* his vision of objects exaggerates their brilliance, and he possesses a singular aptitude for reproducing, combining and varying rhythms and harmonies. He can at need explain them, too (*El ritmo*, 1894). Among his many volumes may be named *Sinfonía del año* (1888), *Aires españoles* (1890), *Cantos de la vendimia* (1891), *En tropel* (1892, with verse preface, *Pórtico*, by Rubén Darío), *Himno a la carne* (1890), *Sinfonía callejera* (1893), *Camafeos* (1897), *Piedras preciosas* (1900), besides a thousand improvisations scattered to the four winds of public print. Rueda announced and inaugurated the new school.

Among provincial or regional poets one of the best must not be omitted: **José María Gabriel y Galán** (1870–1905),[3] who made himself the special singer of the Castilian plains and the *Tierra de Campos*. His justly praised poems, some of them in the local dialect, were collected under various titles: *Castellanas* (1902), *Extremeñas* (1902), *Campesinas* (1904), *Nuevas castellanas* (1905).

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[1] On the Murcian dialect, or *panocho*, used in popular songs of that region, cf. J. Martínez Tornel, *Cantares populares murcianos*, Murcia, 1892; P. Díaz Cassou, *La literatura panocha*, 1895 and *El cancionero panocho*, 1900; and Alberto Sevilla, *Cancionero popular murciano*, 1921. On Medina, see A. González-Blanco, *V. M.*, in *Los contemporáneos*, 1ª série, II, Paris, 1907, 240–275.

[2] See G. Ruiz de Almodóvar, *S. R. y sus obras*, 1891. A. González-Blanco, *Los grandes maestros, Salvador Rueda y Rubén Darío*, n. d. J. León Pagano, *Al través de la España literaria*, Barcelona, 1904, II, 229–248.

[3] *Obras completas*, 4th ed., 2 vols., 1921. *Cartas y poesías inéditas*, preface by Armando Cotarelo, Santiago, 1919.—See E. Pardo Bazán, *Retratos y apuntes literarios*, n. d., 83–116 (*Obras completas*, vol. XXXII). J. M. Aicardo, *De lit. contemp.*, 1905, 412–439. P. Henríquez Ureña, in *Horas de estudio*, Paris, n. d., 91–112. F. García, in *La Ciudad de Dios*, vols. CXIV, CXVI, CXVII, CXXXII (1918–1923). A. Revilla Marcos, *J. M. G. y G., su vida y sus obras, con prólogo de Unamuno*, 1923.

In him the simplest, deepest emotions of home, family and native soil found an interpreter with power to touch the reader's heart. [1]

10. Poetry of the Present [2]

The younger lyric schools, which aspire to replace those of yesterday, probably deserve more space than can be assigned them in this short treatise. Without any claim to anticipate the definitive judgment of the future, one can do no more than name those of this numerous and brilliant group who pass as most representative of the new poetry; first, in order to defend the Peninsular Muse against the unjust charge of exhaustion, and even more because the poetic revival really does great credit to Spanish letters. "There is taking place today," wrote "Azorín" in 1913, "a splendidly vigorous blossoming of lyric poetry; few periods in our literary history can show as many and as choice poets as those among us who at this moment are transmuting their emotions into verse." [3]

The prime mover and prince of these poets, "the great master of beauty fixed in Spanish verse," to use the words of Martínez Sierra, was not a Spaniard, but an American of Nicaragua, **Rubén Darío** (1867–1916).[4] His mastery, first pointed out by Valera, is today acknowledged by all. To vivid imagination he joined sensitive delicacy and an originality which was able to assimilate qualities from every source without becoming the slave of any one school. Sculptor of rhythm and rhyme, stylist of harmonious prose, he set much-imitated models in every branch of writing, even in the daily newspaper article. His production was voluminous. The following titles must suffice; and the place of publication may serve to indicate his wanderings: *Abrojos* (Valparaiso, 1887); *Azul* (Valparaiso, 1888), verse and prose; *Los raros* (Buenos Aires, 1893), studies of the chief representatives of modernism, from Verlaine to Moréas, from Ibsen to the Portuguese Eugenio de Castro; *Prosas profanas* (Buenos Aires, 1896), poems whose title, caught from Berceo, puzzled the uninitiated; *España contemporánea* and *Peregrinaciones* (Paris, 1901); *La caravana pasa* (Paris, 1903); *Tierras solares* (Madrid, 1904); *Cantos de vida y esperanza, los cisnes y otros poemas* (Madrid, 1905); *Opiniones* (Madrid, 1906), a collection of articles and travel impressions; *La vida de Rubén Darío escrita por él mismo* (Barcelona, 1916), an entertaining autobiography in which facts are somewhat distorted. Some of these books were seed for a harvest of poets. Unquestionably the reader can catch in them echoes of far-off voices, from Berceo to Verlaine, but he discovers that the major note is of an admirable creator of images, sensations and beauty, no less potent and sumptuous than the Italian D'Annunzio.

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[1] In the use of a regional dialect the work of Medina has already been mentioned. Another interesting book by a promising poet is Luis Chamizo's *El miajón de los castúos, rapsodias extremeñas* (1921), that is, *El migajón de los castudos*, el corazón de la casta.

[2] On contemporary Spanish literature in general see Rubén Darío, *Los raros*, Buenos Aires, 1893. A. González-Blanco, *Los contemporáneos*, 1ª serie, 2 vols., Paris, 1907; 2ª serie, Paris, 1908; 3ª serie, Paris, 1910. R. Cansinos Asséns, *La nueva literatura, 1898–1900–1916*, 2 vols., 1917–1918; vol. I contains *Los Hermes, Los Epígonos;* vol. II, *Instantes líricos, Las escuelas literarias*. Id., *La nueva literatura*, III, 1927, *La evolución de la poesía (1917–1927);* IV, 1927, *La evolución de la novela (1917–1927)*. Manuel Machado, *La guerra literaria, 1898–1914*, 1914. A. Donoso, *Los nuevos*, Valencia, 1912. Salvador de Madariaga, *The Genius of Spain and Other Essays on Spanish Contemporary Literature*, N. Y., 1925. A. F. G. Bell, *Contemporary Spanish Literature*, N. Y., 1925. H. Petriconi, *Die spanische Literatur der Gegenwart seit 1870*, Wiesbaden, 1926. E. Gómez de Baquero, *La literatura española contemporánea*, in *Nacionalismo e hispanismo*, 1928, 63–123. Jean Cassou, *Littérature espagnole*, Paris, 1929.

In addition, for poetry: José F. Montesinos, *Die moderne spanische Dichtung*, Leipzig, 1927. R. Blanco-Fombona, *El modernismo y los poetas modernistas*, 1929.

[3] *Clásicos y modernos*, p. 223.

[4] *Obras completas*, 22 vols., "Mundo Latino," 1917–1919. *Obras escogidas*, ed. A. González-Blanco, 3 vols., 1910. *Versos inéditos y desconocidos*, ed. R. E. Boti, in *Cuba contemporánea*, XXXI, 1923, 260–283. English translation: Thomas Walsh and Salomón de la Selva, *Eleven Poems of Rubén Darío*, N. Y., 1916.—See *Renacimiento*, special number, June, 1907. P. Henríquez Ureña, in *Horas de estudio*, Paris, 1910, 112–137. Id., *R. D. y el siglo XV*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, L, 1920, 324–327. J. E. Rodó, in *Cinco ensayos*, 1915. M. Robin, *R. D., son rôle dans l'évolution litt. de l'Espagne depuis la fin du XIX^e siècle*, in *Mercure de France*, vol. 114, 1916, 324–

Ramón del Valle-Inclán will be treated below (p. 561).

Juan Ramón Jiménez[1] was born December 24, 1881, at Moguer (Huelva). His verse, exclusively lyric, is narrower in scope than that of Rubén Darío. He describes nature according to his own sensation of her, but first of all he is a poet of the inner life, consumed with nostalgic memories, giving birth to mournful, melancholy elegies: *Arias tristes* (1903), *Jardines lejanos* (1904), *Elegías*

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329. J. González-Olmedilla, *La ofrenda de España a R. D.*, 1916 (36 essays by Machado, Nervo, Pérez de Ayala, Unamuno, etc.). E. de Ory, *R. D.: al margen de su vida y de su muerte*, Cádiz, 1917. J. M. Vargas Vila, *R. D.*, 1917. Max Henríquez Ureña, *R. D.*, in *Cuba contemporánea*, XVIII, 1918, 274–326. E. K. Mapes, *L'Influence française dans l'oeuvre de R. D.*, Paris, 1925. Ángel del Río, *El españolismo en la obra de R. D.*, in *Bull. Spanish Studies*, II, 1925, 12–25, 66–73.

[1] *Poesías escogidas*, N. Y., 1917. *Poesías escogidas*, ed. P. Henríquez Ureña, 1923. —See Rubén Darío, *La tristeza andaluza*, in *Tierras solares*. A. González-Blanco, *J. R. J.*, in *Los contemporáneos*, 1ª serie, I, Paris, 1907, 146–221. P. Henríquez Ureña, *La obra de J. R. J.*, in *Cuba contemporánea*, XIX, 1919, 251–263. Jaime Torres Bodet, *J. R. J.*, in *Contemporáneos*, México, 1928, 67–75.

(1908), *La soledad sonora* (1908), *Poemas mágicos y dolientes* (1909), *Melancolía* (1911), etc. He reached his prime, with classical maturity of expression and less morbid emotion, in *Estío* (1915) and *Sonetos espirituales* (1917). Later volumes, *Eternidades* (1918), *Piedra y cielo* (1919), show increasing self-absorption and increasing intellectual preoccupation. In his poems the veiled confidences of an unhealthy and solitary life are expressed in a form of extreme refinement and subtlety, but often effectively moving. His phrase is musical, but choppy, abrupt, even unfinished; the first effect is one of amazement, but in the poet's vague imprecision "one feels the intimate echo of sinuous thought which becomes more burning and more sorrow-stricken as it withdraws into itself."[1] In short, he is a distant descendant of Góngora, a son of Bécquer, a brother of Albert Samain. His development has kept pace with the most recent currents in poetry, and *los jóvenes* call him kin. His prose (*Platero y yo*, 1914) is whimsical, sensitive and observant.

Francisco Villaespesa (b. 1877)[2] is another of the poets who represent the new school with purity and talent. His first volume of poems, *Intimidades*, appeared in 1898. Since that time a whole generation has fed upon the verses of *La copa del rey de Thule* (1900), *Canciones del camino* (1906), *Tristitiae rerum* (1907), *Viaje sentimental* (1908), *El libro de Job* (1908), *Bajo la lluvia* (1910), *Tierra de encanto y maravilla* (1922), etc. His is a type of poetry more frank and accessible than Jiménez's, more classical, in short, and its chief merit lies in its sincere personal inspiration:

> Mi vida, buena o mala, engendró mi poesía;
> Mi oro, de ley o falso, es del filón interno.

Villaespesa has enjoyed some success also in drama (p. 536) and novel.

Gregorio Martínez Sierra (b. 1881)[3] contributed his fair share toward the success of the new school at its beginning. His verse obeys the same principles (*Flores de escarcha*, 1900; *La casa de la primavera*, 1907). But in his work as a whole they are only secondary. After some youthful "prose poems" (*El poema del trabajo*, 1898; *Diálogos fantásticos*, 1899), he wrote many short stories, in which he is swung by a capricious imagination into a world more fantastic than real (*Almas ausentes*, 1900; *Pascua florida*, 1901; *Sol de la tarde*, 1904; *Aldea ilusoria*, 1907), and some novels (*Tú eres la paz*, 1907). By 1906 he had developed into a penetrating suggestive critic (*Motivos*). He founded two modernist literary reviews, *Helios* and *Renacimiento*, and directed the publishing house of the latter name. But about the year 1907 he turned to the stage, and there found his true career (p. 534).

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[1] These words, written by a French critic about Albert Samain, are quoted by A. González-Blanco, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

[2] *Obras completas*, 12 vols., 1916–1918.—See Manuel G. Revilla, *Las urracas académicas y el bulbul modernista*, México, 1917. R. Cansinos Asséns, *La nueva lit.*, I, 1917, 125–138.

[3] *Sol de la tarde*, ed. C. D. Cool, N. Y., 1925, with preface and bibliography by F. de Onís. See *Renacimiento*, May, 1907, for an auto-critique by Martínez Sierra. A. González-Blanco, *G. M. S.*, in *Los contemporáneos*, 1ª serie, II, Paris (1907), 1–74. C. M. Abad, *La obra literaria de M. S.*, in *Razón y Fe*, 1922, LXII, 177–195; LXIII, 308–325.

Ramón Pérez de Ayala will have his rightful place among the novelists (p. 562), but his poetry, modernist in form, is full of sincere charm, turning often to contemplate the homely sights and acts of country life (*La paz del sendero*, 1904; *El sendero innumerable*, 1916; *El sendero andante*, 1921).

The brothers **Machado y Ruiz,** born in Seville, are sons of the Andalusian folklorist Antonio Machado y Álvarez (1846–1893). **Manuel** (b. 1874) [1] has published distinguished volumes, *Alma* (1902), *El mal poema* (1909), *Apolo* (1911), *Cante hondo* (1912), *Canciones y dedicatorias* (1915); librarian and editor, he often finds inspiration in the daily occurrences of Madrid. **Antonio** (b. 1875),[2] now professor of French in Segovia, is the more gifted poet; he was elected to the Academy in 1927. His few volumes sing the bare Castilian plains (*Soledades*, 1903; *Galerías*, 1907; *Campos de Castilla*, 1912; *Canciones y dedicatorias*, 1914). Solitary and distant, "mysterious and silent," in the words of his admirer Rubén Darío, whom he declined to imitate, he has the gift of expressing the subtle impression made upon his sensitive nature by the severe poetry of a limitless plateau. "Poetry, for me," says he in substance, "consists more in the reaction of a delicate nature to objects than in harmony of words or in color and design."[3]

Eduardo Marquina (b. 1879) is chiefly known as a dramatic author (p. 535). Yet his *Odas* (1900), *Églogas* (1902), *Vendimión* (1909), and *Canciones del momento* (1910) have assured him of an enviable place among the lyrists of the new school.

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[1] See A. González-Blanco, *M. M.*, in *Los contemporáneos*, 2ª serie, Paris, 1908, 83–124. R. Cansinos Asséns, *La nueva lit.*, I, 1917, 185–192.

[2] *Poesías completas* (*1899–1925*), 1928. See "Azorín," *El paisaje en la poesía*, in *Clásicos y modernos*, 1913, 117–124. R. Cansinos Asséns, *A. M.*, in *La nueva lit.*, I, 1917, 139–154, and III, 1927, 239–246. Ezio Levi, *A. M.*, in *Hispania* (Calif.), XI, 1928, 471–476.

[3] *Páginas escogidas*, Calleja, 1917, p. 15.

Antonio de Zayas, Duke of Amalfi (b. 1871), made an excellent Spanish version (1908) of J. M. de Hérédia's *Trophées,* and it is from the French Parnassians that his sculptured sonnets derive their form, particularly from Leconte de Lisle and Hérédia himself, without forgetting the author of *Émaux et Camées.* The best known of his collections are *Joyeles bizantinos* (1902), *Retratos antiguos* (1902) and *Paisajes* (1903).

Enrique de Mesa (1879–1929) [1] has published " poetic prose " (*Flor pagana,* 1905; *Andanzas serranas,* 1910) and admirable verse (*Cancionero castellano,* 1911; *El silencio de la Cartuja,* 1916; *La posada y el camino,* 1928). He is an exact landscapist, a painter of the Guadarrama mountains, and a master of style.

Manuel de Sandoval (b. 1874), professor and Academician, has gained an honored name as poet by several collections, published early in the century, that reveal vigorous inspiration and chastened form (*Cancionero,* 1909; *Musa castellana,* 1911; *De mi cercado,* 1912). He is not at all a modernist, but an admirer and disciple of Núñez de Arce.

Emilio Carrère (b. 1881),[2] translated Poe (*Historias extraordinarias,* 1918, vol. I of Poe's *Obras*) and Verlaine (*Poemas saturnianos,* 1921); and these deities, with Baudelaire, preside over his own verse (*Del amor, del dolor y del misterio,* 1915; *Nocturnos de otoño,* 1920; *Panderetas de España,* 1927), which, like his novels, revels in the lowest bawdies of Madrid.

Enrique Díez-Canedo (b. 1879), a shrewd and well-read critic (*La poesía francesa moderna,* 1912), in whom erudition has not blunted fine artistic sense, is a cultured man of letters (*Del cercado ajeno,* 1907, translated verse), and has risen to distinguished rank among the modern poets by his own verse (*Versos de las horas,* 1906; *La visita del sol,* 1907; *Imágenes,* 1910; *La sombra del ensueño,* 1911; *Epigramas americanos,* 1928).

Miguel de Unamuno must be listed here, though his proper place is farther on (p. 576), and in reality he belongs neither to this generation nor this school. But no sketch of contemporary poetry would be complete without mention of his *Poesías* (1907) and *Rosario de sonetos líricos* (1911), splendid collections, characterized by original execution and robust thought, worthy of a philosopher and savant. His sonnets born of exile (*De Fuerteventura a París*, 1925) reflect too personal a bitterness.

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[1] See R. Pérez de Ayala, *Ensayo* in *Cancionero cast.*, ed. of 1917. R. Cansinos Asséns, *E. de M.*, in *La nueva lit.*, III, 1927, 101–112.

[2] See Cansinos Asséns, *La nueva lit.*, I, 1917, 201–213, and III, 1927, 345–356.

Two men may be regarded as in some way representing the transition to present-day poetry: the Basque diplomatist, **Ramón de Basterra** (1883–1928), who did not reject images of a machine age, nor epic themes (*La sencillez de los seres*, 1923; *Vírulo*, 1924 and 1927); and **José Moreno Villa** (b. 1887), of Malaga, a landscapist of delicate emotion (*El pasajero*, 1914; *Evoluciones*, 1918). The young poets, *los jóvenes*, proclaim Góngora their master, and as their goal *poesía pura*, a phrase susceptible of as many interpretations as there are definitions of poetry. It will be safer, at this short range, not to attempt much differentiation between the shades of their pure lyricism. It is allied closely enough to French currents. **Gerardo Diego** (b. 1896) [1] places himself at times among the ultra-moderns (*Manual de espumas*, 1924), at times among conservatives (*Soria*, 1923; *Versos humanos*, 1925). But the most promising perhaps are to be found in a group of scholar-poets, *universitarios:* **Pedro Salinas** (b. 1892), firm and thoughtful (*Presagios*, 1924); **Jorge Guillén** (b. 1893), of Valladolid, whose clean, stripped lyrics glow like burnished ivory (*Cántico*, 1928); and the Andalusians **Federico García Lorca** (b. 1898), an inspirational singer of rapidly developing personality (*Canciones, 1921–1924*, 1927; *Romancero gitano*, 1928), and **Rafael Alberti** (b. 1903), whose mood is fresh and sometimes wayward (*Marinero en tierra*, 1925). The lyric note, it may be remarked, is extending into novel and essay.

11. Spanish-American poetry does not fall within the scope of this book, nor does the regional and dialectal verse of Catalonia, Valencia, Asturias and Galicia. But it must be repeated that in the domain of poetry, as in others, these far-flung activities must be taken into account if one is to form a complete picture of the literature of the race. Among the Catalans were such writers as Aribau, Bofarull, Rubió y Ors, Victor Balaguer (1824–1901), the prolific author of historical dramas, tragedies, works of erudition, and the trilogy of the Pyrenees (*Los Pirineos*, 1891), and the great Jacinto Verdaguer (1845–1902), the singer of *La Atlántida, Canigó,* and *Idilis,* not to mention Joan Maragall (1860–1912), Narcís Oller, Santiago Rusiñol (b. 1861), Fernando Maristany (b. 1883), and other contemporaries.[1] Valencia brought forth Tomás and Mariano Aguiló, besides Querol and Teodoro Llorente, already mentioned. Galicia is a region of genuine singers, with Rosalía de Castro, Pondal, Lamas Carvajal, Losada, Curros Enríquez, etc.[2] *Bable* (Asturian dialect) can show Caveda and others.[3] As to Spanish America, a legion of poets, from those of the older generation to the present moment, have added buds to the poetic stock of the mother country, they have extended her artistic domain to embrace the world, and often they have discovered new forms of beauty. It is quite impossible to name any here. If one were to begin, one would need to write a separate history of each country. All that can be done is to present a partial list of the critical literature of the subject. [4]

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[1] See R. Cansinos Asséns, *G. D.*, in *La nueva lit.*, III, 1927, 303–313.

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[1] For works on Catalan literature, see p. 508, note 1.

[2] On Galician poetry see Milá y Fontanals, *De la poesía popular gallega* (1877), in *Obras completas,* V, Barcelona, 1893, 363–399. E. Pardo Bazán, *De mi tierra,* 1888 (*Obras completas,* vol. IX). Blanco García, *La lit. regional de Galicia,* in *La lit. esp. en el siglo XIX,* III, 1894. E. Carré Aldao, *Lit. gallega, con extensos apéndices bibliográficos,* etc., 2nd ed., Barcelona, 1911. César Barja, *En torno al lirismo gallego del siglo XIX,* Northampton, Mass., and Paris, 1926.

[3] See Blanco García, *La poesía bable,* in *op. cit.,* III, 1894.

[4] On Spanish-American literature in general, see Juan Valera, *Cartas americanas (1889–1890),* in *Obras completas,* vols. 41 to 44. F. Blanco García, *La lit. hispano-americana,* in *op. cit.,* III, 1894. Manuel Ugarte, *La joven lit. hispanoamericana, Antología de prosistas y poetas,* Paris, 1906. A. González-Blanco, *Escritores representativos de América,* 1917. R. Blanco-Fombona, *Letras y letrados de Hispano-América,* Paris, 1908. Id., *Grandes escritores de América (Siglo XIX),* 1917. Alfred Coester, *The Literary History of Spanish America,* N. Y., 1916; 2nd ed., 1928 (has full bibliography of the different countries). Isaac Goldberg, *Studies in Spanish-American Literature,* N. Y., 1920. Cejador, *Hist. de la lengua y lit. castellana,* 14 vols., 1915–1922 (devotes much space to American writers).

On poetry alone, Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas hispano-americanos,* 4 vols., 1893–1895 is indispensable; the prefaces have been reprinted as *Historia de la poesía hispano-americana,* in vols. 2 and 3 of his *Obras completas.*

CHAPTER II

DRAMA [1]

1. By 1845 Romantic drama was all but dead; the clumsy imitators of that time possessed no fine qualities with which to compensate for the exaggerations of the school. The satiated public was quite ready to listen to jests at their expense, and the witty prose of Mesonero Romanos, the comedies of Bretón, did not miss the mark. There ensued a transition period of some ten years, the beginning marked by Avellaneda's *Alfonso Munio* (1844), and the end by *La Ricahembra* (1854) of Tamayo y Baus and Aureliano Fernández-Guerra. In this period, besides Bretón and Rubí, already mentioned, stand Florentino Sanz, Palou, Camprodón, and particularly Eguílaz and Ayala, who were destined to give a definitive form to modern Spanish drama.

Eulogio Florentino Sanz (1825–1881),[2] a clever translator of Heine (*Poesía alemana, Canciones de Enrique Heine,* in *Museo Universal,* 1857), produced one verse drama that was much applauded, *Don Francisco de Quevedo* (1848); in it the great satirist appears in a rather unexpected light. This piece and *Achaques de la vejez* (1854) constitute Sanz's entire dramatic baggage; together they are not so likely to preserve his name from threatened oblivion as his *Epístola a Pedro,* an elegy in tiercets to the memory of Enrique Gil. The Quevedo play was quite on the Romantic order, as were the dramas written by the prolix novelist **Manuel Fernández y González** (p. 487) (*Don Luis Osorio, Aventuras imperiales, La muerte de Cisneros, Los encantos de Merlín, Como padre y como rey, Viriato, Nerón, Sansón*). Of all his many plays, *El Cid Rodrigo de Vivar* (1858) is the only one that has at all held the stage, owing, probably, to the subject. The drama *Flor de un día* (1851) of the Catalan **Francisco Camprodón** (1816–1870) comes nearer to being a representation of contemporary manners. It had its hour of popularity, but the author, after a vain attempt to prolong his momentary success with a sequel, *Espinas de una flor* (1852), renounced drama and wrote only opera librettos. Somewhat the same fate befell the Majorcan **Juan Palou y Coll** (1828–1906), whose two historical dramas *La campana de la Almudaina* (1859) and *La espada y el laúd* (1865) brought his name into the limelight. The **Marqués de la Pezuela,** Conde de **Cheste** (1819–1906), an important academical personage, had also, like so many others, to write his drama (*Isara*) and his comedy (*Las gracias en la vejez,* 1833), but both are today as forgotten as his poem on *El cerco de Zamora* (1832).

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[1] Cf. *Autores dramáticos contemporáneos y joyas del teatro español del siglo XIX,* ed. P. de Novo y Colsón, 2 vols., 1881–1882 (articles by selected critics, with one play of each author). José Yxart, *El arte escénico en España,* 2 vols., Barcelona, 1894–1896.

[2] *Don Francisco de Quevedo,* ed. R. S. Rose, Boston, 1917, with preface.

The author, however, who best characterizes the transition is **Manuel Tamayo y Baus** (1829–1898).[1] In *Virginia* (1853) he attempted to fuse classic tragedy and Romantic drama, as did Ponsard in *Lucrèce* (1843) and Latour de Saint-Ybars in *Virginie* (1845). His two historical dramas, *La Ricahembra,* (1854, verse; in collaboration with Aureliano Fernández-Guerra), and *La locura de amor* (1855, prose), the protagonist of which is Juana la Loca, were very successful. The choice of subjects appeared to be a concession to Romanticism, but there was an evident effort toward greater psychological verity and deeper philosophy, though he hesitated to abandon verse for prose. Even in *La bola de nieve* (1856), which seems to poach on the estate of Bretón and Eguílaz, verse is used. From that date on, Tamayo gave up picturesque historical drama; he treated scarcely any theme except contemporary morals, or at least, analysis of passions. These are his methods in *La bola de nieve,* in *Lo positivo* (1862; the idea derived from *Le Duc Job,* by Léon Laya), and in *Lances de honor* (1863), which deals with the problem of duelling, and settles it according to the most orthodox Catholic views. But the play that forms the keystone in Tamayo's reputation and places him in a class apart is *Un drama nuevo* (1867). This stirring, rapid and effective tragedy, written in simple, powerful prose, tells the story of Yorick, a comedian in Shakespeare's company. Betrayed by his wife, he plays on the stage, as a reality, a part in a " new drama " in which the poet's fiction coincides with the situation of which the actor is in life the victim. This great triumph had no sequel. The following pieces, *No hay mal que por bien no venga* (1869) and *Los hombres de bien* (1870), enjoyed mere academic success. After that Tamayo remained silent in his office at the National Library, of which he was Director.

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[1] *Obras,* 4 vols., 1898–1900.—See Boris de Tannenberg, *M. T. y B.,* in *L'Espagne littéraire,* Paris, 1903, 1–84. E. Cotarelo y Mori, *D. M. T. y B.,* in *Estudios de historia lit. de España,* 1901, 363–403. N. Sicars y Salvadó, *Don M. T. y B., estudio críticobiográfico,* 1906. John D. Fitz-Gerald, *Un Drama Nuevo on the American Stage,* in *Hispania* (Calif.), VII, 1924, 171–176.

2. **Luis (Martínez) de Eguílaz y Eguílaz** (1830–1874) was more prolific than Tamayo, but far shallower. His work includes: 1°, a series of historico-literary dramas in which the author set out to revive the memory of great writers and artists, probably for the edification of the public (*Alarcón*, *Una aventura de Tirso*, *El caballero del milagro* [Agustín de Rojas], *Una broma de Quevedo*, *Una virgen de Murillo*, *El patriarca del Turia* [Timoneda], *Las querellas del Rey Sabio*, etc.); 2°, comedies of contemporary manners, and these include his best works: *Verdades amargas* (1853), one of the earliest; *Mentiras dulces* (1859), the reverse view of the preceding; and *La cruz del matrimonio* (1861). These pieces make no pretense to lofty philosophy; they state no problems and solve none; they will disturb no one's conscience nor will they excite any very deep emotions. The sentiments they arouse are measured by the range between a smile and tears. But the moral observation underlying each is just, and often the working out of this truth is ingenious; and if the decent folk whom the author is addressing do not leave the theater in a state of emotional bewilderment, at least they have not been bored, and incidentally they may have been led to search their hearts a bit and profit by some lessons. They have not wasted their evening.

3. **Adelardo López de Ayala** (1828–1879)[1] belongs to the same school as Eguílaz; the difference between them is mainly one of character and talent. Eguílaz was a man of letters and nothing more; Ayala was a man of the world, addicted to pleasure, journalist, deputy, minister after the revolution of 1868 and again

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[1] *Obras*, ed. Tamayo y Baus, 7 vols., 1881–1885. *Epístola a Emilio Arrieta*, ed. Bonilla y San Martín, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XII, 1905, 245–249. *Gustavo, novela inédita*, ed. A. Pérez Calamarte, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XIX, 1908, 300–427. *Epistolario inédito*, ed. A. Pérez Calamarte, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXVII, 1912, 499–622. *Consuelo*, ed. A. M. Espinosa, N. Y., 1911.—See J. O. Picón, in *Autores dramáticos contemporáneos*, II, 1882, 377 ff.

under the Restoration, President of the *Congreso*, eloquent orator, poet, and with all his gifts indifferent as any Andalusian, if report be true. Yet, lazy or not, he left seven volumes of works varied in character. His dramatic career began with several historical and anecdotal pieces, like Eguílaz's (*Un hombre de estado*, 1851; *Los dos Guzmanes*, 1851; *Castigo y perdón*, 1851; *Rioja*, 1854), and *zarzuelas.* Ayala's four important dramas are *El tejado de vidrio* (1857); *El tanto por ciento* (1861), in which he attacks the craze for quick riches, stock-gambling, pleasure-seeking and all the base emotions that spring from it; *El nuevo don Juan* (1863), aimed against fatuous lady-killers; and finally *Consuelo* (1878), in which he portrays once more the effect upon a heart not yet wholly perverted of the longing for wealth and luxury which was coming upon the middle classes at that date.

Ayala's method, especially in the plays of his second manner, is based on observation. The intention of his work stands out all the more clearly because the author does not resort to lengthy moral dissertations and declamatory lyrical inserts. It would perhaps have been still clearer if he had decided to reject verse as his medium. His merits are inventive force, clean-cut plot, exact balance between reason and imagination, and a firm and vigorous touch which does not debar delicacy. Between Ayala and Émile Augier, between the author of *Consuelo* and *El tanto por ciento* and the author of *Gabrielle* (1849) and *La contagion* (1866), there are certain manifest analogies, not, to be sure, between their characters or even their qualities, but in their method and in the aim and form of their work.

Narciso Serra (1830–1877) [1] made his name in comedy proper. He is the author of *El loco de la guardilla*, *Luz y sombra*, *El amor y la gaceta*, and two "*pasillos filosóficos*," *El último mono* (1859) and *Nadie se muere hasta que Dios quiere* (1860). His best piece, however, is *Don Tomás* (1858), an agreeable three-act comedy based upon an observation of life like that in Labiche's *Le Misanthrope et l'Auvergnat;* Serra's intrigue is richer and carried out more fully. He was not so much a powerful and original writer as one of easy facility.

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[1] *El último mono*, ed. Morley and Entwistle, in *Tres sainetes en verso*, N. Y., 1926. —See J. Fernández Bremón, *N. S.*, in *Autores dramáticos contemporáneos*, I, 1881, 347 ff.

4. The life of **José Echegaray** (1832–1916)[1] is divided into three acts, like every good Spanish play. The first shows us an engineer and mathematician, a professor and member of the Academy of Sciences; the second, a politician, free-trade economist and *Ministro de Fomento* (Finance Minister); the third, a dramatist, and this last capacity is the only one which concerns us. Not until 1874, at the age of forty-two, did he make his début with *El libro talonario.* From that day on, one play followed another, and each first night was a literary event. Among his sixty-three pieces of different types one can separate at once those backward-facing ones that seem to continue the Romantic system: *La esposa del vengador* (1874), *En el puño de la espada* (1875), *En el pilar y en la cruz* (1878), *Algunas veces aquí . . .* (1878), *En el seno de la muerte* (1879), *Mar sin orillas* (1879), *La muerte en los labios* (1880), etc. The mere titles of these plays are significant, and they are in fact Romantic in subject, in their striving for effect (*efectismo*), and in stylistic color. Too often they wring our souls at the expense of all probability. Both incidents and characters are too far from reality. The author slips into melodrama on the slightest pretext, and heaps up extraordinary events and surprising *coups de théâtre;* he is too lavish with his murders, his poisons and his daggers; it becomes a real massacre.

But this neo-Romantic drama is not Echegaray's only string; he has also a thesis drama, a social drama, to be studied in *El libro talonario* (compare *Francillon*, of Dumas *fils*), *Conflicto entre dos deberes* (1882), *O locura o santidad* (1877), *El gran Galeoto* (1881), and *Siempre en ridículo* (1890), which are the best of this genre and the author's masterpieces. No play does Echegaray more honor than *El gran Galeoto.* Its art is very different, certainly, from French art; it is less sober, less reflective, less careful not to violate the laws of probability and good taste, but by the same tokens it is very live, personal and suggestive. The ruling quality of the author seems to me to be his imagination; at times it drags him into a slough of improbabilities, but it also furnishes him a thousand means of crawling out. He is a violent man, yet not deprived of flexibility, keenness and wit. He had the skill to vary his talent and react against his natural tendencies. Too, he has undergone manifest influences, Balzac, Dumas *fils*, Sardou, Ibsen. But in spite of all he gets quickly back to his own nature. His mind is brilliant, keen, alert, for example in *Un crítico incipiente* (1891), a literary critique which belongs to the type of *La comedia nueva*, and in the drama *Mariana* (1892). Such as he is, in strength and weakness, with his knowledge of the stage and the great resources of his supple talent, Echegaray is powerfully seductive to a southern imagination. During a certain period he was almost the sole representative of the grand manner in contemporary dramatic literature, and his long-standing fame, as well as the large number of his public successes, explain why he seemed more worthy than any of his compatriots to receive the Nobel prize for literature. This crowning glory of his career came to him in 1904.

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[1] See Antón del Olmet and García Carraffa, *E.*, 1912. H. de Curzon, *Le théâtre de J. E., étude analytique*, Paris, 1912. A. Gallego y Burín, *E., su obra dramática*, conferencia, Granada, 1917. E. Mérimée, *J. E. et son oeuvre dramatique*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XVIII, 1916, 247–278.

5. Echegaray started a school.[1] Among those who to some extent followed his lead **Eugenio Sellés** (1844–1926) deserves a prominent place. His first great success, the triangle drama *El nudo gordiano*, dates from 1878, but he did not have the same luck with *El cielo o el suelo* (1880), or *Las esculturas de carne* (1883), or with *Las vengadoras* (1884), despite some estimable qualities, or with *La vida pública* (1885), which has a *conferencia preliminar* by way of plea *pro domo suā.*

Leopoldo Cano (b. 1844), a native of Valladolid, knew, in his turn, some glorious first nights, especially the one when *La Pasionaria* (1883) was performed; this piece is superior to all his others (*Los laureles de un poeta*, 1878; *La opinión pública*, 1878; *La mariposa*, 1879; *Trata de blancas*, 1887; *Mater dolorosa*, 1904), even to *Gloria* (1888). He left a volume of verse, *Saetas* (n. d.). **Enrique Gaspar** (1842–1902), who judged the theater of his day with great penetration and clearness of vision, himself wrote for the stage realistic thesis plays of sure aim and excellent style (*Las circunstancias*, 1867; *La levita*, 1868; *Huelga de hijos*, 1893); the most notable is *Las personas decentes* (1890). **Joaquín Dicenta** (1863–1917) [2] made his début with *El suicidio de Werther* (1888), and caused some scandal in the Teatro Español with *Los irrespon-*

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[1] Cf. Francisco Pí y Arsuaga, *Echegaray, Sellés y Cano*, 1884.

[2] See A. González-Blanco, *Los dramaturgos españoles contemporáneos*, Valencia, 1917, 207–294. J. León Pagano, *Al través de la España literaria*, Barcelona, 1904, II, 56–76. R. Cansinos Asséns, *La nueva lit.*, IV, 1927, 5–15.

sables (1890), but the hit which gave him instant fame was *Juan José* (1895), a forceful, bold and moving tragedy of the working class in Madrid. Dicenta was a *romántico de blusa*, as Díez-Canedo has remarked.[1]

José Felíu y Codina (1847–1897) was a Catalan, and wrote most of his dramas and comedies in Catalan. But he enriched the Castilian theater with three charming pieces, bright with color and popular spirit: *La Dolores* (1892), *Miel de la Alcarria* (1895), and *María del Carmen* (1896); a translation of the last was given successfully in Paris (*Dans les jardins de Murcie*).

Benito Pérez Galdós, the great novelist (p. 551), turned to the drama in the latter part of his career.[2] He who had created and given such intense life to a whole world of characters, who had invented so many plots and played upon so many passions, how could he fail to essay the stage? His powerful mind, whose originality was never satisfied with the beaten path, attempted to break new ways in this field. In *Realidad* (1889), *El abuelo* (1897), and *Casandra* (1905) he initiated the dialogued novel, *novela dialogada*, or *novela en cinco jornadas*, and from this to acting drama was but a step. In fact these three *novelas* were all revised and shortened for performance. The most notable of Galdós's 22 extant plays are *Realidad* (1892); *La loca de la casa* (1893); *Electra* (1901), the most notorious, but far from the best; *Mariucha*, 1903; *El abuelo* (1904), in which a Spanish Lear rejects Spanish traditions of family honor; *Bárbara* (1905); *Casandra* (1910); *Alceste* (1914), Galdós's tribute to Greek classicism; and *Santa Juana de Castilla* (1918). [In these dramas, as in the best of his novels, his far-ranging spirit explores the recesses of the human conscience with stimulating liberty of judgment. Only his technical weaknesses prevent him from ranking among the greatest dramatists; from lack of early training he never mastered dialogue and stagecraft.] For this reason his plays were never truly popular, and never founded a school. Some among them are propagandic, but the better portion opens vistas of suggestive thought beyond the range of almost any other Spanish drama.

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[1] *Conversaciones literarias* (*1915–1920*), n. d., p. 58.

[2] *Mariucha*, ed. S. G. Morley, N. Y., 1921 (with introduction on G.'s dramatic works, and bibliography). *La loca de la casa*, ed. J. Warshaw, N. Y., 1924 (with introduction and bibliography).—See E. Pardo Bazán, "*Realidad*," in *Obras completas*, VI, 197–239. J. M. Aicardo, in *De literatura contemporánea*, 1905, 316–350. Luis Morote, *Teatro y novela*, 1906, 59–75 and 259–270. E. Martinenche, *Le théâtre de M. Pérez Galdós*, in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 5me période, vol. 32, 815–850 (1906). Elizabeth Wallace, *The Spanish Drama of To-day*, in *The Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 102, 1908, 357–366. Manuel Bueno, in *Teatro esp. contemporáneo*, 1909, 77–107. R. Pérez de Ayala, in *Las máscaras*, 1917, 17–102.

6. Contemporary Dramatists [1]

The Spanish dramatic author who at the present moment enjoys, probably, most universal repute, and who has behind him the largest number of deserved successes, is **Jacinto Benavente** (b. 1866).[2] The main body of his work is certainly behind him, and it bulks large. Aside from various volumes of critical and other prose (*Cartas de mujeres*, 1893; *Figulinas*, 1898; *Vilanos*, 1905; *De sobremesa*, 6 vols., 1910–1916; *Conferencias*, 1924), and poems (*Versos*, 1893), his dramatic writing is truly imposing in its volume. A few pieces, it is true, are only translations or adaptations, and others are of very slight importance. But his originals form a penetrating study of contemporary society, in which the sharp point of satire is masked with flowers and smiles (*Gente conocida*, 1896; *El marido de la Téllez*, 1897; *La comida de las fieras*, 1898; *Lo cursi*, 1901; *Alma triunfante*, 1902; *La princesa Bebé*, 1904; *Rosas de otoño*, 1905; *Los malhechores del bien*, 1905; *Más fuerte que el amor*, 1906; *Los intereses creados*, 1907, which will perhaps remain his masterpiece; *La malquerida*, 1913; etc.). The author does not advertise a sermon or a moral, nor does he defend theses or social theories. But he is a terrible observer of every weakness, folly, hypocrisy and blemish; he has at service a creative imagination and a style of singular precision. His mocking scepticism and veiled irony pierce deeper than any eloquent tirade, but truly honest folk are never his target. He is certainly indebted to foreign drama, which he knows well (he has translated works of Shakespeare and Molière), but his own manner is very personal, and quite inimitable. The last decade shows a Benavente steering toward allegory and moral issues (*La ciudad alegre y confiada*, 1916; *La mariposa que voló sobre el mar*, 1927; *Para el cielo y los altares*, 1928); that is scarcely his most advantageous field. He is assuredly one of the two or three dramatic authors whom Spain can most confidently match against those of other countries, and she is proud of him. He was awarded the Nobel prize for literature in 1922.

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[1] See, in addition to the bibliography cited on p. 519, n. 2. Manuel Bueno, *Teatro esp. contemporáneo*, 1909. I. Goldberg, *Spain*, in *The Drama of Transition*, Cincinnati, 1922, 59–121 (Echegaray, Galdós, Benavente). A. González-Blanco, *Los dramaturgos españoles contemporáneos*, Valencia, 1917. R. Pérez de Ayala, *Las máscaras*, 2 vols., 1917–1919.

[2] *Teatro*, 1904—. *Tres comedias* (*Sin querer, De pequeñas causes . . ., Los intereses creados*), ed. J. Van Horne, Boston, 1918.—See A. Bonilla y San Martín, *J. B.*, in *Ateneo*, I, 1906, 27–40. M. Bueno, *op. cit.*, 129–167. A. González-Blanco, *op. cit.*, 27–168. R. Pérez de Ayala, *op. cit.*, I, 105–213. F. de Onís, *J. B.*, N. Y., 1923 (with bibliography). Walter Starkie, *J. B.*, Oxford, 1924 (with bibliography). C. Pitollet, *Sur Benavente I et Benavente II*, in *La Renaissance d'Occident*, VIII, 1923, 1243–1255.

Beside Benavente stands **Gregorio Martínez Sierra** (b. 1881; cf. p. 522).[1] His first works for the theater (*Teatro de ensueño*, 1905; *Vida y dulzura*, 1908), came after many volumes of other writing. But since then his activities have been mainly connected with the stage, as author and producer. His work is distinguished by a feminine delicacy and balanced grace, easy to understand when one knows that his wife, **María de la O Lejárraga,** collaborates with him in most of his plays (*La sombra del padre*, 1909; *El ama de la casa*, 1910; *Canción de cuna*, 1911; *Primavera en otoño*, 1911; *Mamá*, 1912; *Madama Pepita*, 1912; *Las golondrinas*, 1913; *Don Juan de España*, 1921; etc.). His most popular work is *The Cradle Song*, played with much success in New York in 1927; with tender unsophisticated humor it presents a picture of vicarious mother-love in a convent. Some of his other early creations (*La sombra del padre*, *Madama Pepita*) were keener, if less universal in theme. Martínez Sierra presents sentimentalism in a violet and rose version, singularly untouched by currents of thought prevailing beyond the Pyrenees.

Manuel Linares Rivas (b. 1867)[2] represents a rather militant form of thesis play, and has been notably successful with the public. *El abolengo* (1904) attacks snobbish family pride; *La garra* (1914) advocates divorce. "Europeanization" is the lesson of these and other plays (*Aire de fuera*, 1903; *María Victoria*, 1904; *La raza*, 1911; *Cobardías*, 1918; *La casa de la Troya* (from Pérez Lugín's novel), 1919; *La mala ley*, 1923). Linares's bright and natural dialogue resembles Benavente's, and like him he at times satirizes weaknesses of character as well as of customs and laws.

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[1] *Obras completas*, 1920–. *Canción de cuna*, ed. A. M. Espinosa and F. de Onís, N. Y., 1921. *Sueño de una noche de agosto*, ed. May Gardner and A. L. Owen, N. Y., 1926.—See, in addition to previous bibliography, W. Starkie, *G. M. S. and the Modern Spanish Drama*, in *Contemporary Review*, vol. CXXV, 1924, 198–205.

[2] *Obras completas*, 1913–. *El abolengo*, ed. P. G. Miller and F. de Onís, N. Y., 1921. —See A. González-Blanco, *op. cit.*, 169–204.

A dramatist who, like Dicenta, was earnestly concerned with class struggle was **José López Pinillos** (1875–1922),[1] calling himself **"Parmeno."** Journalist and novelist (*Doña Mesalina*, 1910; *El luchador*, 1916), he wrote a few powerful and bitter plays (*Esclavitud*, 1918; *La red*, 1919; *La tierra*, 1921; *Embrujamiento*, 1923). Like him, and like Baroja, the trenchant journalist **Luis Araquistáin** recently essayed the theater (*Remedios heroicos*, 1923). **"Azorín,"** (p. 591) least dramatic of writers, could not resist its glamor (*Old Spain*, 1926;[2] *Brandy, mucho brandy*, 1927; "*El clamor*," 1928, with Muñoz Seca), but convinced neither audiences nor critics. The artist **Ricardo Baroja,** brother of the novelist, composed a satire on eugenics, the genial farce-comedy *El pedigree* (1926), which attracted the attention of Pirandello.

Jacinto Grau Delgado (b. 1877), an intellectual dramatist of much force, gave a remarkable version of an old ballad story in *El Conde Alarcos* (1917), and of a Bible parable in *El hijo pródigo* (1918); used themes attract him (*Las bodas de Camacho*, 1903; *Don Juan de Carillana*, 1913; *El señor de Pigmalión*, 1921). Discriminating readers esteem his plays, but few before the last-named, a *farsa tragicómica*, have pleased the public. **Ramón Goy de Silva** (b. 1888), a Galician, has written two symbolical prose dramas, *La Reina Silencio* (1911), and *La corte del cuervo blanco* (1914), out of the trodden path; the characters are either abstract qualities, as in the old *autos sacramentales*, or birds and insects which represent abstractions.

7. Poetic drama, historical or quasi-historical in theme, is chiefly represented by Marquina and Villaespesa. **Eduardo Marquina** (b. 1879, cf. p. 523) [3] is not only an estimable novelist and poet, but a dramatist of vigorous inspiration, in whom the breath of classicism finds a very modern accent. He revived the drama of national legend, and in so doing gave to the stage works of a certain epic quality (*Las hijas del Cid*, 1908; *Doña María la brava*, 1909; *En Flandes se ha puesto el sol*, 1910; *El rey trovador*, 1912; *El Gran Capitán*, 1916; *El pavo real*, 1923, a fantastic Indian legend;

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[1] See R. Cansinos Asséns, *La nueva lit.*, IV, 1927, 40–52.

[2] Ed. G. B. Fundenburg, N. Y., 1928.

[3] *En Flandes se ha puesto el sol*, ed. Hespelt, Sanjurjo and F. de Onís, N. Y., 1924. *Las flores de Aragón*, ed. S. E. Leavitt, N. Y., 1928.—See A. González-Blanco, *op. cit.*, 295–330. J. León Pagano, *Al través de la España literaria*, 1904, II, 195–227. J. Rogerio Sánchez, *El teatro poético: Valle-Inclán, Marquina*, 1914.

Una noche en Venecia, 1923). But they, like the sentimental comedy in prose, *Cuando florezcan los rosales* (1912), show that Marquina's temperament is more poetic than dramatic. Still less is **Francisco Villaespesa** (p. 521) [1] a born dramatist. Having scored a fair success with *El alcázar de las perlas* (1911), a poetical evocation of Moorish Granada, he was never able to catch fortune again (*Doña María de Padilla*, 1913; *La leona de Castilla*, 1915; *La maja de Goya*, 1917). **Ramón del Valle-Inclán** [2] (p. 561) figures here as the author of *Cuento de abril* (1910), *Voces de gesta* (1912), *La Marquesa Rosalinda* (1913), verse dramas of more or less fantastic nature; but he has toyed much with semi-dramatic, semi-novelistic forms in prose, and some of his ripest work lies in this border-land: *Águila de blasón* (1907), *Romance de lobos* (1908), *Cara de plata* (1922) (these called *Comedias bárbaras*); and *Luces de Bohemia* (1924). **Luis Fernández Ardavín** (b. 1892) touches a patriotic chord with his shadowy evocations of great painters: El Greco (*La dama del armiño*, 1921) and Goya (*La maja*, 1928). **Manuel** and **Antonio Machado** (p. 522) have recently collaborated in poetic drama, *Desdichas de la fortuna o Julianillo Valcárcel* (1926), a romance of the times of Olivares, and *Juan de Mañara* (1927).

8. Two brothers, born in Utrera, who collaborate so closely that it is impossible to separate their personalities, **Serafín** (b. 1871) and **Joaquín** (b. 1873) **Álvarez Quintero** [3] share with a half dozen other dramatists the continuous favor of the public. They began modestly with little plays of the Andalusian type, *sainetes, juguetes cómicos, pasos de comedia*, etc., in which the subject itself amounts to little, but the comic detail is so accurately and delicately rendered, the *sal de la tierra* is sprinkled in such tasty proportion over dramatic passion, and every phrase is so agreeably tinged with the inexpressible and unexportable Andalusian grace, that these early trifles are real miniature masterpieces of lightness, verve and exact observation (*El ojito derecho*, 1897; *El chiquillo*, 1899; *El traje de luces*, 1899; *El patio*, 1900; *La azotea*, 1901; *Los piropos*, 1902; *Abanicos y panderetas*, 1902; *El nuevo servidor*, 1905; *Mañana de sol*, 1905; *Sangre gorda*, 1909; etc.). The brothers had moved in 1888 from Seville, their boyhood home, to Madrid, and some of the short pieces just enumerated are set in the capital. Flattered by the public, they were naturally led beyond the *sainete*. As they felt themselves masters of their talent and extended the field of their experience, they essayed true comedy and scored great success there also (*El patio*, 1900; *Los Galeotes*, 1900; *El nido*, 1901; *Las flores*, 1901; *La zagala*, 1904; *El amor que pasa*, 1904; *El genio alegre*, 1906; *Las de Caín*, 1908; *Doña Clarines*, 1909; *Puebla de las mujeres*, 1912; *Nena Teruel*, 1913; *Dios dirá*, 1915; *Así se escribe la historia*, 1917; *La prisa*, 1921; etc.). They have kept, in this broader domain, their delightful gayety, their amazing ability to catch comic elements, the hobbies and tics of each character; they retain, too, their healthy, comforting optimism, not afraid to shed a tear now and then. They do not disdain to place before us, beside eccentrics and clownery, plain likable folk and touching scenes poetically rendered. The fertility of the two brothers shows no signs of failing; there is a certain danger in drawing so heavily upon it. In any case, their pieces, now numbering about one hundred and fifty, form a wonderfully varied and diverting picture of the world which they dramatize. Unfortunately part of their theater (perhaps the best) is almost lost to the foreigner, for it reproduces with untranslatable exactness dialect forms, turns of phrase, idioms and even the slovenly pronunciation of the many Andalusian characters. There are exotic fruits which must be eaten on the spot; exported, their flavor vanishes.

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[1] Cf. R. Pérez de Ayala, *La maja de Goya*, in *Las máscaras*, 1917, 219–229.

[2] See J. Rogerio Sánchez, *El teatro poético: Valle-Inclán, Marquina*, 1914.

[3] *Teatro completo*, 1923–. *Doña Clarines*, ed. S. G. Morley, N. Y., 1915. *La flor de la vida*, ed. Reed, Brooks and Onís, N. Y., 1926.—See Manuel Bueno, *Teatro esp. contemporáneo*, 1909, 200–228. F. Martín Caballero, in *Vidas ajenas*, 1914. R. Pérez de Ayala, in *Las máscaras*, II, 1917, 333–343. J. G. Underhill, *The One-Act Play in Spain*, in *The Drama*, VII, 1917, 15–116. Ricardo León, *Discurso leído ante la R. Acad. Esp. en la recepción pública de Don Serafín A. Q., el día 21 de nov. de 1920*. "Azorín," *Los Quinteros y otras páginas*, 1925, expanded from the *Discurso* read at the reception of Don Joaquín, April 26, 1925. E. Mérimée, *Le théâtre des A. Q.*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXVIII, 1926, 36–58.

9. The Quinteros, in part of their work at least, lead naturally to a discussion of the *género chico*,[1] or "little drama." It excites the ire of academic critics, but comes very near to being the only really living, popular dramatic genre; the only national genre, one might add, when one recalls its ancestry, Ramón de la Cruz of Madrid, González del Castillo of Cadiz, Robreño[2] of Catalonia, and Eduardo Escalante [1] of Valencia. These unpretentious playlets, which do not always escape the two-pointed reef of vulgarity and smut, can boast illustrious forebears. Without going back to the classics, we may recall that toward the middle of the nineteenth century the collaboration of talented musicians with librettists like Ventura de la Vega, Rubí, Selgas, Romero Larrañaga (1815–1872) and many more brought forth a flood of *zarzuelas* that quickly became popular. The successful opening of the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* in 1856 gave them a definite standing. One of the most prolific of the *zarzuelistas*, Camprodón, has already been mentioned. To his name may be added those of **Luis Olona** (1823–1863), author of *El duende, Buenas noches, señor Don Simón, Los Madgyares*, etc., and **José Picón** (1829–1873), whose charming *Pan y toros* (1864) seems to anticipate Alarcón's *Sombrero de tres picos* (1874). With this we reach the beginning of the *género chico* (ca. 1868), and the authors, who are legion, cannot all be left unnamed. Among the most popular purveyors to the *teatro por horas* were **Carlos Frontaura** (1834–1910), also the witty author of *Las tiendas*,[2] dialogued sketches of Madrid shops; **Miguel Ramos Carrión** (1845–1915), author of *Cada loco con su tema, Los señoritos, El noveno mandamiento, La bruja*, a frequent collaborator with Vital Aza (*Zaragüeta*); **Eusebio Blasco** (1844–1903),[3] who sought easy success in parody, but also aspired to higher comedy (*El pañuelo blanco, Los dulces de la boda*) and earned a solid reputation as an ingenious and witty journalist and story-teller (p. 569); **Francisco Javier de Burgos** (1842–1902), who in *Los valientes* (1886) [4] and *Las mujeres* (1896) adds a moral to his fun; **Ricardo de la Vega** (1839–1910), one of the most justly popular masters of the *sainete*, some of whose titles and lines have passed as bywords into the language (*La canción de la Lola*, 1880; *Pepa la Frescachona; De Getafe al paraíso; El Señor Luis el Tumbón*,[4] 1891; *La verbena de la Paloma*, 1894); **Vital Aza** (1851–1912), a name familiar in lighter works (*Aprobados y suspensos; San Sebastián, Mártir; El sombrero de copa; El señor Gobernador; El*

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[1] Marciano Zurita, *Historia del género chico*, 1920.

[2] Cf. L. F. de Moratín, *Obras* (*Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, II), 334b.

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[1] Dates, 1834–1895. *Colección completa de las obras*, Valencia, n. d.—See Pedro Gómez Martí, *Los tipos psicológicos del pueblo valenciano y su representación en el teatro de Escalante*, Valencia, 1920.

[2] Selections, ed. A. F. Whittem, N. Y., 1918.

[3] *Obras completas*, 27 vols., 1903–1906.

[4] Ed. Morley and Entwistle, in *Tres sainetes en verso*, N. Y., 1926.

señor Cura; La Praviana); **Felipe Pérez y González** (1854–1910) (*La Gran Vía*, 1886; *Pelillos a la mar*); **Miguel Echegaray** (1848–1927), brother of José (*El octavo, no mentir; La fuerza de un niño; Sin familia; En primera clase; Meterse a redentor*); **Mariano Pina Domínguez; Emilio Sánchez Pastor; Sinesio Delgado; Tomás Luceño; José Estremera; José López Silva** (b. 1861), the Homer of the *chulapería*, the realistic singer of *Los barrios bajos* (1894) and *Los Madriles* (1896). Those same " low quarters " are the usual source of inspiration for **Carlos Arniches** (b. 1866), the mirth-provoking author of *El santo de la Isidra* (1898), *El puñao de rosas* (1902), *El pobre Valbuena* (1904), *El amigo Melquíades* (1914), *El chico de las Peñuelas* (1915), *Es mi hombre* (1921), scenes of popular life heightened to the point of caricature, reproduced in the picturesque language or argot of that section of Madrid [1] and enlivened with very typical music. These *pochades* may, who knows? outlast more ambitious productions. At any rate they furnish, after their fashion, curious documents on contemporary Madrid. "The *entremeses*," wrote Agustín Durán long since, " and old farces that served to excite laughter and amuse the mob with rustic and frequently coarse jokes, took a more serious and moral turn and were transformed into *sainetes;* in them the lower classes were treated as important material for study and philosophic observation, on the theory that certain vices and virtues can be found there in just as true and deep form as elsewhere." [2] There are many accurately observed touches in Arniches's screaming farces, and even some philosophy as well.

One could not truthfully say the same of the dramatized tomfooleries or *astracanadas* [3] of **Pedro Muñoz Seca** (b. 1881) and his school. These have for the moment replaced in popular favor the *género chico*, for the *teatro por horas* is now defunct, or nearly so.

This rapid résumé is enough to convey a notion of the theater in Spain. At present the great figures of the early 20th century seem to have given the measure of their accomplishment, while as yet no new talents of unusual power have arisen to continue or vary their tradition.

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[1] See Roberto Pastor y Molina, *Vocabulario de madrileñismos*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XVIII, 1908, 51–72. F. Ruiz Morcuende, *Algunas notas de lenguaje popular madrileño*, in *Homenaje Menéndez Pidal*, II, 1925, 205–212. The contemporary *sainetes* of López Silva, Ramos Carrión, Antonio Casero, Alejandro Larrubiera, etc., provide ample documents for the study of this argot.

[2] *Colección de sainetes de D. Ramón de la Cruz*, I, 1843, p. vii.

[3] An *astracanada* is defined by Hurtado and González Palencia (*Hist. de la lit. esp.*, 1925, p. 1066) as distinguishable by a wildly improbable plot in which plays on words and puns are more in evidence than ingenuity and *vis cómica*.

10. In order to make our survey complete, we should include the regional and dialectal theater, particularly the Catalan theater, so original and brilliant that it rivals the Castilian and has at times served it as a model.[1] Since we cannot properly leave the field of Castilian letters, we must content ourselves with saying that what chiefly attracts and delights the active, practical and positive genius of the Catalans is what *has actually been* and what *is*. And that is why their repertory is largely made up on the one hand of historical dramas that celebrate the struggles, tragedies and great deeds of Catalan history, and, on the other, of scenes of popular customs in town and country. Scarcely any other type is to be found among the works of **Frederich Soler** (1839–1895), who used the pseudonym *Serafí Pitarra*, **Vidal y Valenciano, Ángel Guimerá** (1847–1924),[2] author of that real masterpiece entitled *Terra baixa* (1897), and earlier plays (*Judith de Welp, Lo fill del rey, Rey y monjo, L'anima morta, María Rosa*); **Arnau, Ferrer y Codina, Felíu y Codina** (p. 532); and, nearer to our day, **Ignasi Iglesias** (b. 1871) (*Fructidor; Foc-follet; La resclosa; Els vells*, 1903; *La mare eterna; El cor del poble; Lladres; Joventut; Les garces*, 1905), **Adrián Gual** (*Silenci; Misteri de dolor*, 1899), **Torrendell,** and the painter **Santiago Rusiñol** (b. 1861)[3] (*L'alegría que passa*, 1898), who is certainly one of the contemporary authors most worthy of attention. Catalonia produced also the dramatic critic who did perhaps more than any other to propagate the doctrines of realism in Spain, **José Yxart** (1852–1895). The author of *El arte escénico en España* (2 vols., Barcelona, 1894–96) exerted a notable influence in this direction upon Guimerá, Oller and all his contemporaries.

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[1] Francisco Curet, *El arte dramático en el resurgir de Cataluña*, Barcelona, n. d. (1917?).

[2] See Manuel Bueno, *Teatro esp. contemporáneo*, 1909, 51–75.

[3] See M. Bueno, *Teatro esp. cont.*, 229–240.

CHAPTER III

THE NOVEL [1]

1. The First Modern Novelists

It may be asserted that it was **Cecilia Böhl de Faber,** daughter of the German scholar mentioned above (p. 495), who, under the pseudonym **Fernán Caballero** (1796–1877),[2] founded the modern novel of Spain. When she began to write, the public was still taking delight in cheap adventure novels, *Candelas, José María, Los siete niños de Écija,* or translations and imitations of French popular romances, *Martín el expósito, El judío errante,* etc. "She came," says Ortega y Munilla, "and it was as though a jasmine flower bloomed in a chill and arid desert." Born in Switzerland of a German father and a Spanish mother, educated from the age of nine to seventeen in Hamburg by French governesses, spending thereafter most of her life in Spain, she was a cosmopolitan and enough of a linguist to compose the first form of some of her novels in German and in French. Through three marriages she preserved the same literary nom de plume, taken from a village in La Mancha. Her first novel, or at least the one which made her reputation, *La gaviota* (*The Sea-Gull*), appeared in the periodical *El Heraldo* in 1849.[3] Among her many other works the most important are the novels *Clemencia* (1852), *La familia de Alvareda* (1856),[4] and *Elia*

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[1] In addition to the general works cited on p. 505, note 1, see A. Palacio Valdés, *Los novelistas españoles,* 1878 (reprinted in *Semblanzas literarias,* 1908). F. Vézinet, *Les maîtres du roman esp. contemporain,* Paris, 1907. A. González-Blanco, *Historia de la novela en España desde el romanticismo a nuestros días,* 1909. E. Gómez de Baquero ("Andrenio"), *Novelas y novelistas,* 1918. Id., *El renacimiento de la novela en el siglo XIX,* 1924. Id., *De Gallardo a Unamuno,* 1926. Salvador de Madariaga, *The Genius of Spain,* Oxford, 1923 (Spanish version, *Semblanzas literarias contemporáneas,* 1924). R. Cansinos Asséns, *La evolución de la novela (1917–1927),* (*Los contemporáneos,* vol. IV), 1927.

[2] *Obras completas,* 17 vols., 1893–1914. *Un servilón y un liberalito,* ed. C. Bransby, N. Y., 1909. *Cartas,* ed. Fr. Diego de Valencia, 1919. *Epistolario,* ed. López Argüello, Barcelona, 1922.—See Marqués de Figueroa, *F. C. y la novela en su tiempo,* 1886. A. Morel-Fatio, *F. C. d'après sa correspondance avec Antoine de Latour,* in *Études sur l'Espagne,* III, Paris, 1904, 279–370. C. Pitollet, *Les premiers essais littéraires de F. C.,* in *Bull. Hisp.,* IX, 1907, and X, 1908. Luis Coloma, *Recuerdos de F. C.,* Bilbao, n. d. B. Croce, *F. C.,* in *Poesia e non poesia,* Bari, 1923, 207–225.

[3] Composed in French and put into Spanish by J. J. de Mora, if the author's word is to be taken literally.

[4] First composed in German. See C. Pitollet, *op. cit.*

(1857); and the collections of sketches, *Cuadros de costumbres* (1853; *Lucas García, Simón Verde*, etc.), and *Relaciones* (1857; *Justa y Rufina, Más largo es el tiempo*, etc.). She has herself explained what she wished to accomplish, if not what she actually did: "I have not attempted to put any study of the heart or of the world, any invention, art or inspiration into my stories. They give an exact picture of our present-day society, of the manners and feelings of our people, set down in their own language, poetic, witty, full of gay jests untinged with bitterness. I present true Spanish types in every class, exact descriptions of every subject. . . . *La novela no se inventa, se observa.*" This principle was at that time forgotten in Spain; it is the same as that formulated soon after by George Eliot: "My strongest effort is to give a faithful account of men and things as they have mirrored themselves in my mind." Yet Fernán Caballero's guiding force was really her tender sympathy for all she came in contact with, and this same intelligent affection led her to collect popular songs, legends, proverbs,[1] idioms, even riddles and children's dance-songs. Her innocent heart went into all her work, and it was *her* Spain, *her* Andalusia, as she saw and loved it, that her generation knew, particularly abroad.[2] She has been reproached for her incorrigible optimism (it is certain that she fails completely in depicting vice), her old-fashioned ideas (she was a woman, and passionately attached to the past), her continual injection of herself into the narrative (too often she mistakes sermon for novel), and certain formal errors (but the most famous of Spanish novels sins grievously in this respect). In spite of all, out of that rich library of novels that charmed so many readers a few delightful works will live, and they add to their intrinsic merit that of breaking the path for others. The picturesque study of regional customs in Spain really dates from Fernán Caballero.

2. **Antonio de Trueba** (1819[3]–1889)[4] resembles her in some ways. When he journeyed to Madrid in 1836 to earn his living as

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[1] *Refranero del campo y poesía popular, obra póstuma*, ed. J. A. Morgado, 2 vols., 1912.

[2] Her correspondence gives ample information concerning her character and ideas.

[3] His baptismal certificate is of date December 25, 1819, but Trueba regarded it as one or two years in error; in his opinion, he was born in 1821.

[4] *Obras completas*, 11 vols., 1907–1915. *Selección de trabajos en prosa y verso*, ed. Carmelo Echegaray, 1920.—See A. González-Blanco, *A. de T., su vida y sus obras*, Bilbao, 1914.

clerk in his uncle's hardware store, he carried with him a homesick longing for the Basque country of his birth, to which he was to return later (1862) as official chronicler of Vizcaya (*cronista del señorío*). He relieved the weary days of his nostalgia by writing of home. His first book, *El libro de los cantares* (1851) brought genuine popularity to the man who is still known on the banks of the Nervión as "*Antón el de los cantares.*" Soon collections of stories appeared in rapid succession: *Cuentos populares* (1853); *Cuentos de color de rosa* (1859); *Cuentos campesinos* (1860); *Cuentos de vivos y muertos* (1866); *Cuentos de varios colores* (1866); not to mention more ambitious historical tales, like *Las hijas del Cid* (1859). Trueba is an amiable improviser and a thorough-going optimist; rose and green are his favorite colors. His psychology is cut-and-dried, and obviously there is no depth in it, but he too knew his way to the heart of the people; he spoke their tongue, he shared and expressed their feelings. That consoled him for the scorn of certain aesthetes: " O most pure inspirer of my rose-hued tales," cried he to his muse, " let the cynical reader laugh all he likes at my innocent imaginings. . . . For my part, I know that there are eyes that weep and hearts that beat faster in the presence of my humble scenes; one heart-beat, one tear effaces all the sarcasm of that blasé reader." (*Desde la patria al cielo*, III.)

3. **Pedro Antonio de Alarcón** (1833–1891),[1] born in Guadix, was successively student, member of the famous Granada club or *Cuerda granadina* (1854–1855), radical journalist, politician, deputy; changing his views, he supported Alfonso XII, was Minister to Sweden and Norway, and Councillor of State. His many works are varied in character. Aside from his novels, the following are worthy of note: *Diario de un testigo de la guerra de África* (1859–1860), a war in which he had enlisted as a soldier; travel notes, *De Madrid a Nápoles* (1861), *Viajes por España* (1883), and, better, *La Alpujarra* (1874), an account of a trip in those picturesque and historic mountains; *Poesías serias y humorísticas* (1870);

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[1] *Obras completas*, 19 vols., 1899. *Dos ángeles caídos, y otros escritos olvidados*, ed. A. A. T., 1924?.—See L. Lande, *P. de A.*, in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 mai, 1875. E. Pardo Bazán, *P. A. de A.*, in *Retratos y apuntes literarios*, 117–216 (*Obras completas*, vol. 32). Alarcón, *Historia de mis libros*, 1889. A. Bonilla y San Martín, *Los orígenes de "El sombrero de tres picos,"* in *Rev. Hisp.*, XIII, 1905, 5–17. R. Foulché-Delbosc, *D'où dérive "El sombrero de tres picos," ibid.*, XVIII, 1908, 468–487.

controversial articles, political speeches, talks in the Academy, and the *Historia de mis libros* (1884).

His novels may be divided into three groups: 1, works of unbridled imagination, romantic foreign imitations, mediocre productions, of which the too famous *El final de Norma* (1855) is the type. 2, novels and short stories of purely Spanish inspiration, and these include his masterpieces, in my opinion.[1] In this class are the charming *Historietas nacionales* (*El afrancesado, El asistente, El corneta de llaves, El carbonero alcalde, Tic-tac, El libro talonario*, etc.), and the incomparable *El sombrero de tres picos* (1874), a vivid and complete picture of Andalusia in the days of Carlos IV, picturesque, amusing and dazzling as a Fortuny watercolor. 3, thesis novels, in which the converted radical attempts, without great success, to study more deeply than his predecessors the manners of contemporary society, and at the same time to defend the conservative principles which he believes support that society. This series began in 1875 with *El escándalo*, and continued with *El Niño de la Bola* (1880; the title alludes to an image of the Child Jesus), and *La pródiga* (1882). *El Capitán Veneno* (1881) was not so ambitious. It belongs rather in the second group, for it is merely an attractive sketch of a gruff soldier who little by little lets himself be tamed and won to the pleasures of family life. Alarcón, in short, was personally better informed and documented than Fernán Caballero or Trueba, and possessed some of the qualities of a great novelist, but he is unequal, incomplete and paradoxical. He still wavered, swayed by chance or caprice, between Romanticism and Realism. Some of his long novels enjoyed considerable success, but *La pródiga* was a failure, and the author, discouraged, ceased to write.

4. Trueba was a pure elegiac; Alarcón had the brilliant palette of a southern painter. **Juan Valera y Alcalá Galiano** (1824–1905)[2] was a philosopher who hid sceptical tendencies under an optimistic surface; a subtle, penetrating moralist. Diplomat, cosmopolitan and linguist, he studied man very closely both from life and from books, and he was fond of the society of women; on the latter point his correspondence sheds all necessary light. He read ancient and modern authors, national and foreign, all in the original. He gave a graceful translation and an erudite commentary to Longus; he made an excellent Spanish version of von Schack's *Poetry and Art of the Arabs in Spain* (3 vols., 1867–71). He was extremely well posted on every new current that agitated the republic of letters, in the Old World or the New, and usually had a word to say about it. His criticism, of which elegant bits are found in his *Discursos académicos,* is perhaps too kindly and undiscriminating; this defect, no longer common, betrays the good fellow and the friend. For a moment, when he published his *Poesías* (1858), he may have believed himself a poet, but he soon saw, just as the public did, that that was not his vocation. Being a wise man, he did not insist.

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[1] The *Novelas cortas* form three series: *Cuentos amatorios*, 1881; *Historietas nacionales*, 1881; *Narraciones inverosímiles*, 1882.

[2] *Obras completas*, 46 vols., 1905–1917. *Correspondencia*, 2 vols., 1913. *Cartas inéditas*, in *Rev. Bibl. Arch. y Museo*, II, 1925, 83–109. *Pepita Jiménez*, ed. M. Azaña, with bibliography, 1927 (*Clásicos cast.*, vol. 80).—See E. Pardo Bazán, *Retratos y apuntes literarios* (*Obras completas*, vol. XXXII), 217–280. Conde de Casa-Valencia, *Necrología del . . . Sr. D. J. V.*, 1905. Conde de las Navas, *D. J. V., apuntes del natural*, 1905. F. Vézinet, *op. cit.*, 3–39. J. Juderías, *D. J. V., apuntes para su biografía*, in *La Lectura*, XIII, 1913 and XIV, 1914. *Noticia autobiográfica*,

Valera's novels are the writings that will keep his name alive. *Pepita Jiménez* (1874) was the first, and will probably remain the best known. In it facts are of small account and the plot is almost null; the action lies within the heart and brain of the hero. The drama is purely psychological, and that was a novelty and marked a new era in the history of Spanish fiction. The keenness of this study of a soul, the exquisite art with which the progressive growth of a passion is indicated, the delicacy of the analysis, the elegance of a style impregnated with the classical perfume of sixteenth century mysticism,—all these qualities form the delight of connoisseurs, but are not of a sort to attract a crowd. In truth there is too little emotion in the book. The realm which Valera liked to explore, and which he excelled in exploring, is that of veiled sentiments, of intimate unavowed passions that scarcely emerge from the half-light of the soul, making outsiders guess their existence; the realm of obscure struggles between love and duty staged within select natures. *Doña Luz* (1879), for example, is a pendant to *Pepita Jiménez,* or rather its reverse side. The same problems

in *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, I, 1914, 128–140. F. Rodríguez Marín, *D. J. V. epistológrafo, conferencia,* 1925. E. Gómez de Baquero, *V., humanista*, in *De Gallardo a Unamuno,* 1926. P. Mazzei, *La lírica de J. V.*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXIX, 1927, 131–163.

are set, but they are solved differently. Some critics place *El Comendador Mendoza* (1877) above the novels mentioned; they declare that it is more dramatic and varied, of livelier action, and that it contains moral problems and conscience prickings no less interesting than the others. The same cannot be said of *Las ilusiones del Doctor Faustino* (1875), *Pasarse de listo* (1878), *Genio y figura . . .* (1897), or *Juanita la Larga* (1896), the last a charming and authentic picture of village life in Andalusia. *Morsamor* (1899) is an ingenious version of an old tale from *El Conde Lucanor*,[1] which had already given Ruiz de Alarcón *La prueba de las promesas*, and the Duke of Rivas *El desengaño en un sueño*. In spite of portions of prime excellence, these last works have not the same clearness and psychological value. The author's personality is very attractive, but it is too much in evidence; it interferes with the dramatic interest of the story. And the story is too obviously only a pretext selected by the canny moralist to instruct and edify. For this reason he achieves remarkable success in the philosophic Voltairian *conte* such as *El pájaro verde; Parsondes*, which reminds one of *Candide; Asclepigenia* (1878), a critique of mysticism, in which Proclo plays the part of Don Luis in *Pepita Jiménez; Gopa*, a condemnation of pessimism; *La buena fama*, etc.

Valera's balanced reason and shrewdly smiling urbanity appear also in his very numerous critical writings, in his argument with Campoamor on pessimism, in his collections, *A vuela pluma*, *De varios colores*, *Ecos argentinos*, and even in the *Cuentos y chascarillos andaluces* (1896), where Valera, in company with the Conde de las Navas, Narciso Campillo and Doctor Thebussem, sprinkled Andalusian salt by the handful; the dish is even too highly seasoned. He rose high in his profession of diplomacy, and was Minister in Lisbon, Washington and Brussels, and Ambassador in Vienna. His old age was saddened by blindness, but this affliction could not disturb his serene soul; it only conferred upon him that impalpable quality of completeness which is the crown of talent. Valera will always be regarded as one of the masters of his language. His style is classically pure, with no archaic affectation, and may be held the finished model of modern Castilian.

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[1] No. XI, *De lo que contesció a un Deán de Sanctiago con don Yllán. . . .*

5. José María de Pereda (1833–1906) [1] does as great honor to Spanish letters as Valera, but the two men form a striking contrast. Pereda was no cosmopolitan; he scarcely ever left his dear Santander *Montaña*, his own little garden, *su huertecillo*, as Sra. Pardo Bazán remarked, not without malice. From it he plucked rare and brilliant flowers. He made no pretense to erudition. Although possibly we need not take all his statements at their face value, his reading and literary knowledge were not extensive. He drew his creations from within; from his plastic and powerful imagination, from his heart, overflowing with noble passion, from his extraordinarily tenacious love of his native soil, from his unusual powers of observation and natural talent for expression. So, out of his slightly haughty isolation issued a series of picturesque narratives which forced the world's attention, and then its admiration. Some are pure masterpieces. I do not hesitate so to class *Sotileza* (1884), which evokes Old Santander, her men and things, with such extraordinary power; *El sabor de la tierruca* (1882), in which the same virile tenderness is bodied in a rather melodramatic plot; *La puchera* (1889), whose figures possess a relief never to be forgotten; and *Peñas arriba* (1895), which abounds in superb pages, though it reveals the weakness of this rare *costumbrista* and portrait-painter when it came to devising a well-knit, logical plan. There is plenty of talent also in the novels in which Pereda, Catholic and royalist *a macha martillo*, maintains the theses dear to him: *El buey suelto . . .* (1877), against bachelorhood; *Don Gonzalo González de la Gonzalera* (1878); *De tal palo, tal astilla* (1879; *A Chip of the Old Block*), a counterpoise to George Sand's *Mlle. de la Quintinie*, Octave Feuillet's *Sibylle* and Pérez Galdós's *Gloria*. *Pedro Sánchez* (1883), a novel of Madrid and politics, has admirers; to me it appears that when Pereda leaves his native heath, as he had already done in *La Montálvez* (1888), his power diminishes. At the very outset of his career, in the *Escenas montañesas* (two series, 1864 and 1871, the second called *Tipos y paisajes*), and some years later in the *Bocetos al temple* (1876), he had shown how unusual was his talent for painting from nature. For in every line he wrote the reader can sniff the salt breeze from the Cantabrian shore or the fortifying odors of the mountain. It is evident that his studies were conceived and executed in the open air, from living models, amid familiar landscapes. Many of his types have been caught by surprise and fixed alive on paper, with their manner of being, hobbies and tricks of speech. You can see them, hear them, recognize them at a glance. In him style never smells of the lamp nor smacks of the work-room; it rushes forth spontaneous, picturesque, and colorful, crowded with popular expressions and native idioms for which a special lexicon has been provided.[1] The dialogue has a singular savor, the descriptions are so rich and varied that they bring into play all the resources of the Spanish language, and especially of the old speech, for the idiom of this *hidalgo chapado a la antigua* exhales a certain archaic perfume, though he doubtless did not so intend. All these rare gifts convey the impression of a master workman, who, had he possessed a few secondary qualities and perhaps a trifle more *savoir-faire* and talent for self-advertisement, might have risen to the very front rank in European literature.

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[1] *Obras completas*, 17 vols., 1894–1906. *Pedro Sánchez*, abridged ed. R. E. Bassett, Boston, 1907, with an excellent introduction.—See B. Pérez Galdós, *Discurso leído en la R. Acad. Esp.*, 21 de feb. de 1897. Boris de Tannenberg, *J. M. de P.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, V, 1898, 330–364. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Don J. M. de P.*, in *Estudios de crítica literaria*, V, 1908, 353–444. F. Vézinet, *op. cit.*, 129–166. J. Montero, *P.*, 1919. Maurine Mays, *A Sociological Interpretation of the Works of J. M. de P.*, Canton, Missouri, 1926.

Not much need be said of the Jesuit Father **Luis Coloma** (1851–1914),[2] who, after having written a number of short stories, hardly known outside a circle of pious readers (*El primer baile*, *Polvos y lodos*, *La maledicencia*, *La Gorriona*, *¡Era un santo!*, etc.), suddenly had a *succès de scandale* with his novel *Pequeñeces* (1891). It is a virulent satire on the upper crust of society under the Alfonsine restoration—a satire that was approved, we must suppose, by the Company of Jesus. Grand ladies, their real personalities hidden by a thin veil, indulge in compromising adventures and suspicious intimacies with vicious or moronic aristocrats, free-masons and romantic conspirators. Public curiosity was piqued in a high degree. The journals were filled with loud and heated arguments. One lauded " the appearance of a great new novelist"; another denounced this " audacious pamphleteer in a cassock." But when the racket reached a lull, it was seen that the novelist had merely, to use his own expression, taken his cue from an itinerant friar, and

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[1] Eduardo de Huidobro, *Palabras, giros y bellezas del lenguaje popular de la Montaña elevado por Pereda a la dignidad del lenguaje clásico español*, Santander, 1907.

[2] See E. Pardo Bazán, *El padre L. C.*, in *Retratos y apuntes literarios*, 281–355 (*Obras completas*, XXXII). C. Eguía Ruiz, *El P. L. C.*, in *Literatura y literatos*, 2ª serie, Barcelona, 1917, 71–197. A. and A. García Carraffa, *El Padre C.*, 1918.

"erected my trestle in the pages of a novel in order that my sermon might from that vantage point reach persons who would otherwise not listen to me." To attract them he served up doctrine "*envuelta en una salsa lícitamente profana.*" Literary epicures, however, found the sauce too piquant and the ragout too highly seasoned. The scandal quickly died away and the author retired to a modest obscurity, whence he emerged only to publish another novel, *Boy* (1910), completely forgotten today.

6. **Emilia Pardo Bazán de Quiroga** (1852–1921), later Condesa de Pardo Bazán,[1] has by the variety of her aptitudes, her laboriousness and her talent as a writer earned a foremost position as polygraph and novelist in a country which does not take kindly to female writers, despite famous precedents in the past. Her critical and erudite writings are numerous (*Examen crítico de las obras de Feijóo*, 1876; *San Francisco de Asís; Los poetas épico-cristianos, Dante, Milton, Tasso, Hojeda, Klopstock, Chateaubriand; Estudio sobre el Darwinismo; La pedagogía en la literatura del Renacimiento; La revolución y la novela en Rusia*, 3 vols.; *La cuestión palpitante*, 1883, an essay on the naturalistic novel, etc.). This is the weakest part of her work. Next, there are many travel books (*Mi romería; De mi tierra; Al pie de la torre Eiffel; Por Francia y por Alemania*, etc.), and the *Nuevo teatro crítico*, a literary review which, by a veritable *tour de force*, she wrote single-handed during three years (1891–1893).

But the Señora Pardo Bazán is known in Spain and abroad chiefly for her novels and numberless short stories. She avows herself a follower of the realistic school, which she sees as in clear opposition to naturalism. "If the real is everything that has a true and actual existence, realism in art presents a broader, completer and more perfect theory than naturalism. It includes and embraces the natural and the spiritual, body and soul; it harmonizes and unifies the opposed concepts of naturalism and rational idealism. Everything can find place in realism, save the exaggerations and errors of two extreme schools, which, being extreme, are of necessity exclusivist."[1] She applied these principles in many stories and in her long novels. Of the latter, the most important are: *Pascual López* (1879), the very fanciful autobiography of a medical student; *Un viaje de novios* (1881), in which both characters and setting (part of it in Vichy) are more carefully observed; *La Tribuna* (1882), a curious study of a woman cigar-maker in the rôle of tribune of the people; *El cisne de Vilamorta* (1885), presenting in a small-town setting the portrait of a school-mistress as detestable as she is vigorously drawn; *Los pazos de Ulloa* (1886; *The Ulloa Mansion*); and *La madre naturaleza* (1887), these two, which are one story, forming, in my opinion, the author's masterpiece, for in them she has done for the admirable Galician countryside what Pereda did for *La Montaña; Insolación* and *Morriña* (1889), two truly powerful studies of Madrid psychology, boldly conceived; *La cristiana* and its sequel *La prueba* (1890), less vibrant, but deeper; *La piedra angular* (1891), where the executioner Rojo, the *corner-stone* of the social edifice, recalls Rigoletto; *La quimera* (1905), which initiates her last manner, and is one of the keenest and most perfectly written;[2] *La sirena negra* (1908), a favorite of the author; *Dulce dueño* (1911), which probes a morbidly mystical type. Yet these form but a small part of Pardo Bazán's varied production. In it mysticism and realism alternate; the woodsy odors of the banks of the Aveiro mingle with the acrid stench from the *barrios* of Madrid and the *pradera de San Isidro;* the freely flowing style lends itself to every theme and at times takes on a classic or archaic tinge. As if the laurels of novelist, critic, student, moralist and publicist were not enough, Sra. Pardo Bazán wished to add to them those of the theater (*Verdad*, 1906), the Academy and the professorship. She was in fact appointed professor of modern Romance literatures (*catedrático de literatura de las lenguas neolatinas*) at the University of Madrid. Her admission would have honored the Spanish Academy, but a long-standing tradition prevented.

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[1] *Obras completas*, 47 vols., 1888–1922. (The extra volume, 43, *El lirismo en la poesía francesa*, was edited by L. Araujo-Costa from notes for her course at the University of Madrid). *Pascual López*, abridged ed. W. I. Knapp, Boston, 1905. —See F. Vézinet, *Les maîtres du roman esp. contemporain*, Paris, 1907, 203–231. A. González-Blanco, in *La Lectura*, I, 1908. E. Gómez de Baquero ("Andrenio"), *La última manera espiritual de la Condesa de P. B.*, in *Novelas y novelistas*, 1918, 293–330. Id., *E. P. B.*, in *De Gallardo a Unamuno*, 1926, 145–160. A. Andrade Coello, *La condesa E. P. B.*, Quito, 1922. C. C. Glascock, *Two Modern Spanish Novelists, E. P. B. and Armando Palacio Valdés*, Austin, Texas, 1926 (*Univ. Texas Bull.*).

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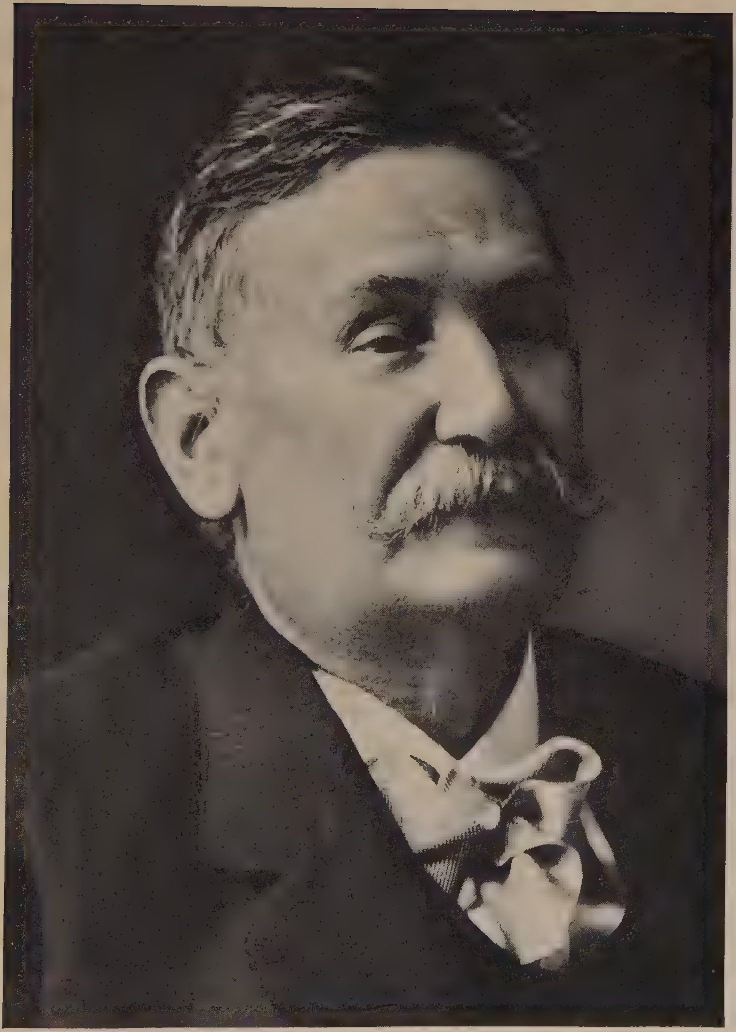
[1] *La cuestión palpitante*, cap. iii.

[2] [Cf. "Andrenio," *Novelas y novelistas, loc. cit.*, and C. C. Glascock, *La quimera, by Emilia Pardo Bazán*, in *Hispania* (Calif.), IX, 1926, 86–94. The translator would rate *La quimera* as Pardo Bazán's greatest literary achievement.]



BENITO PÉREZ GALDÓS

7. But the true master of the modern novel in Spain is **Benito Pérez Galdós** (1843–1920; on his theater cf. p. 532),[1] a native of the Canary Islands. If other novelists can rival or even surpass him in some special field, not one has raised so tremendous and so rich a literary monument, or a structure more solidly founded and more thoroughly finished. His tenacious, persevering labor, carried on without flagging or making concessions, far from frivolous comment, his ascent, step by step, toward the ideal he conceived, are wholly admirable; and if not admiration, they could not fail to earn respect. Holding aloof from schools and theories, Pérez Galdós, by his own reflection and his own will, conceived the novel as the exact reproduction of life in all its phases. "The novel," he said, "is the image of life, and its art consists in reproducing human characters; passions, weaknesses, greatness and littleness, souls and faces, all the spirit and matter which make up our being and the beings about us; language, the mark of the race; dwellings, the symbol of the family; clothing, the final outward manifestation of personality; and all this, without forgetting ever that the reproduction must preserve an exact balance between accuracy and beauty."[2]

In its breadth, Galdós's work is comparable to that of Balzac or Zola. His first novel, *La fontana de oro*, was written in 1867–68 and printed in 1870; after that scarcely a year passed without one or more. In order to get an idea of this immense production we must divide it into groups, as the author did. The first in point of time includes the first two series of the *Episodios nacionales*, twenty novels (1873–1879). These present a picture, at times descriptive, at times dramatic, of Spanish history from Trafalgar to the end of absolutism in 1834. Historical events are combined with love-stories, real actors in the vast tragedy appear beside imaginary characters who often symbolize and represent momentary currents of thought or passion.[1] After completing the second series (1879), the author abandoned this anecdotal form of history for a long time. In 1898 he returned to it, and continued adding to the sum till he had completed the third and fourth series and six novels of a fifth, the last (*Cánovas*) appearing in 1912. Thus he pictured the salient events of the rules of Cristina and Isabel, and so on to the first years of Alfonso XII. The genre is certainly open to objections, and the later series are not, as a whole, equal to the first two; but narratives like *La corte de Carlos IV* (1873), *Bailén* (1873), *Zaragoza* (1874), *Gerona* (1874), and *El terror de 1824* (1877) cannot fail to remain popular. "The *Episodios nacionales*," said Menéndez y Pelayo rightly, "are one of the most fortunate creations of Spanish literature in our century; they have been crowned with sincere popular success; pencil and burin have vied with each other to illustrate them; they have made their way into humble and aristocratic homes, into schools and workshops; they have taught true history to many who did not know it; they have hurt no one, given honest recreation to all, and educated youth in the cult of their native land." "*Verdadera historia*," wrote the critic correctly, not "novel." Study of the solid documentation underlying the vast structure of the *Episodios* brings to light the author's conscientious research among sources and the sure art with which they have been utilized. To appreciate his labor at its true worth we must remember that the forty-six volumes, carried forward with varying success but unwearied persistence, span thirty-nine years of Galdós's life, and seventy of the life of Spain. Another volume, *Sagasta*, was announced as in preparation.

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[1] *Obras inéditas*, ed. Alberto Ghiraldo, 1923– .—See Leopoldo Alas, ("Clarín"), *Galdós*, 1912 (*Obras completas*, I). M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Don B. P. G. considerado como novelista*, in *Estudios de crítica lit.*, V, 1908, 83–127. F. Vézinet, *op. cit.*, 41–128. Antón del Olmet and A. García Carraffa, *Galdós*, 1912. E. Gómez de Baquero ("Andrenio"), *Los episodios nacionales de P. G. y otras de sus novelas*, in *Novelas y novelistas*, 1918. Antonio Maura, *Necrología de Don B. P. G.*, 1920; it contains also a *Catálogo sincrónico de las obras*, by E. Cotarelo. Rafael de Mesa, *Don B. P. G.*, 1920. G. Dendariena, *G., su genio, su espiritualidad, su grandeza*, 1922. S. de Madariaga, *B. P. G.*, in *The Genius of Spain*, Oxford, 1923, 46–63. Armando Donoso, in *Dostoievski, Renan, P. G.*, 1925. S. Scatori, *La idea religiosa en la obra de B. P. G.*, Toulouse, 1926. L. B. Walton, *P. G. and the Spanish Novel of the Nineteenth Century*, 1927. J. Warshaw, *Errors in Biographies of Galdós*, in *Hispania* (Calif.), XI, 1928, 485–499.

[2] *Discurso* read at his reception into the Spanish Academy, Feb. 7, 1897, pp. 11–12.

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[1] On the *Episodios nacionales*, see L. Louis-Lande, *Le roman patriotique en Espagne: les "Episodios nacionales" de P. G.*, in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 avril, 1876. Gómez de Baquero, *op. cit.* on p. 551, note 1. G. Cirot, *Un grand romancier espagnol: B. P. G.*, in *Revue Philomathique de Bordeaux et du Sud-Ouest*, XXIII, 1920, 115–132. J. Sarrailh, *Quelques sources du "Cádiz" de Galdós*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXIII, 1921, 33–48. M. Bataillon, *Les sources historiques de "Zaragoza," ibid.*, 129–141. G. Boussagol, *Sources et composition du "Zumalacárregui" de B. P. G.*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXVI, 1924, 241–264. C. Vázquez Arjona, *Cotejo histórico de cinco Episodios Nacionales de B. P. G.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXVIII, 1926, 321–550. For comparisons of the *Episodios* with similar historical novels of others, see Gómez de Baquero ("Andrenio"), *Paz en la guerra y los novelistas de las guerras civiles*, in *De Gallardo a Unamuno*, 1926, 233–247 (discusses Unamuno, Valle-Inclán, Baroja), and Pío Baroja, in his own *Páginas escogidas*, Calleja, 1918, 371 (discusses Galdós and himself).

By the side of the first *Episodios* we must place the *Novelas de la primera época*, for many were composed during the same years. *Doña Perfecta* (1876) brings out the author's liberal and anticlerical views in clear and striking form. *Gloria* (1877), to quote once more Menéndez y Pelayo, who cannot be accused of partiality in this field, " is one of Galdós's best, not only because it is more carefully written than others, but also by reason of the gravity of its content " (love between a Catholic girl and a Jew; compare Blasco Ibáñez's *Luna Benamor*), " the pathos of the story, the psychological richness of the principal figures, the gradual, majestic unrolling of events, the skilfully masked dénoûment, and above all the lofty ideal which governs the whole and is never lowered even in the moments when emotion is most engrossing." In this group also are the pathetic story of *Marianela* (1878), arranged for the stage by the Quintero brothers (1916), and *La familia de León Roch* (2 vols., 1878). Capital works abound in the series called *Novelas españolas contemporáneas: El amigo Manso* (1882); *Tormento* (1884); *Fortunata y Jacinta* (4 vols., 1886–87), an acute and detailed study of transformations in the Madrid bourgeoisie; *Ángel Guerra* (3 vols., 1891), a masterly essay on modern mysticism, well localized in the ancient city of Toledo; the four *Torquemada* books (1889–1895); *Nazarín* (1895), curious in psychology and perfect in art, the rival, if not the model, of Antonio Fogazzaro's *Il Santo* (1906); *Misericordia* (1897), so richly human; and many more which deserve to be analyzed.

The *Novelas contemporáneas* accompany and complete the *Episodios*. The latter contain more historical elements, the former induct the reader into the study of intimate *mores*, judged by a spirit as impartial as sagacious. The Erckmann-Chatrian *Romans nationaux*, worthy as they are, look a little paltry beside the Cyclopean mass of the *Episodios*, but the *Novelas contemporáneas* do not shrivel when compared to Balzac's *Comédie humaine.*

Galdós's remarkable contributions to drama have already been discussed (p. 532). It was there pointed out that he reached that field through his new genre, the dialogued novel (*Realidad*, *El abuelo*, *Casandra*, etc.), which suppresses all description, analysis, and every feature by which the author as intermediary enters the work. The characters are left alone in each others' presence; thus they explain and portray themselves by their own acts. This innovation on the part of a writer who had reached his full fame, with such accomplishment behind him, reveals a spirit eager for novelty, and anxious for perfection; an artistic conscience not easily satisfied. His attempt would be worthy of attention for this reason even if it failed in practice.[1] Pérez Galdós has been and will probably remain one of the masters of the contemporary novel in Europe.

8. **Armando Palacio Valdés** (b. 1853),[2] born in Entralgo (Asturias), also does the greatest honor to the Spanish novel by the importance of his work, the probity of his talent and his conscientious pursuit of perfection. His fiction is extensive and diversified in tone, plot and scene of action. Asturias, Andalusia and Valencia have in turn furnished frames for his pictures. Palacio Valdés has formulated his literary ideas on several occasions, in his delightful early essays in criticism (*Los oradores del Ateneo*, 1878; *Los novelistas españoles*, 1878; and *Nuevo viaje al Parnaso*, 1879; these three brought together in *Semblanzas literarias*, 1908), the prefaces to *La hermana San Sulpicio* and *Los majos de Cádiz*, and his *Testamento literario* (1929). He is, he says, neither an optimist nor a pessimist, but a realist; this word, it is true, may mean anything, and the author attempts to limit it. But there is no profit here in pursuing definitions, which are always debatable; let us examine the results. His first novel was *El señorito Octavio* (1881), with a significant subtitle: *novela sin pensamiento trascendental*.[3] It was followed by an exquisite work, *Marta y María* (1883), two sisters, one of whom symbolizes mystic perfection, the other human love and the lawful pleasures of earth. *El idilio de un enfermo* (1884?) approximates to naturalism of the French type, but on the other hand nothing could be more nobly idealistic than the appealing

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[1] [One could find precedent for the dialogued novel in the *Celestina* and its sequels. After Galdós, Valle-Inclán (*Romance de lobos*, etc.) and Baroja (*Paradox, rey; La casa de Aizgorri*), have cultivated it with much success.]

[2] *Obras completas*, 1894–. *Páginas escogidas*, Calleja, 1917. *José*, ed. F. J. A. Davidson, Boston, 1900. *La alegría del capitán Ribot*, abridged ed. Morrison and Churchman, with bibliography, Boston, 1909.—See Sylvester Baxter, *A Great Modern Spaniard*, in *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXV, 1900, 546–559. F. Vézinet, *op. cit.*, 167–202. H. Peseux-Richard, *A. P. V.*, in *Revue Hisp.*, XLII, 1918, 305–480. L. A. del Olmet and J. de Torres Bernal, *P. V.*, 1919. L., *La paysanne dans les romans de P. V.*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXIV, 1922, 131–148. A. Cruz Rueda, *A. P. V.*, *estudio biográfico*, 1925. C. C. Glascock, *Two Modern Spanish Novelists, Emilia Pardo Bazán and A. P. V.*, Austin, Texas, 1926 (*Univ. Texas Bull.*).

[3] [There was probably a topical allusion in this adjective. The critic Manuel de la Revilla was fond of it, and Palacio Valdés speaks of Alarcón's *El escándalo* as a *novela trascendental* (*Semblanzas literarias*, p. 151).]

story of the fisherman *José* (1885). The partly autobiographic *Riverita* (1886) and its sequel *Maximina* (1887); *El cuarto poder* (1888); and more especially *La Hermana San Sulpicio* (1889), which so well conveys the Andalusian atmosphere as felt by an Asturian, contributed greatly to spread the author's fame. *La espuma* (1891) is a satire on the aristocracy, like *Pequeñeces* and Pereda's *La Montálvez,* and *La fe* (1892) exposes false religiosity. *El Maestrante* (1893); *El origen del pensamiento* (1894); *Los majos de Cádiz* (1896); *La alegría del capitán Ribot* (1899), one of the author's most characteristic and perfect stories; *La aldea perdida* (1903), a homesick brooding over his native valley, desecrated by industry; and *Tristán, o el pesimismo* (1906), which, intentionally opposing the pessimism of Voltaire's *Candide,* continues the idealism of *La alegría del capitán Ribot;* these all display in different lights the talent of an observer, psychologist and born writer. His supple, colorful style adapts itself to every subject and tone; it is rather fluent than concise, and is often lightened by irony free from bitterness. Elected to the Academy in 1906, he has continued his modest, peaceful life, and for him life is scarcely conceivable without writing. *Los papeles del Doctor Angélico* (1911) is a sort of confession of faith, into which the author has put all his smiling wisdom, unpretentious philosophy, and that common-sense irony which no one but Valera has handled in such a spirit of fun. Under the same thin disguise, and mingling fact and fiction, Palacio Valdés continued his reminiscences in *Los años de juventud del Doctor Angélico* (1918); in *La novela de un novelista* (1921) the disguise is laid aside for the story of his childhood. More recent novels serve chiefly to show how, as Peseux-Richard says, the metaphysics which he mocked at in his youth have, in the form of Catholicism, acquired full sway over his mind. *Testamento literario* (1929) takes leave of the world in a final statement of beliefs sincere and serious, but not forbidding laughter. No Spanish author has excelled Palacio in the power to delineate plausible, living human beings, and to make the comedies and tragedies of daily life take on absorbing interest.

9. Among the other novelists of the generation of Palacio Valdés was **Jacinto Octavio Picón** (1852–1923),[1] *madrileño,* novelist, journalist, Academician, and a very competent art critic (*Apuntes para la historia de la caricatura*, 1878; *Velázquez*, 1899). He wrote many short stories (*Novelistas*, 1892; *Cuentos de mi tiempo*, 1895), and novels varying in value, but all serious studies of contemporary life that prove him an open and courageous spirit and a sensitive writer of good tradition (*Lázaro*, 1882; *La hijastra del amor*, 1884; *Juan Vulgar*, 1885; *El enemigo*, 1887; *La honrada*, 1890; *Dulce y sabrosa*, 1891). The last three are regarded as his master works. His later novels (*Juanita Tenorio*, 1910; *Sacramento*, 1914), do not introduce new elements; a favorite theme is the redemption of the erring by love. **José Ortega Munilla** (1856–1922), a subtle, brilliant publicist, had some success in the novel with *La cigarra* (1879), its sequel *Sor Lucila* (1880), *El tren directo*, *Don Juan Solo*, *Cleopatra Pérez* (1884), and a dozen more, besides dramatic work (*Estrazilla*, 1918).

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[1] *Obras completas,* 1909–.—See H. Peseux-Richard, *Un romancier espagnol, J. O. P.,* in *Rev. Hisp.,* XXX, 1914, 515–585. A. González-Blanco, *Un novelista de la generación gloriosa, J. O. P.,* in *Nuestro Tiempo,* XXIII, 1923, 249–262.

Leopoldo Alas (1852–1901),[1] whose nom de plume **"Clarín"** is even better known, was a professor of law at the University of Oviedo, and one of the literary masters most esteemed by the succeeding generation. The vigor of his literary criticism, brutal at times but always sincere (*Folletos literarios*, *Paliques*, *Solos de Clarín*) earned him many enemies, but more admirers among young men, always ready to follow courage. Of his short stories (*Cuentos morales*, 1896; *El Señor y lo demás son cuentos*, 1893; *El gallo de Sócrates*, 1901) a few are excellent. His masterpiece, however, is *La Regenta* (2 vols., 1884–85), the leading example in Spain of naturalistic writing after the French formula. It is a work rich with philosophic observation; the style is like granite, the view of life objective, cold and almost scornful. This and *Su único hijo* (1890) were much discussed, for, if they have defects, they are certainly not cast in any ordinary mould. Here, as in his other works, the originality of the thinker is obvious, and this explains the influence he wielded over his contemporaries; it increased steadily.

The fame of the Valencian **Vicente Blasco Ibáñez** (1867–1928)[2] came to him early and grew fast. It soon crossed the boundaries of

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[1] *Páginas escogidas*, ed. "Azorín," Calleja, 1917.—See "Azorín," *L. A.*, in *Clásicos y modernos*, 1913, 85–96. P. Sainz Rodríguez, "*Clarín*" *y su obra*, in *Revista de las Españas*, II, 1927.

[2] See F. Vézinet, *op. cit.*, 233–279. E. Zamacois, *Mis contemporáneos*, I., *V. B. I.*, 1910. Letter of B. I. to Cejador, in the latter's *Hist. de la lengua y lit. cast.*, IX, 1918, 471–478. C. Pitollet, *V. B. I., ses romans et le roman de sa vie*, Paris, 1921 (Spanish transl. by Tulio Moncada, Valencia, 1921). Ezio Levi, *V. B. I. e il suo capolavoro "Cañas y barro,"* Firenze, 1922. H. Mérimée, *Le romancier B. I. et la*

Spain, aided by good translations; at his death he was the Spanish novelist best known abroad. There were three phases in his work, as his interest steadily expanded: the Valencian, the Spanish and the cosmopolitan. The first includes *Arroz y tartana* (1894), valuable for details concerning the social and economic history of Valencia; *Flor de Mayo* (1895), dramatic and colorful; *Cuentos valencianos* (1896), pungent local sketches; *La barraca* (1898), a tragedy of the Valencian *huerta*, which justly and definitively confirmed the author's reputation, and carried it abroad; *Entre naranjos* (1900); *Sónnica la cortesana* (1901), a rather artificial reconstruction of ancient Saguntum, in the manner of Flaubert's *Salammbô*; and *Cañas y barro* (1902), a powerful drama, possibly Blasco's masterpiece; its setting is the fever-stricken lagoon called the *Albufera*. The second series is formed of social novels which Blasco Ibáñez the republican deputy, the fiery debater and free thinker, used as a medium for his propaganda and a lever for his ideals: *La catedral* (1903), the scene laid in Toledo; *El intruso* (1904), in Bilbao; *La bodega* (1905), in Jerez; *La horda* (1905), in Madrid. *La maja desnuda* (1906) is a curious study of artist-psychology, suggested by Goya's famous portrait. *Sangre y arena* (1908) describes the habits and adventures of bullfighters, quite naturally a favorite theme in Spain (Héctor Abreu's *El espada*, 1905; Pérez Lugín's *Currito de la Cruz*, 1924; Gómez de la Serna's *El torero Caracho*, 1927), but also excellent for exportation; *Los muertos mandan* (1909) carries the reader to the little Balearic island of Ibiza. Then, as the author traveled, his purview widened. *Los Argonautas* (1914) takes the reader to the Argentine. *Los cuatro jinetes del Apocalipsis* (1916) is a dynamic portrayal of the horrors of war, and like the Mediterranean novel *Mare nostrum* (1918), a full-hearted protest against the German attack: the first of these gave the author his tremendous vogue in the United States. Later novels are weak in narrative interest and filled with details easily gathered from an encyclopedia or from travel: *Los enemigos de la mujer* (1919); *El paraíso de las mujeres* (1922); *La reina Calafia* (1923), inspired, apparently, by the old *Sergas de Esplandián* of Montalvo; *El Papa del mar* (1926); *A los pies de Venus* (1926).

cité de Valence, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXIV, 1922, 361–377. Joaquín Ortega, *V. B. I.*, in *Wisconsin Studies in Lang. and Lit.*, no. 20, 1924, 214–238. E. Gómez de Baquero, *El caso de B. I.*, in *De Gallardo a Unamuno*, 1926, 249–266. E. Gasco Contell, *V. B. I.*, Paris, 1928.

Blasco Ibáñez began as a follower of the French naturalists and in particular of Zola. Gradually he shook off their influence and formed a manner of his own, characterized by the unusual union of an impetuous imagination and patient digging for myriad details. By these means his Valencian novels attain a potency of emotion such as he never recovered elsewhere, for he knew that locality and the psychology of its people better than any other. Whoever has lived in Valencia must admit that the descriptions, types and dialogues of *La barraca*, *Flor de Mayo*, and *Cañas y barro* are truth itself. An admirable painter of his *patria chica*, he wished to do the same for contemporary Spain. Then, like a true *conquistador*, he set out for America (1909), became the historian of the Argentine (*La Argentina y sus grandezas*, 1910), colonized the pampa and founded two towns there. He visited the United States. Returning to Europe (1914), he gave a powerful rendering of the World War. That past, he settled as a millionaire in a luxurious villa on the Riviera. His methods had changed with his outlook on the world. As Gómez de Baquero has pointed out, his facile talent tended more and more to large-scale fresco instead of the delicate refinements and shades of art. That, perhaps, in addition to other reasons, explains the coolness or open scorn felt toward him by the modern Gongorists. A similar enlargement of view-point may be noted in the work of Baroja, unlike as the two men are. In the face of Blasco Ibáñez's imposing production, one scarcely likes to mention the scruples and fault-finding of purists who delight in detecting Valencianisms and Gallicisms, derived from his province and his intimate familiarity with French authors.

10. There are two novelists some years younger than Blasco Ibáñez who are in themselves as unlike as possible. In political, social and religious ideas, as well as in literary aims and methods, they form an absolute contrast, yet each has won a large following, made up, to be sure, of wholly different individuals. The first is **Pío Baroja y Nessi** (b. 1872),[1] from San Sebastián. For a time he practised

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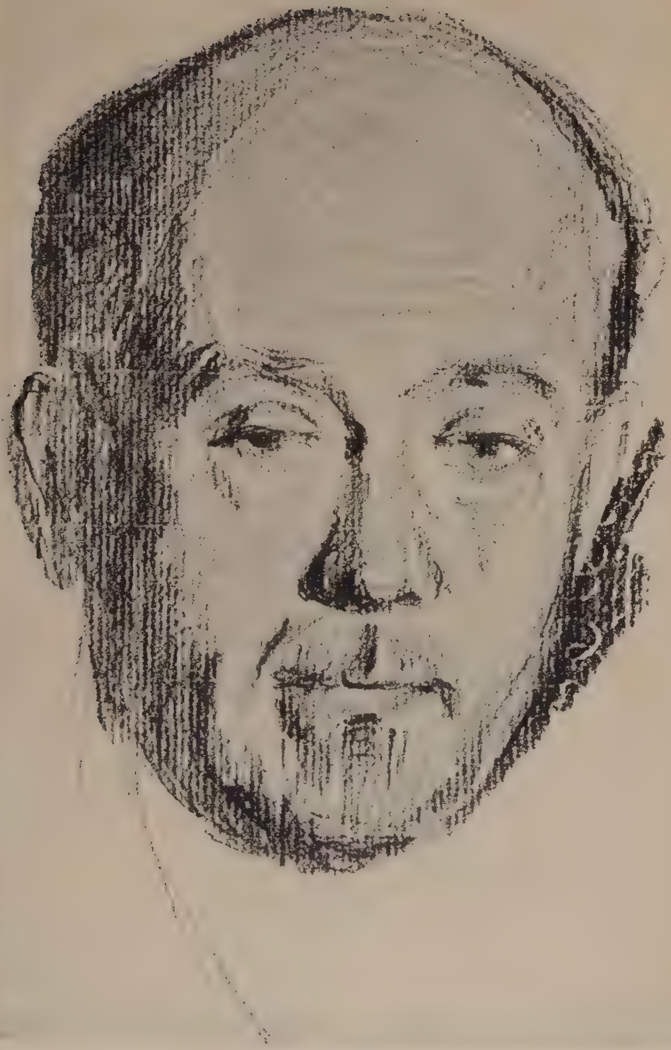
[1] *Páginas escogidas*, Calleja, 1918. *Zalacaín el aventurero*, ed. A. L. Owen and F. de Onís, with introduction and bibliography, N.Y., 1926.—See H. Peseux-Richard, *Un romancier espagnol, P. B.*, in *Revue Hisp.*, XXIII, 1910, 109–187. E. Gómez de Baquero, "Andrenio," *Las novelas de B.*, in *Novelas y novelistas*, 1918, 113–216. Id., *B. y su galería novelesca*, in *De Gallardo a Unamuno*, 1926, 267–278. J. Ortega y Gasset, *Ideas sobre P. B.*, in *El Espectador*, I, 2nd ed., 1921, 133–213. J. B. Trend, *P. B. and his Novels*, in *A Picture of Modern Spain*, London, 1921, 56–79. S. de Madariaga, *P. B.*, in *The Genius of Spain*, Oxford, 1923, 111–127. J. M. Salaverría, *P. B.*, in *Retratos*, 1926, 49–107.



PÍO BAROJA
Pencil sketch by Ricardo Baroja

medicine in Cestona; later he and his brother Ricardo conducted a bakery in Madrid. He has described the customs and scenery of his native Basque country in *La casa de Aizgorri* (1900), *Idilios vascos* (1901), and *El mayorazgo de Labraz* (1903). Leaving these out, his novels fall into four series: 1, *La vida fantástica*, which includes *Camino de perfección* (1902), *Aventuras, inventos y mixtificaciones de Silvestre Paradox* (1901), and *Paradox, rey* (1906); 2, *La lucha por la vida*, a trilogy composed of three of his strongest and most suggestive novels, *La busca, Mala hierba, Aurora roja* (all 1904); 3, *El pasado*, including *La feria de los discretos* (1905), *Los últimos románticos* (1906), with a Parisian setting, and its sequel *Las tragedias grotescas* (1907); 4, *Memorias de un hombre de acción* (namely Eugenio de Aviraneta), a long series still continuing; in it are *El aprendiz de conspirador* (1913), *La ruta del aventurero* (1916), *El sabor de la venganza* (1921), *Las figuras de cera*, 1924, *La nave de los locos* (1925), etc. Outside these four series are other novels: studies of Spanish anarchism, *La dama errante* (1908), *La ciudad de la niebla* (1909); novels of adventure, *Zalacaín el aventurero* (1909), *Las inquietudes de Shanti Andía* (1911); studies of a philosophical character, like *El árbol de la ciencia* (1911) and *La caverna del humorismo* (1919), the former of which is, in the author's judgment, "probably my most finished and complete book." His latest series is entitled *Agonías de nuestro tiempo* (*El gran torbellino del mundo*, 1926; *Las veleidades de la fortuna*, 1927; *Los amores tardíos*, 1927); these novels are scarcely more than long monologues of scant interest, an outpouring of the writer's opinions on every subject under heaven. The abundance and variety of his work is plain to see;[1] it has been extensively translated.

The mere enumeration of these titles reveals that the author's interests lie among the poorer classes, vagabonds, outcasts, rebels. These are picaresque novels, if you like, but written in a very different spirit from the old ones. Certainly, the author sees no rose-color in life, and never learned to smile. Yet the pessimistic note is not alone in his work; it reveals also a deep sympathy for the disinherited. What he perhaps lacks is a sense of proportion and well-balanced form; he is weak, in short, in the art of composition, and yields too readily to chance inspiration. His pages often read like jottings in a day-book. In compensation he possesses in high degree the gift for dialogue, a clear view of reality, a feeling for life, and a simple, sober, vigorous, virile style, without affectation or false elegance. "Sincerity," says Ortega y Gasset of him, "loyalty to himself, horror of all pretense and artifice, this is the axis and mobile of his soul, his art and his life." [1]

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[1] [M. Mérimée's classification of the novels has been left, since the author's grouping is none too certain; but in fact the Spanish editions now recognize nine series: *Tierra vasca, La vida fantástica, La raza, La lucha por la vida, El pasado, Las ciudades, El mar, Memorias de un hombre de acción*, and *Agonías de nuestro tiempo*.]

Ricardo León (b. 1877),[2] of Malaga, has nothing but talent in common with Baroja. Tastes, ideas, connections draw him in another direction. His novels and poems brought him rapidly into good repute with right-thinking society, and led him early to the Academy. Among his novels, the names that stick are *Casta de hidalgos* (1908), which had a great and deserved success; *Comedia sentimental* (1909), mournfully affecting; *Alcalá de los Zegríes* (1909), containing excellent Andalusian scenes; *La escuela de los sofistas* (1910), a series of dialogues "*de varia lección*"; *El amor de los amores* (1910), mystical in tenor and conclusion; *Los centauros* (1912); *Los caballeros de la Cruz* (1916); *Humos de rey* (1923); *Jauja* (1928); etc. To these must be added his impressions of the World War, *Europa trágica* (3 vols., 1918–1920), which a Frenchman can hardly judge dispassionately, and two collections of verse, *La lira de bronce* (1901) and *Alivio de caminantes* (1911). His elegant art turns resolutely away from the tendencies and methods of the new schools, and faces rather toward the classics. His diction is markedly *castizo*, and sometimes archaic. Logically, he draws inspiration from the traditional double ideal of a religious and monarchist Spain:

Sólo encuentro en lo pasado
para mis penas ambiente,
porque en su callada fuente
y hasta en sus tumbas piadosas
olvido las dolorosas
vergüenzas de lo presente.

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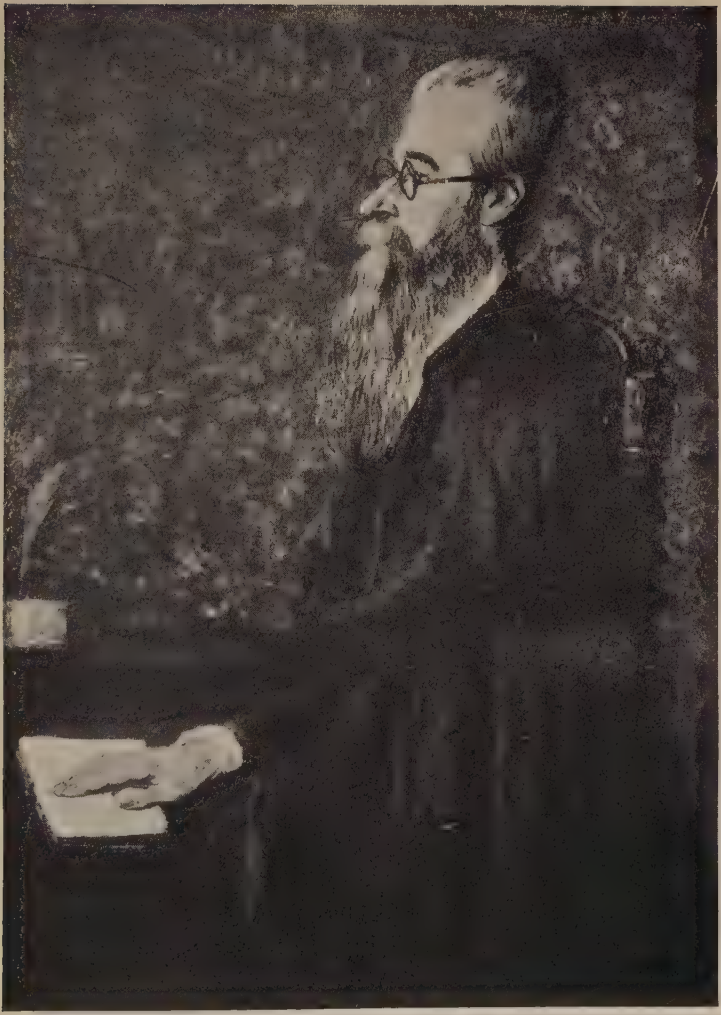
[1] Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 172. Baroja himself gives precise details concerning his biography, intellectual formation and literary doctrines in *Juventud, egolatría* (1917) and in the preface and notes of his *Páginas sueltas* (1918). In *El Sol* for March 22, 1923, apropos of the performance of his play *Adiós a la Bohemia*, he said: "I have written my novels without thinking much of the public. It is like working in the garden of my house: I try to leave it in as pleasing shape as possible, but I seek no one's approval, nor do I trouble to compare my little garden with others great and marvelous."

[2] *Obras completas*, 1919– . See Julio Casares, in *Crítica profana*, 1916, 245–348. E. Gómez de Baquero, "Andrenio," *Las novelas de R. L.*, in *Novelas y novelistas*, 1918, 245–270. R. Cansinos Asséns, *R. L.*, in *La nueva lit.*, IV, 1927, 206–248.



RAMÓN DEL VALLE-INCLÁN
From a portrait by Juan Echevarría

In general, then, his aims and ideas are those of his fellow-Andalusian Fernán Caballero, but his art is very different, and his style yet more so. In León psychological analysis is carried further, composition is of tighter weave, there is a stronger lyrical emotion (read, for example, the first chapter of *El amor de los amores*); the woman's slightly bigoted optimism is replaced by saddened, even bitter vision of life, and by nostalgic evocations of olden times (e.g. *Casta de hidalgos*). His language is more finished and more racy. One feels that Ricardo León has fed upon old authors, the mystics, Fray Luis, Quevedo and even ancient Berceo. He is, naturally, suspicious of everything coming from foreign lands, and has no sympathy for the more or less exotic art of the modernists.

11. We come next, however, to a fervent adept of literary modernism and one of the most conspicuous representatives of the new school, although he is now sixty, **Ramón María del Valle-Inclán** (b. 1869; cf. p. 536).[1] His verse is very delicate and subtle (*Aromas de leyenda*, 1907; *El pasajero*, 1920). In the four *Sonatas*, one for each season (*de Otoño*, 1902; *de Estío*, 1903; *de Primavera*, 1904; *de Invierno*, 1905); in *Flor de Santidad* (1904), *Jardín umbrío* (1903), and *Jardín novelesco* (1905), he is a chiseler of precious prose that is a sort of poetry. Yet he showed narrative power and traced in forthright Castilian characters of force and originality in his novels of *La guerra carlista* (*Los cruzados de la causa*, 1908; *El resplandor de la hoguera*, 1909; *Gerifaltes de antaño*, 1909) and the "*comedias bárbaras*," *Águila de blasón* (1907) and *Romance de lobos* (1908). The strangeness of some of these barbaric types; the background painted for the wild figures which stand out so boldly in their one-piece psychology; the author's manner and style, so individual, despite obvious reminiscences of Victor Hugo (*La légende des siècles, Les Burgraves*), Ibsen, Maeterlinck, and outright borrowing from Eça de Queiroz and Casanova; the atmosphere of mystery, of poetry and dreams which enfolds landscapes and persons; the originality of form; all these qualities introduced new elements of beauty into the literary art, and explain the admiration felt for Valle-Inclán by the youth of yesterday and today. The admiration endures, for he, alone perhaps of all the generation of '98, continues to develop new powers. In the *Esperpentos* he essayed to invent a new genre, half puppet-show, half-tragedy; *Luces de Bohemia* (1924), in particular, etches the life we call Bohemian with indelible needle. The novel *Tirano Banderas* (1926) is a vivid stylized synthesis of all Spanish-American revolution, couched in language requisitioned from every country south of the Río Grande. Then the frail veteran initiated an ambitious series entitled *El ruedo ibérico,* planned to cover in nine volumes Spain's history from the last days of Isabel to the first of the Bourbon restoration; the two novels published (*La corte de los milagros,* 1928; *Viva mi dueño,* 1928) develop such a baroque neo-Gongorism, as to make them difficult reading even to a Spaniard. Valle-Inclán has always surveyed humanity from a cool point of vantage, however real his secret sympathy, and his latest medium seems to remove him a little farther.

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[1] *Opera omnia*, 1912– .—See J. Chaumié, *Don R. del V-I*, in *Mercure de France*, CVIII, 1914, 225–246. Julio Casares, in *Crítica profana*, 1916, 17–130. E. Gómez de Baquero, *V-I: Las novelas de la guerra carlista*, in *Novelas y novelistas*, 1918, 217–243. Id., in *De Gallardo a Unamuno*, cf. p. 552, note 1. A. González-Blanco, *R. del V-I.*, in *Los contemporáneos* III, Paris, 1910, 1–44. *La Pluma*, IV, enero de 1923, special number. S. de Madariaga, *R. M. del V-I.*, in *The Genius of Spain*, Oxford, 1923, 128–147. A. L. Owen, *Sobre el arte de D. R. del V-I.*, in *Hispania* (Calif.), VI, 1923, 69–80. Id., *V-I.'s Recent Manner*, in *Books Abroad*, I, 1927, no. 4, 9–12.

12. Another and younger novelist whose steady growth has placed him in the foremost rank is **Ramón Pérez de Ayala** (b. 1881; cf. p. 522).[1] Connoisseurs point to the classic purity of his style, seasoned with a dash of irony. *Tinieblas en las cumbres* (1907) was a beginner's error, better left uncommented; *A.M.D.G.* (1910) bares with ironic scalpel life in the Jesuit college where the author was educated (at Carrión de los Condes), somewhat as does Astrana Marín in his novel *La vida en los conventos y seminarios. La pata de la raposa* (1912) and *Troteras y danzaderas* (1913) show advance in interest and maturity. But his full talent first appears in the "*novelas poemáticas,*" *Prometeo, Luz de domingo,* and *La caída de los Limones* (1916), though they make wilful use of the fortuitously tragic. *Belarmino y Apolonio* (1921), longer and more leisurely, sets forth the ideas of two exceptional cobblers; its concentrated humor recalls Flaubert's *L'Éducation sentimentale.* With this book Pérez de Ayala's work drifts away from the observed and objective to play with rare situations and characters made plausible only by the author's magical style and Freudian subtlety. *Luna de miel, luna de hiel* and its sequel, *Los trabajos de Urbano y Simona* (1923) have been called a modern version of Daphnis and Chloe, but such innocents are scarcely conceivable in this age. *Tigre Juan* and *El curandero de su honra* (1926), likewise one story, are a sort of working-class version of Calderón's *El médico de su honra*, with the problem solved in the opposite manner; the personages are no ordinary human beings. " The author, an eager explorer of souls," says " Andrenio," " in his first novels takes pleasure in examining and pulling to pieces the internal mechanism of his characters, while in the later ones he builds up the figures of the story by an inverse process, fastening together the elements he has laid out in advance." Yet the characters, especially those of second rank, are clearly seen and richly endowed with life. His critical essays, whether on drama (*Las máscaras*, 2 vols., 1917), or politics (*Política y toros*, 1918) are well-informed, ingenious and novel to the point of irreverence. In his collections of short stories (*El ombligo del mundo*, 1924; *Bajo el signo de Artemisa*, 1924) Ayala is at his best when dealing with his native Asturias. His suave cerebral style aligns him as a follower of Juan Valera, and, as in *Pepita Jiménez* and *Doña Luz*, the author's voice can be heard in the speech of every character. Pérez de Ayala was elected to the Academy in 1928.

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[1] *Obras completas,* 1921?- .—See E. Gómez de Baquero, "Andrenio," *Las novelas de P. de A.,* in *Novelas y novelistas,* 1918, 281–292. A. González-Blanco, *R. P. de A.,* in *Los contemporáneos,* 1ª serie, II, Paris, n. d., 147–208. S. de Madariaga, *R. P. de A.,* in *The Genius of Spain,* Oxford, 1923, 71–86. R. Cansinos Asséns, *R. P. de A.,* in *La nueva lit.,* IV, 1927, 96–114. Francisco Agustín, *R. P. de A., su vida y obras,* 1927.

13. Felipe Trigo (1864–1916) [1] acquired a large following for his many novels, carelessly written, and in theme too strongly socialistic, or else so realistic as to offend the scrupulous (*Las ingenuas*, 1901; *La sed de amar*, 1902; *La Altísima*, 1903; *La bruta, héroes de ahora*, 1904; *La clave*, 1910; *Cuentos ingenuos*, 1910; *El médico rural*, 1912, etc.). Leopoldo Alas called him "a corrupter of minors and of the language," a rather summary judgment, for it disregards the talent which crops out here and there, despite all weakness of form and the boldness of some scenes. At least, the brutal vigor of this ex-army doctor is a change from the usual insipidities. And his popularity is a fact which must be noted, whether or not it should serve as palliation or seal of approval. **Eduardo Zamacois**

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[1] See H. Peseux-Richard, *Un romancier espagnol: M. F. T.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, XXVIII, 1913, 317–389. Manuel Abril, *F. T., exposición y glosa de su vida*, etc., 1917.

(b. 1873),[1] of Cuban birth, cultivated the erotic novel quite as early as Trigo (*Tik-nay*, 1900; *Incesto*, 1900; *El seductor*, 1902; *El otro*, 1910); later he turned more to psychology and description, being besides an indefatigable traveler and chronicler of drama and art.

Francisco Acebal (b. 1866) [2] paints the life of the humble with exactness and delicacy in *Aires de mar* (1901); the scene is a tiny Cantabrian port, and the story is the romance, or rather the commonplace dream of little Araceli, drawn with simple but shrewd psychology. *Huella de almas* (1901) is a very thorough study of the petty bourgeoisie of Madrid. *Dolorosa* (1904) is more dramatic; it combines realistic descriptions of middle-class interiors in the capital (a hardware store, an elegant linen-draper's) with scenes from artist life. In all these works the author's aim is to make the reader "understand the poetry and obscure dramas of humble homes, the secrets of mouldy souls." He has a vision of "common lives, of secret idylls, of all those things as hidden as the dust and as brilliant as the sky." Acebal performed a service by editing the excellent review *La Lectura* during its life (1901–1919). Some of the narratives of **M. Ciges Aparicio** (b. 1876?) [3] attracted attention by the personal quality of the form and the realism of the matter, based on the writer's own experiences (*Del cautiverio*, 1903, impressions of the Cuban war; *El vicario*, 1905; *Del cuartel y de la guerra*, 1906; *Del hospital*, 1906); he is still active (*El juez que perdió la conciencia*, 1925; *Circe y el poeta*, 1926). **Gabriel Miró** (b. 1879) [4] made himself known early in life as a writer of labored but ingenious style; his vocabulary is drawn from good classic sources, his descriptions are rather cluttered perhaps, but picturesquely colored (*La mujer de Ojeda*, 1900; *Hilván de escenas*, 1901; *Del vivir*, 1903); tendencies toward the symbolic and religious appear in his later work (*Figuras de la Pasión del Señor*, 2 vols., 1916–1917; *El libro de Sigüenza*, 1917; *Nuestro Padre San Daniel*, 1921 and its sequel *El obispo leproso*, 1926). The novel of society and aristocratic life tempted **Alfonso Danvila** (b. 1876) (*La conquista de la*

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[1] *Obras completas*, 1916– .

[2] See A. González-Blanco, *Los contemporáneos*, 1ª serie, II, Paris, n. d., 75–146. For his style, 143–145.

[3] See A. González-Blanco, *Los contemporáneos*, 1ª serie, II, Paris, n. d., 209–239. R. Cansinos Asséns, *La nueva lit.*, IV, 1927, 170–186.

[4] *Obras completas*, 1926– .—See A. González-Blanco, *op. cit.*, 276–292. S. de Madariaga, *Azorín, G. M.*, in *The Genius of Spain*, Oxford, 1923, 148–164.

elegancia, 1901; *Lully Arjona*, 1901), and he is known also for historical studies (*Don Cristóbal de Moura*, 1900; *Luisa Isabel de Orléans*, 1902; *Fernando VI y doña Bárbara de Braganza*, 1905). The same may be said of **J. G. López Valdemoro,** Conde de **las Navas** (b. 1855), director of the Biblioteca del Palacio as well as bibliophile, teller of pleasant tales (*La docena del fraile*, 1886; *El procurador Yerbabuena*, 1897; *La niña Araceli*, etc.), and even historian of tauromachy (*El espectáculo más nacional*, 1899). **Concha Espina de Serna** (b. 1878) [1] enjoys a steadily increasing reputation and is certainly Spain's foremost woman writer. A native of Santander, her early novels are laid in *La Montaña* (*La niña de Luzmela*, 1909; *Despertar para morir*, 1910; *Agua de nieve*, 1911). With *La esfinge maragata* (1914) [2] she turned to the land of *maragatos*, south of Astorga, and produced her best known work, the spiritual tragedy of a sensitive and cultured girl sacrificed to poverty in a barren countryside. *El metal de los muertos* (1920) portrays the cruel living conditions in the Río Tinto copper mines at Huelva. Volumes of stories (*Ruecas de marfil*, 1917; *Pastorelas*, 1920; *Simientes*, 1922; *Cuentos*, 1922), a play (*El jayón*, 1918) and later novels (*El cáliz rojo*, 1923; *Altar mayor*, 1926; etc.) reveal more fully an impressionable talent concerned with the humble and unfortunate, at its best among familiar scenes, and handicapped by a somewhat unreal style. **Alberto Insúa** (b. 1883),[3] once classed as a follower of Trigo, is prolific, and finds models and themes for his realistic studies quite as often in Parisian life as in that of Madrid (*Don Quijote en los Alpes*, 1907; *El demonio de la voluptuosidad*, 1911; *Las flechas del amor*, 1912; *De un mundo a otro*, 1916, the World War seen from Paris); still preoccupied with sex, his vision has somewhat broadened (*La batalla sentimental*, 1921; *Un enemigo del matrimonio*, 1925). Of similar school are **Rafael López de Haro** (b. 1876) (*Dominadoras*, 1907; *Los nietos de los celtas*, 1917) and **Antonio de Hoyos y Vinent** (b. 1885),[4] who declares that " there are three things which have greatly interested him, mystery, lust and mysticism "; and in fact these three heterogeneous ingredients are mingled in varying proportions in his many realistic novels (*A flor de piel*, 1906; *El horror de morir*, 1914; *El árbol genealógico*, 1918). **Pedro Mata** (b. 1875) [1] possesses a saner, more optimistic spirit, and enjoys wide popularity in Spain (*La catorce*, 1913; *Corazones sin rumbo*, 1916; *Más allá del amor y de la vida*, 1926, and a sequel *Más allá del amor y de la muerte*, 1927). **Pedro de Répide** (b. 1882) might be classed among the poets, where estimable collections of verse place him by right (*Canciones de la sombra*, 1903; etc.), or among novelists (*La enamorada indiscreta*, 1900; *Del Rastro a Maravillas*, 1907), but his true distinction lies perhaps in having made himself the successor of Mesonero Romanos in affectionate exploration of Madrid old and new, whether in novels, like the second named, or in antiquarian studies (*Costumbres y devociones madrileñas*, 1914; *Madrid a vista de pájaro en el año 1873*, 1925, etc.). So **Andrés González-Blanco**, too, is better known for his work in literary history (p. 589) than in the novel (*Matilde Rey*, 1911; *Doña Violante; La eterna historia*). **Martínez Sierra** has already been met among the poets, and his fiction mentioned there (p. 521); " **Azorín,**" whose novels have greater relative importance, will be found farther on (p. 591).

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[1] *Talín y otros cuentos*, ed. S. L. M. Rosenberg and M. A. Zeitlin, with introduction and bibliography, N. Y., 1927.—See G. Boussagol, *Mme. C. E.*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XXV, 1923, 149–167. R. Cansinos Asséns, *Literaturas del Norte, La obra de C. E.*, 1924. Frances Douglas, *C. E.: A New Star Ascendant*, in *Hispania* (Calif.), VII, 1924, 111–120. Mauro Fría-Lagoni (Figarola-Maurin), *C. E. y sus críticos*, Toulouse, 1929.

[2] José Alemany, *Voces de maragatería y de otra procedencia usadas en "La esfinge maragata,"* in *Bol. Acad. Esp.*, II, 1915, 622–645 and III, 1916, 39–66.

[3] See R. Cansinos Asséns, *La nueva lit.*, IV, 1927, 160–169.

[4] See R. Cansinos Asséns, *op. cit.*, 53–95.

14. There is no lack of young writers today in the novel. They feel small respect for their predecessors, and seek feverishly in other directions for unexplored paths. The tumultuous efforts of the modern schools in Europe arouse their sympathetic admiration. Among them are talents of the most varied types; pretentious extravagance beside real promise for the future. It is yet early to evaluate them. One can only name those whose heads rise above the common level.

Ramón Gómez de la Serna (b. 1880?) [2] is second to none in ebullient activity; he has published probably more works than years of his life, and his fame has spread outside Spain (*El Rastro*, 1915; *Greguerías*, 1917; *Pombo*, 1917; *El circo*, 1917; *El doctor inverosímil*, 1921; *El torero Caracho*, 1927; *Gollerías*, 1927; etc.). Novelist, short-story writer, critic, dramatist, he is always and everywhere a fantastical humorist. He has gathered about him a little band of extreme moderns known as *Pombistas*, from the name of the café where they meet, just as the Romantic *Parnasillo* met about 1830 in the café del Príncipe. From such an environment Gómez de la Serna spurts ideas like a sheaf of rockets; and they gleam as briefly. **José Francés** (b. 1883)[1] has cultivated various types of novel, sentimental, *de costumbres*, and of mystery (*Alma viajera*, 1907; *Como los pájaros de bronce*, 1917; *Rostros en la niebla*, 1927), and is besides a dramatist and competent art critic (*El año artístico*, 1915–). **Emiliano Ramírez Ángel** (b. 1883)[2] rivals Pedro de Répide in his love for Madrid, expressed preferably through fiction (*La tirana*, 1906; *Madrid sentimental*, 1908; *La tragedia del comedor*, 1916; *La villa y corte pintoresca*, 1924). The Cuban **Alfonso Hernández Catá** (b. 1885) has lived in Madrid for years, producing stories and novels widely sold (*Cuentos pasionales* 1907; *Los frutos ácidos*, 1915; *El bebedor de lágrimas*, 1926). **Federico García Sanchiz** (b. 1886),[3] cosmopolitan traveler, tends to the colorful newspaper sketch even in his novels (*El barrio latino*, 1914; *La Sulamita*, 1918; *El caballerito del Puerto*, 1925).

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[1] See R. Cansinos Asséns, *op. cit.*, 301–350.

[2] See R. Cansinos Asséns, *op. cit.*, 351–383.

Of exceptional promise for the future are the essayist **Salvador de Madariaga** (p. 576; *La jirafa sagrada*, 1925), the scholar and critic **Ramón María Tenreiro** (b. 1879) (*Dama pobreza*, 1926; *La esclava del Señor*, 1927), **Benjamín Jarnés** (b. 1888) (*El profesor inútil*, 1926; *El convidado de papel*, 1928), **Jesús Rubio Coloma** (*Amores africanos*, 1926; *El alma de la tierra de Campos*, 1927), **Manuel Azaña** (*El jardín de los frailes*, 1927), and **Bartolomé Soler** (*Marcos Villari*, 1927; *Germán Padilla*, 1927). "As a whole," says "Andrenio," "the Spanish novel of today is not so rich or solid as it was in the nineteenth century group led by Galdós; but it is more varied and tends to broaden its field, emerging from the restricted circle of *costumbres* and the portrayal of Spanish society. The drift toward the briefer tale or short story is becoming general."

15. The reader cannot have failed to notice that the novel in Spain, from Fernán Caballero to Blasco Ibáñez and even later, shows a more marked **regional** character than it does in France, for example; I mean that the scenery, people and customs of the various provinces constitute most frequently the prime material, and, in every case, furnish the setting in which the characters move. Nothing is more natural, certainly. The greater affection of authors for their *patria chica* is the result of the fact that centralization has never been thoroughly effected, at least up to very recent times. The assertion may be demonstrated by adding to the previous lists the names of some less known writers who are recognized as peculiarly the painters of their own regions. **Manuel Polo y Peyrolón** (1846–1918) of the province of Cuenca, wrote *Realidad poética de mis montañas, costumbres de la sierra de Albarracín* (1873) and *Los Mayos, novela de costumbres aragonesas* (1879). **Ricardo Macías Picavea** (1847–1899) succeeded in rendering the mournful severity of the Castilian *meseta* in *La tierra de Campos* (2 vols., 1897–98). **Arturo Campión** and **Miguel de Unamuno** (p. 576) turned aside from graver labors and employed the novel to paint their respective homes, Navarre and Vizcaya, and incidentally to instil generous thoughts in the minds of their readers; the former in *Blancos y negros* (1898) and *La bella Easo* (1909), the latter [1] in the fine historical novel *Paz en la guerra* (1897), as well as the sketches *De mi país* (1903). Unamuno, to be sure, is, more than a local, a psychological novelist, as he has shown repeatedly (*Niebla*, 1914; *Abel Sánchez*, 1917; *Tres novelas ejemplares*, 1920; *La tía Tula*, 1921). *Marichu* (3 vols., 1916–17), by the Basque **Luis de Ocharan Mazas** (b. 1858), contains inimitable scenes of life in Castro Urdiales. Another younger Basque, now in Toledo, is **Félix Urabayen**,[2] (*La última cigüeña*, 1921; *El barrio maldito*, 1925; *Centauros del Pirineo*, 1928). **Juan Armada Losada,** Marqués de **Figueroa** (b. 1862), minister and statesman, has found time to speak feelingly in verse and prose of his Galician land in *Del solar galaico* (1917), as well as to compose literary and ethical studies, and novels (*El último estudiante*, 1883; *La Vizcondesa de Armas*, 1887; *Gondar y Forteza*, 1900; etc.). Galicia, indeed, holds her children firmly; not to speak of Pardo Bazán and Valle-Inclán, she has given their freshest laurels to **Alejandro Pérez Lugín** (1870–1926) (*La casa de la Troya*, 1915; cf. p. 557), **Wenceslao Fernández Flórez** (cf. p. 573)[3]

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[1] See A. González-Blanco, *Los contemporáneos*, 2ª serie, Paris, n. d., 211–237. R. Cansinos Asséns, *La nueva lit.*, I, 1917, 217–222 and IV, 1927, 384–400.

[2] See A. González-Blanco, *Los contemporáneos*, 3ª serie, Paris, n. d., 87–126. R. Cansinos Asséns, *op. cit.*, IV, 1927, 150–159.

[3] R. Cansinos Asséns, *op. cit.*, 187–205

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[1] See "Andrenio," *U. novelista*, in *Novelas y novelistas*, 1918, 271–280; and cf. p. 552, note 1.

[2] See César Barja, *F. U., novelista*, in *Rev. de Estudios Hispánicos*, II, 1929, 53–64.

[3] See R. Cansinos Asséns, *La nueva lit.*, IV, 1927, 139–149.

(*Volvoreta*, 1917), whose later novels (*El secreto de Barba Azul*, 1923; *Las siete columnas*, 1927) have not equalled this; and **Francisco Camba**[1] (*La revolución de Laiño*, 1919; *El pecado de San Jesusito*, 1923). From his countrymen the *baturros* **Eusebio Blasco** (p. 538) derived his five amusing volumes of *Cuentos aragoneses* (1901), which may possibly outlast all his other thousands of pages.

Andalusians are many, in addition to the first-rank novelists already mentioned. A few are worth naming. **Arturo Reyes** (1864–1913), the popular and brilliant author of *Cartucherita* (1897), *El lagar de la viñuela* (1898), and the collection of verse *Desde el surco* (1896), was from Malaga. **Doña Blanca de los Ríos de Lampérez,** a *sevillana*, finds relief from her erudite labors (p. 587) by writing novels (*Sangre española*, 1902) and stories (*La Rondeña*, 1902; *El Salvador*, 1902). **Salvador Rueda,** the remarkably gifted poet (p. 518), possessed, besides his lyrical talent, a dazzling sense of color which he lavished upon his stories. Their titles alone call up an image of the traditional Andalusia: *El patio andaluz* (1886); *El cielo alegre* (1887); *Bajo la parra* (1887); *El gusano de luz* (1889); *Granada y Sevilla* (1890), two delicate aquarelles or "color-notes"; *La reja* (1890), the story of a *sacorio*, or legal abduction; *La gitana* (1892). Other good canvases have been contributed to the Andalusian gallery by **José Contreras** (*A orillas del Genil*, 1903) and **Rodolfo Gil** (*El país de los sueños, páginas de Granada*, 1901). **Mario Verdaguer**[2] has gained enviable praise for his novels of Majorca (*La isla de oro*, 1926) and Menorca (*Piedras y viento*, 1928).

This list by no means exhausts the rich geography of the provincial novel. And, by the side of these painters of the native soil, there are the cosmopolitans, the exotics, or, to coin a word, the ubiquists. One is **Enrique Gómez Carrillo** (b. 1873),[3] who, originating in Guatemala, has traveled the world over as reporter, critic, novelist, even moralist (despite his *Tres novelas inmorales*); he carries his readers from Madrid to Jerusalem, from Paris to Tokio, stopping in his course only to write the romance of others or himself (*Treinta años de mi vida*, 1918).

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[1] See R. Cansinos Asséns, *op. cit.*, 115–138.

[2] See R. Cansinos Asséns, *La nueva lit.*, IV, 1927, 458–478.

[3] *Obras completas*, 1918–

CHAPTER IV

OTHER PROSE GENRES

1. Philosophy

The relative poverty of philosophic thought in Spain has been noted before, and must now be noted again. When the obscure system of the German Friedrich Krause (1781–1832) was transplanted to Spanish soil, it produced mediocre fruit; its enthusiastic reception there about 1853–1856 was a most unexpected adventure. It may be asserted that Professor **Julián Sanz del Río** (1814–1869), who introduced and promoted this system, arrested Spanish thought for fifty years by distracting it with a philosophy which did not deserve such honor. Personally he was worthy of all respect for the nobility of his life, his lofty sentiments, unselfishness and austere eloquence, but as a thinker he suffered from excessive admiration for Schelling's disciple. His teaching had its merits, none the less; it shook his compatriots out of their intellectual apathy (since the universities were dispensing nothing worth while in the way of philosophic nourishment), and turned their minds toward neglected disciplines. Sanz del Río possessed also the gift of drawing to his classroom certain choice spirits who were then the honor of Spain, and might have become leaders in renewing national thought. "All the persons in this group," says "Azorín," "were distinguished by their sincere thirst for knowledge and learning (*de saber, de conocer*); to this eager desire to explore the realm of thought they joined a rectitude, probity and sincerity which may be considered the basic motive of this intellectual movement." [1] Many splendid souls, professors, scholars, even politicians, such as Salmerón, later President of the Republic, Fernando de Castro, Manuel Ruiz de Quevedo, Tomás Tapia, Francisco Giner de los Ríos, Alonso Eguílaz, Francisco de Paula Canalejas, Castelar and others, were Krausists more or less faithful to the doctrine; they were swept into the orbit of this nebulous master by the communicative enthusiasm of his discoverer. For years the university youth had no other pabulum than the indigestible *Analítica* or *C. Chr. F. Krause: Sistema de la Filosofía: Análisis* (1860), which it found hard to assimilate. We must admit that when this infatuation died away, only a void was left. There is nothing to note after that but a few excursions in the direction of Hegelianism or positivism, a few vague imitations of foreign systems, a few conscientious studies like those of Urbano González Serrano (1848–1904): nothing really original and new, nothing that counts in the world history of philosophy.

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[1] *Clásicos y modernos*, 1913, p. 134. On Krausism see Menéndez y Pelayo, *Heterodoxos*, III, 1881, Libro VIII, cap. iii; but his strictures are partial and too violent.

From the opposite camp these unorthodox ideas were combated by many, in addition to theologians and professional apologists. The successors of Balmes and Donoso Cortés, such men as J. Rubió y Ors, Gumersindo Laverde Ruiz, the historian of Spanish philosophy Fray Ceferino González,[1] Miguel Mir, Caminero, Ortí y Lara, the special adversary of Sanz del Río and Krausism, Menéndez y Pelayo himself, and others led the attack with greater or less success. No serious attempt to restore the study of philosophy was made till the most recent years of the contemporary period. Young adepts have appeared, usually trained abroad under modern methods. **José Ortega y Gasset** (p. 590; *El tema de nuestro tiempo,* 1923) stands foremost, though he is more to be regarded as an intellectual essayist than a systematic philosopher. Others are **Manuel G. Morente** (*La filosofía de Kant; La filosofía de Henri Bergson,* 1917), professor, like the foregoing and like **Bonilla y San Martín** (p. 587), at the University of Madrid; and **F. Rivera Pastor** (*Lógica de la libertad,* 1919). By their side may be set the educators, most of them followers of Giner de los Ríos and Manuel B. Cossío.

2. If Spain's philosophers are silent, or unable to project their voices beyond the frontier, her **orators** speak. They are copious and magnificently vocal. The most celebrated, **Emilio Castelar** (1832–1899),[2] of Cadiz, was in himself a marvelous epitome and personification of their eloquence. To judge him from the impression made by his printed speeches on a reader would be a betrayal of his genius. Cold type seems to preserve nothing but the recurring defects: absence of thought ill-concealed beneath incomparable wealth of verbiage; Oriental prodigality of metaphors poured forth through interminable pages; abuse of comparisons; extraordinary linking together of incidental propositions which prolong the sentence beyond the power of human breath; inextricable mingling of the most diverse matters in the same paragraph. To understand the orator's power and the admiration he evoked one would need to recover his gestures, his compelling voice, the uninterrupted flow of his speech and above all his magnetic presence; but these are forever lost. And properly to judge the man, we must remember his generous heart, his civic courage, his active sympathy for every noble cause (" With one speech," he said, " I have freed two hundred thousand negroes "), his incorruptible honesty, and the poverty of his last days; we must bear in mind that, dying poor, he was at one time the master of Spain, holding the title of President of the Republic (September, 1873 to January, 1874). What will remain of those fifteen volumes of speeches in which so much dead eloquence lies buried, and of the eighty volumes of improvisations dealing with history, sociology, politics, literature, works whose very titles are already forgotten? A name, that to Spaniards is synonymous with eloquence and liberty! That is something.

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[1] *Historia de la filosofía,* 4 vols., 1878–79. The subject was carried further by Alberto Gómez Izquierdo, *Hist. de la filosofía en el siglo XIX,* Zaragoza, 1903.

[2] See J. O. Picón, *Discurso leído en la R. Acad. Esp.,* June 24, 1900. A. Palacio Valdés, *D. E. C.,* in *Semblanzas literarias,* 1908, 99–118. "Azorín," *C.,* in *De Granada a Castelar,* 1922, 179–225. E. Gómez de Baquero, "Andrenio," *C.,* in *De Gallardo a Unamuno,* 1926, 207–220.

Many orators of lesser calibre adorned the Cortes, the *Ateneo*, reëstablished in 1835,[1] the *Liceo*, opened two years later, university chairs and church pulpits. Here it must suffice to unite in fraternal promiscuity the names of lifelong adversaries: Cánovas del Castillo, Moreno Nieto, Rafael María de Labra, Pí y Margall, Salmerón, Martos, Montero Ríos, Alejandro Pidal y Mon, Canalejas, the Nocedals, Moret, Azcárate, Gamazo and others more recent, who let no day pass without a battle of words.

Their struggles cannot be chronicled here. Nor can one do more than allude in passing to the numberless journalists who give the public each day its wonted food. Their vehicles were such reviews or great newspapers as, in the early period, the *Revista de Madrid* (1838–1845), the *Revista de España y del extranjero* (1842–1848), and the *Semanario pintoresco* (1836–1857); later, *La Época*, *El Heraldo*, *El Imparcial*, *El Liberal* and *El Sol*, or the lighter *Madrid*

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[1] Cf. A. Palacio Valdés, *Los oradores del Ateneo*, 1878 (reprinted in *Semblanzas literarias*, 1908). Rafael M. de Labra, *El Ateneo de Madrid: orígenes, desenvolvimiento y porvenir*, 1879.

Cómico, Blanco y Negro and *ABC*. These media were and are employed by serious Academician essayists as well as humorists like **Mariano de Cávia** (1855–1920), who put much science and common sense into his whimsicalities, or like **Luis Taboada** (1848–1906),[1] who had no other ambition than to get a laugh; in this last class are Sinesio Delgado, Luis de Tapia and scores of others. Journalists are the two foremost humorists of the day, **Wenceslao Fernández Flórez** and **Julio Camba** (b. 1884), both Galicians. The former is a master of indirection, and, if not altogether successful as a novelist (p. 568), can cast a net of irony about a politician more gently and fatally than anyone (*Acotaciones de un oyente*, 1916; *Las gafas del diablo*, 1918; *El espejo irónico*, 1921). Camba[2] travels the world with disarming innocence, but the resultant volumes (*Alemania*, 1916; *Londres*, 1916; *Un año en el otro mundo* [the United States], 1917; *La rana viajera*, 1920) sketch caricatures that are disconcertingly good likenesses; nor is his vision less impartial and acute when focussed upon Spain.

3. In the fields of **political science, sociology, history, research** and **literary criticism** one finds less brilliance but greater solidity, a condition more favorable to enduring work. We cannot enter into much detail here either. Epoch-making works, of the sort that acquire world-wide repute, are rare, but erudite research, regional and local histories, monographs, publications of documents, collections of inscriptions or art-works, studies of the Arabs, Jews, *aljamiados*, etc., become more and more frequent. Seminars, modernly equipped and directed, have been founded in certain university centers, Madrid, Oviedo, Saragossa, Barcelona, etc., and in short a brilliant revival of the critical sciences would be assured, were not the organization of secondary schools and universities, the basis of all research, so defective.

Among economists, jurists and sociologists some are of especial note. **Eugenio de Tapia** (1776–1860), with the *Historia de la civilización española* (4 vols., 1840); **Fermín Caballero** (1800–1876), with *Fomento de la población rural* (1863); **Manuel Colmeiro** (1814–1897), with the *Historia de la economía política en España* (2 vols., 1863), and *Curso de derecho político según la historia de León y*

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[1] *Cuentos alegres*, ed. M. A. Potter, Boston, 1907.
[2] *La rana viajera*, ed. F. de Onís, N. Y., 1928.

Castilla (1873); **Francisco de Cárdenas** (1816–1898), with his *Historia de la propiedad territorial en España* (2 vols., 1873), made excellent contributions. That admirable woman **Concepción Arenal** (1820–1893) [1] devoted her life to prison reform, and treated, in innumerable books and tracts, the gravest social problems (poverty, pauperism, neglected children, penal colonies, the death penalty and pardon, prison régime, etc.). " In such matters," said the American penologist Dr. E. C. Wines, "Concepción Arenal is an authority not only in her own country but in Europe." **Eduardo Pérez Pujol** (1830–1894) wrote an unfinished *Historia de las instituciones sociales de la España goda* (1896). **Francisco Pí y Margall** (1824–1901) was a figure of the first order in militant politics, but he belongs also to literary history by reason of his *Estudios sobre la Edad Media* (1873), *Historia general de América* (2 vols., 1888), a study of Mariana (1888), whom he edited for the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (vols. XXX and XXXI, 1854), and *Observaciones sobre el carácter de D. Juan Tenorio* (1884). He also wrote the volume on Granada for *Recuerdos y bellezas de España*, and part of that on Catalonia. **Gumersindo de Azcárate** (1840–1917), whose teaching at the University of Madrid was no less brilliant and fruitful than that of his colleague **Nicolás Salmerón** (1838–1908), published various estimable treatises on politics and social science, and paid particular attention to labor questions in his capacity as president of the *Instituto de reformas sociales*. **Eduardo de Hinojosa** (1852–1919) left solid and authoritative works of erudition, *Historia del derecho romano* (2 vols., 1880–85), *Estudios sobre la historia del derecho español* (1903), *El régimen señorial y la cuestión agraria en Cataluña durante la Edad Media* (1905), etc. At this point one may insert the name of the great biologist Dr. **Santiago Ramón y Cajal** (b. 1852), not because, like Echegaray and Benavente, he has been awarded a Nobel prize (1906), but because he brilliantly represents Spanish scientists, who, though not belonging in this book, form an important part of the " intellectuals "; his share in organizing and presiding over the *Junta para Ampliación de Estudios* brings him close to philological as well as other forms of scientific research. He touches literature in his *Recuerdos de mi vida* (2 vols., 1901–1917),[2] and all can read with profit the *Reglas y consejos sobre investigación biológica* (1897), a sort of *Discours de la Méthode*, comparable to certain writings of Claude Bernard and Pasteur.[1]

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[1] *Obras completas*, 23 vols., 1894–1913.

[2] Selections in *La infancia de Ramón y Cajal*, ed. Eliz. McGuire, N. Y., 1925.

Francisco Giner de los Ríos (1839–1915),[2] who does so great honor to the Spanish University, was a philosopher, moralist and eminent educator. His teachings, condensed into a few closely knit works, his personal example and familiar talks exerted a powerful influence upon the select group, unhappily too small, that gathered with him. He is one of the men to whom Spain of the future will owe most. He attempted to carry out his lofty conception of education by founding, with a few helpers, the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, which has brought forth so many distinguished men. After him, it was directed by his faithful disciple, heir to his doctrine, Professor **Manuel B. Cossío** (b. 1858), who is both educator (*La enseñanza primaria en España*, 2nd revised ed., 1915) and historian of art (*El Greco*, 1908; *Lo que se sabe de la vida del Greco*, 1914). **Joaquín Costa** (1844–1911), like the two foregoing, devoted all his thought and ambition to the regeneration of Spain. He did his best to point out remedies for the various ills that plagued the nation. His eager spirit was interested by turn in history, social organization, folk-lore and popular poetry. He succumbed to his labors before coming in sight of the promised land, but his influence survived him. His admirers, ever more numerous, piously cull his thought from his books (*Poesía popular española y mitología y literatura celto-hispanas*, 1881; *Derecho consuetudinario del Alto Aragón*, 1885; *Estudios ibéricos*, 1891–95; *Colectivismo agrario en España*, 1898; *Maestro, escuela y patria*, 1916; etc.). **Ángel Ganivet** (1865–1898),[3] although his intellectual activity was chiefly expended in literature (*Granada la bella*, 1896; *La conquista del reino de Maya por el último conquistador, Pío Cid*, 1897; *Los trabajos del*

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[1] In fact, such works as the *Evolución super-orgánica* of Enrique Lluria (1905) and the *Introducción al estudio de la psicología positiva* of Tomás Maestre (1905), both with prefaces by Ramón y Cajal, belong as much to philosophy as to biology.

[2] *Obras completas*, 1916– .—See J. B. Trend, *"Don Francisco" and the Free School*, in *A Picture of Modern Spain*, London, 1921. S. de Madariaga, *Note on Don F. G. de los R.*, in *The Genius of Spain*, Oxford, 1923, 64–70.

[3] See L. Rouanet, *A. G.*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, V, 1898, 483–495. F. Navarro Ledesma, Unamuno, "Azorín," and C. Román Salamero, *A. G.*, Valencia, 1905. A. Gallego y Burín, *G.*, Granada, 1921. M. Fernández Almagro, *Vida y obra de A. G.*, Valencia, 1925. "Andrenio," *A. G.*, in *De Gallardo a Unamuno*, 1926, 101–126. M. León Sánchez, *A. G., su vida y su obra*, México, 1927. H. Jeschke, *A. G., seine Persönlichkeit und Hauptwerke*, in *Rev. Hisp.*, LXXII, 1928, 102–246.

infatigable creador Pío Cid, 1898; *Hombres del Norte*, 1905; etc.), deserves to be classed among important thinkers on account of his powerful and original ideas, which are to be found in his novels, in the *Cartas finlandesas* (1898), written from Riga, where he was consul at the time of his death, in *El porvenir de España* (with Unamuno, 1912), and especially in *Idearium español* (1897), one of the most penetrating and suggestive books ever written on Spanish genius and character. Ganivet, suffering from violent neurasthenia, drowned himself in the Dwina. **Miguel de Unamuno** (b. 1864),[1] whatever his merits as poet and novelist (pp. 523 and 568), may be reckoned an eclectic literary philosopher by virtue of what are probably his most enduring works, *Tres ensayos* (1900; being *¡Adentro! La ideocracia* and *La fe*); *En torno al casticismo* (1902; five essays, *La tradición eterna, La casta histórica: Castilla, El espíritu castellano, De mística y humanismo*, and *Sobre el marasmo actual de España*), a most original attempt at historico-philosophic synthesis; *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho* (1905; 2nd enlarged ed., 1914); *Del sentimiento trágico de la vida en los hombres y en los pueblos* (1913); and *L'Agonie du Christianisme* (first published in French, tr. Jean Cassou, 1925). The Basque Unamuno, long Rector of the University of Salamanca, exiled for a moment to Fuerteventura, and later a voluntary exile in France, is a controversial figure at home and abroad. He has been called mystic, Nietzschean, "Roman Catholic anarchist"; the difficulty of his classification arises from the fact that he does not avoid paradox and at times appears to contradict himself. Much discussed and translated today, it may be hard for the next generation to say just what he represented. He attacks more than he builds. Doubt causes him mental agony, from which he has not emerged into any firm philosophy of belief or unbelief. At all events he is a warm patriot and a severe critic of present conditions, particularly in Spain; and he has, at his best, contributed ideas eagerly caught up by reformers and ardent youth. The brilliant professor of Spanish at Oxford, **Salvador de Madariaga** (b. 1886), who writes with equal ease in Castilian, English and French, has made important contributions to the mutual understanding of these and other European nations; his dazzling literary generalizations do not always carry conviction (*Shelley and Calderón, and Other Essays on English and Spanish Poetry*, London, 1920, translated with changes as *Ensayos anglo-españoles*, 1922; *The Genius of Spain and Other Essays on Spanish Contemporary Literature*, 1923, translated as *Semblanzas literarias contemporáneas*, 1924; *Guía del lector del Quijote*, 1926; *Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards*, 1928).

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[1] *Ensayos*, 7 vols., 1916–1918.—See A. González-Blanco, *Los contemporáneos*, 1ª serie, I, Paris, 1907, 74–145. Julián Sorel, *Los hombres del 98; U.*, 1917. M. Legendre, *La religión de M. de U.*, in *La Revista Quincenal*, V, 1918, 19–36. Q. Saldaña, *Mentalidades españolas*, 1919. S. de Madariaga, *M. de U.*, in *The Genius of Spain*, Oxford, 1923, 87–110. J. M. Salaverría, *U.*, in *Retratos*, 1926, 111–170. M. Romera-Navarro, *M. de U.*, n. d. [1928].

4. Among **historians, Vicente de la Fuente** (1817–1889) was the author of *Historia eclesiástica de España* (1863, 2nd enlarged ed., 6 vols., 1873–75); *Historia de las sociedades secretas antiguas y modernas en España* (3 vols., 1870); *Historia de las universidades . . . en España* (4 vols., 1884); and other serious works. **José María Quadrado** (1819–1896), a native of the Balearic Isles, studied the history of social classes there in *Forenses y ciudadanos* (1847), and aided notably in the illustrated collection *Recuerdos y bellezas de España*, undertaken by the painter F. J. Parcerisa. He was also poet, dramatist, critic and archaeologist. The statesman **Antonio Cánovas del Castillo** (1828–1897) wrote extensively on historical and literary themes (*Estudios literarios*, 2 vols., 1868; the *Prólogo general* to the first volume of *Autores dramáticos contemporáneos*, 1885; *"El Solitario" y su tiempo*, 2 vols., 1883; *Problemas contemporáneos*, 3 vols., 1884–90; *Historia de la decadencia de España . . .* , 2 vols., 1910); early in his career he essayed the historical novel, not unsuccessfully, in *La campana de Huesca* (1852). Other historians were **José Gómez de Arteche** (1821–1906), with *Historia de la Guerra de la Independencia* (14 vols., 1868–1903); **José Villaamil y Castro** (1838–1910), who wrote numerous works on the history and archaeology of Galicia; **Manuel Danvila** (1830–1906), author of *La Germanía de Valencia* (1884), and *Historia crítica de las Comunidades de Castilla* (6 vols., 1897–1900); and **Francisco Fernández Bethencourt** (1850–1916), an expert genealogist. **Cesáreo Fernández Duro** (1830–1908) wrote extensively on the province of Zamora (*Romancero de Zamora*, 1880; *Memorias históricas de la ciudad de Zamora*, 4 vols., 1882–83) as well as the important *La armada española desde la unión de los reinos de Castilla y Aragón* (9 vols., 1895–1903); and various monographs on historical personages. The solid and extensive production of **Antonio Rodríguez Villa** (1843–1912) includes studies on various interesting chapters of national history (*Curiosidades de la historia de España*, 3 vols., 1885–90; *La corte y monarquía de España . . . en los años de 1636 y 1637*, 1886), and numerous biographies (*Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Conde de la Corzana*, 1873; *La reina doña Juana la Loca*, 1874; *El teniente general Pablo Morillo*, 4 vols., 1908–10; etc.). **Rafael de Ureña y Smenjaud** (b. 1852) has devoted himself particularly to history of law (*Historia de la literatura jurídica española*, 2 vols., 1906; etc.). **Rafael Altamira y Crevea** (b. 1866) [1] is known for many works on history, law, education, and even broader subjects (*Psicología del pueblo español*, 1902; 2nd enlarged ed., 1917), but particularly for what has long been the standard history of Spain, *Historia de España y de la civilización española* (4 vols., 1900–11; 3rd revised ed., 1913–14), and a compendium of it in one volume, *Historia de la civilización española* (Manuales Soler, no. 29, Barcelona, n. d. [1900]). Other works are *Historia de la propiedad comunal* (1890), *La enseñanza de la historia* (1891; 2nd revised ed., 1895), and *Derecho consuetudinario y economía popular de la provincia de Alicante* (1905). The *Historia de España y su influencia en la historia universal* (1919– , 5 vols. to date) of **Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta** (b. 1880), like Altamira, a professor of the University of Madrid, is a tremendous undertaking, characterized by scholarly spirit and very full, if undiscriminating, bibliography.

Each province, each town, has some worker engaged in enriching and completing its local history: so **Arturo Campión** in Navarre, **Carmelo de Echegaray** in the Basque Provinces, **Anselmo Salvá** at Burgos, **Roque Chabás, J. E. Serrano y Morales, Francisco Martí Grajales** at Valencia, **Narciso Alonso Cortés** at Valladolid, and many more no less deserving.

5. In Spain, **orientalists** cannot fail to occupy an important rank. They are, in fact, numerous during this period. **Pascual de Gayangos** (1809–1897) spread his activities, sometimes too hurriedly, over all medieval literature. A shrewd collector, he was one of the editors for the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (*La Gran Conquista*

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[1] See *Notas sobre la vida y obras de R. A. y C.*, in *Hispania* (Calif.), XI, 1928, 400–406.

de Ultramar, Libros de caballerías, Escritores en prosa anteriores al siglo XV), compiled the *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Spanish Language in the British Museum* (4 vols., 1875–93), translated into English al-Makkarî's *History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain* (2 vols., 1840–43) and published a *Memoria sobre la autenticidad de la crónica denominada del Moro Rasis* (1850). **Eduardo Saavedra** (1829–1912) studied *aljamiado* texts, of which he compiled a general catalogue (1878). **Francisco Fernández y González** (1833–1917), who wrestled also with problems of aesthetics, translated Ibn-Adhârî's history of Andalusia (1860), and wrote *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla* (1866), *Instituciones jurídicas del pueblo de Israel en los diferentes estados de la Península* (1881), and *La influencia de las lenguas y letras orientales en la cultura de los pueblos de la Península ibérica* (1894). **Amador de los Ríos** (p. 496) may find a place here also with the *Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España y Portugal* (3 vols., 1875–76). **Francisco Codera y Zaidín** (1836–1917) was the most notable Arabic scholar of his generation in Spain (*Tratado de numismática arábigo-española*, 1879; *Biblioteca arábigo-hispana*, 10 vols., 1882–95; *Decadencia y desaparición de los Almoravides en España*, 1899). **Leopoldo Eguílaz y Yanguas** (1829–1906) followed Dozy and Engelmann in the *Glosario etimológico de las palabras españolas de origen oriental* (1886); another work is *Reseña histórica de la conquista del reino de Granada por los Reyes Católicos según los cronistas árabes* (2nd ed., 1894). **Francisco Javier Simonet** (1829–1897) held a professorship of Arabic in Granada (*Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes*, 1888; *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, 1897–1903). **Julián Ribera Tarragó** (b. 1858) has issued many editions and monographs bearing upon the Spanish Arabs; he believes Arabic influence on Spanish literature greater than has usually been supposed (*El cancionero de Abencuzmán*, 1912; *Poesía épica romanceada en Andalucía en los siglos IX y X*, 1915; *La música de las Cantigas*, 2 vols., 1922–23; *La música de la jota aragonesa*, 1928). He formed first at Saragossa, and later at Madrid, a research group in which **Miguel Asín Palacios** (b. 1871), himself professor at Madrid, holds a brilliant place by reason of his studies on the Almohades, Avempace, Ibn 'Arabî Ghazâlî, and *La escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, (1919; cf. his reply to critics, same title, 1924). Primarily an

Arabist, too (*Historia de la España musulmana*, 1925), is **Ángel González Palencia** (b. 1889), co-author with Juan Hurtado of the *Historia de la literatura española* (1921; 2nd revised ed., 1925), so useful for reference.

Epigraphy has had many experts, but none have surpassed Padre **Fidel Fita y Colomé** (1838–1918), the rival and continuer of Emil Hübner; he has published many monographs on the inscriptions of the Peninsula and the history of the Jews. **José Ramón Mélida** (b. 1856) is one of the best of contemporary archaeologists. **Manuel Gómez Moreno** (b. 1870) devotes himself to medieval architecture as well as archaeology (*Iglesias mozárabes*, 1919; *Catálogo monumental de España*, 1926– ; *La novela de España*, 1928). **Elías Tormo y Monzó** (b. 1869) is an authoritative and productive historian of art (*Datos documentales inéditos para la historia del arte español*, 3 vols., 1914–16; etc.)

6. History of literature, literary criticism and **philology** will here be grouped together, and the rapid enumeration will of course be far from complete. In the second half of the nineteenth century, two names may be regarded as summing up erudite literary criticism in Spain: Milá y Fontanals and Menéndez y Pelayo. They, at least, begin and end this period with most authority. The others will be grouped about them.

Manuel Milá y Fontanals (1818–1884),[1] a Catalan and professor at the University of Barcelona, put a new spirit into the study of Spanish literary history, by his teaching and books. *De los trovadores en España* (1861) and *De la poesía heroico-popular castellana* (1874) are works of the first order. After them in importance come *Observaciones sobre la poesía popular* (1853), *Romancerillo catalán* (1853; 2nd enlarged ed., 1882) and *Principios de literatura general* (1874). Milá stands for exact scholarship and rigorous logic, but he possessed also poetic appreciation and a creative power of forming hypotheses. He developed and maintained the theory that the early ballads are fragments of the medieval epics, pointing the way for the studies of Menéndez Pidal. His complete works were edited by his most famous pupil, Menéndez y Pelayo. Other Catalans are **José Coll y Vehí** (1823–1876) (*La sátira provenzal*, 1861; *Diálogos literarios*, 1868); **Joaquín Rubió y Ors** (1818–1899), a poet and scholar (*Ausias March y su época*, 1883; etc.); his son, professor at the University of Barcelona, **Antonio Rubió y Lluch** (b. 1856), author of useful and learned studies in both Castilian and Catalan literature;[1] the critic **José Yxart** (p. 540); and **Pompeyo Gener** (1848–1919), a disciple of Littré, whose positivist philosophy (*La mort et le diable, histoire et philosophie des deux négations suprêmes*, 1880) and opinions on Castilian and Catalan literature (*Herejías*, 1887) aroused many protests. No such adventure befell the Aragonese **Jerónimo Borao** (1821–1878) for his useful *Diccionario de voces aragonesas* (1859; 2nd enlarged ed., 1908), or the mediocre Venezuelan poet **Rafael María Baralt** (1810–1860) for his equally convenient *Diccionario de galicismos* (1855).

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[1] *Obras completas*, ed. Menéndez y Pelayo, 8 vols., Barcelona, 1888–1896.—See J. Rubió y Ors, *Noticia de la vida y escritos de D. M. M. y F.*, Barcelona, 1887. M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *El doctor don M. M. y F.*, in *Estudios de crítica lit.*, 5ª serie, 1908, 3–81. J. Roig y Roqué, *Bibliografía den M. M. i F.*, Barcelona, 1913. M. Artigas, *Catálogo de los papeles manuscritos e impresos que fueron de Milá . . .*, in *Rev. crítica hispano-americana*, IV, 1918; and *Bol. Bibl. Menéndez y Pelayo*, I, 1919.

In Castile, literary history and criticism produced a great many works, among which we may note the following: *Historia crítica de la literatura española* (7 vols., 1861–65) of **José Amador de los Ríos** (p. 496); the *Estudios críticos sobre literatura, política y costumbres de nuestros días* (2 vols., 1864), *Disertaciones y juicios literarios* (1878) and *Cartas americanas* (2 vols., 1889–90) of **Juan Valera** (p. 544), whose scattered articles have been brought together in the 46 volumes of his *Obras completas;* the many essays and prefaces of **Manuel Cañete** (1822–1891), *Sobre el drama religioso español* (1862), *Teatro español del siglo XVI* (1885), *Farsas y églogas de Lucas Fernández* (edition, 1867); the *Principios generales de literatura* (1872) of **Manuel de la Revilla** (1846–1881), and the many articles (*El tipo legendario de D. Juan Tenorio, El naturalismo en el arte, El concepto de lo cómico*, etc.) collected in his *Obras* (1883); the *Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo español* (1860) of **Cayetano Alberto de la Barrera y Leirado** (1815–1872),[2] an indispensable tool, wrought with the greatest patience, containing information concerning 1,040 dramatic authors and the titles of some 4,300 *comedias*, 500 *autos sacramentales* and 4,200 *entremeses*, etc.: to him is due also the *Nueva biografía de Lope de*

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[1] The third generation of this remarkable family of scholars is well represented by the Director of the library of the *Institut d'Estudis catalàns*, Jorge Rubió y Balaguer (b. 1887), author of historical and bibliographical works.

[2] See A. Morel-Fatio, *C. A. de la B.*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XIX, 1917, 116–122.

Vega (1890; vol. I of Lope's *Obras*, ed. of the Spanish Academy); the *Estudios de literatura y de crítica* (1862) and *Curso histórico-crítico de literatura española* (1871) of **José Fernández-Espino** (d. 1875). The edition of Quevedo (vols. XXIII and XLVIII of the *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*, 1852–59) by **Aureliano Fernández-Guerra y Orbe** (1816–1891) was a good piece of scholarship; the volume by his brother **Luis** (1818–1890) on *D. Juan Ruiz de Alarcón y Mendoza* (1871) gives too much place to conjecture. The *Historia crítica de la poesía castellana en el siglo XVIII* (3 vols., 1893; a reprint of the *Bosquejo histórico-crítico* prefaced to the three vols. of *Poetas líricos del siglo XVIII*, 1869–75, in the *Bibl. Aut. Esp.*) by **Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto,** Marqués de **Valmar** (1815–1901) presents rather confusedly many interesting details concerning the writers of that time. *La literatura española en el siglo XIX* (3 vols., 1891–94) by P. **Francisco Blanco García** (1864–1903) is in a way the complement of the preceding work. Written in a partisan spirit unfavorable to writers suspected of heterodoxy, it is nevertheless a work which has not yet been superseded.

Passing mention should be made of the devotees of Cervantes, a likable group, but too venturesome at times: Francisco Tubino, Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea, José María Asensio y Toledo, Mariano Pardo de Figueroa ("El doctor Thebussem"), León Máinez, Luis Vidart, Julián de Apraiz, and many more, who have piously burned incense to their Idol. Modern Cervantists, Rodríguez Marín, Bonilla, etc., will be met later.

7. None will question the fact that the great master of criticism and literary history during the contemporary period was **Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo** (1856–1912),[1] born at Santander, professor at the University of Madrid (1878) and Director of the Biblioteca Nacional (1898). There is, perhaps, no portion of the history of Spanish letters and civilization that he has not illuminated with a critique as intelligent as well informed. After studying with Milá y Fontanals at the University of Barcelona (1871–73) and obtaining the doctor's degree at Madrid (1875), he struck out for himself with an encyclopedic work (1876) intended to combat the charge of obscurantism so often leveled against Spain; this youthful work was perfected and rounded to three volumes by the author in his maturity as *La ciencia española* (3rd ed., 1887–88). *Horacio en España* (1877; 2 vols., 1885) is to all appearance only a modest monograph, but, as is frequently the case with this author, it yields much more than it promises. The same is true of the *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (3 vols., 1880–81); of *Calderón y su teatro* (1881), which, consisting as it does of lectures, is forced to a certain relative concision; and of the *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España* (5 vols., 1883–91; 2nd enlarged ed., 9 vols., 1890–1907), a major work, but one which so outgrew its original plan (rather nebulous, to be sure), that it remained unfinished, and whole volumes have no connection with the subject announced. One may name the *Estudios de crítica literaria* (5 series, 1884–1908); the admirable prefaces to the first thirteen volumes of the *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos* (1890–1908), prefaces of which one alone (on the *Romances viejos*) forms two volumes; those to the first thirteen volumes of the Academy edition of Lope's *Obras* (1890–1902); the first three volumes of *Orígenes de la novela* (1905–1910) in the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles;* the *Antología de poetas hispano-americanos* (4 vols., 1893–95); and still convey only a faint notion of his fertile and untiring activity, which poured forth a multitude of other articles and prefaces scattered in all sorts of publications.

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[1] *Obras completas*, 1911– .—See A. Bonilla y San Martín, *La filosofía de M. y P.*, 1912. Id., *La representación de M. y P. en la vida histórica nacional*, 1912. Id., *M. M. y P. (1856–1912)*, 1914, with bibliography; reprinted as preface to vol. IV of *Orígenes de la novela*, 1915. A. González-Blanco, *M. M. y P., su vida y su obra*, 1912. A. Antón del Olmet and A. García Carraffa, *M. y P.*, 1912. Miguel Artigas, *M. y P.*, 1927.

But it is less the quantity of Menéndez y Pelayo's productions than their intrinsic value which merits praise. His criticism, minute and full of facts as it is, is never a dead criticism; it lives, and brings to life everything it touches. Sympathy for the works discussed explains these miracles, which erudition alone could never perform. We may bear in mind that in his case, as in that of Sainte-Beuve and others, the critic began by being a poet, which is a precious guarantee of competence to understand the works of others; his *Estudios poéticos* of 1878 grew to the *Odas, epístolas y tragedias* of 1883 (2nd enlarged ed., 1906). It is certain that in the fields of religion, philosophy and politics his mind was closed to new ideas; not all readers will follow him in his judgments, and some may be irritated by assertions which appear to them unjustified and unacceptable. But the uncompromising bellicosity of the early writings gave way gradually to a broader and more tolerant point of view, without any loss of firmness and penetration. Taken as a whole, his works constitute unquestionably the richest and most suggestive exposition of Spain's literary development that we possess. Whoever touches this field, Spaniard or foreigner, owes something to Menéndez y Pelayo. It would be well if all his fragmentary studies could be joined in one corpus and provided with links; we might then have the history of Spanish literature which Amador de los Ríos prematurely undertook and left unfinished; for no one after him has found strength to take up or bring to a conclusion such a task, at least not with equal mastery and on so large a scale.

8. As Menéndez y Pelayo stood at the head of literary criticism, so the greatest representative of Spanish philology for his time was a Colombian, **Rufino José Cuervo** (1844–1911). His *Apuntaciones críticas sobre el lenguaje bogotano*(1867–72; 6th ed., 1914) is a classic of syntactical study, and useful not for Bogotá alone. The admirable *Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana* (2 vols., 1886–93) he left unfinished after the letter D, discouraged upon finding that the texts from which he worked were unreliable. His *Notas* to Bello's grammar have already been alluded to (p. 497). In the train of these two masters, and often by reason of the encouragement or collaboration of Menéndez y Pelayo, a school of the latter's friends and disciples has renewed critical studies in Spain.

As a trainer of scholars, in fact, the place of the revered Don Marcelino has been taken by his pupil **Ramón Menéndez Pidal** (b. 1869),[1] who stands today as the foremost living Hispanic scholar. Beginning with a reconstruction of medieval life and texts, *La leyenda de los Infantes de Lara* (1896), which at once attracted attention outside of Spain, he has gone on steadily in this path, combining the linguistic and bibliographical with every cultural interest that can illuminate the Middle Ages. In the *Crónicas generales de España* (1898; 3rd enlarged ed., 1918), the text of *La Primera Crónica general de España* (1906), the *Manual de gramática histórica española* (1904; 5th revised ed., 1925), the *Documentos lingüísticos de España* (1919) and the *Orígenes del*

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[1] See *Bibliografía de D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal*, in *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, III, 1925, 655–674.

español (1926), philology prevails; it is blended with the history of art and society in the masterly edition of the *Cantar de Mio Cid, texto, gramática y vocabulario* (3 vols., 1908–11); while he reveals himself a literary critic as well as researcher in *L'Épopée castillane à travers la littérature espagnole* (1910; a French translation by Henri Mérimée from unpublished manuscript), *Estudios literarios* (1920), *El rey don Rodrigo en la literatura* (1924), and *Poesía juglaresca y juglares* (1924). *La España del Cid* (2 vols., 1929) is a sound and lucid historical reconstruction. This enumeration has not included the important section of his labor devoted to study of ballads and other popular medieval poetry, in articles, prefaces and lectures, [1] which have stimulated folk-lore studies the world over. Menéndez Pidal's original labors have completely renovated medieval literary history at several points, epic, *romancero*, historiography, dialectology. His method combines laborious accuracy of fact with extreme subtlety of thought. President of the Spanish Academy since 1925, Menéndez Pidal founded the *Revista de Filología Española* in 1914, and, as director of the *Centro de estudios históricos*, has trained a body of sound Hispanists. The foremost among them are the grammarian **Vicente García de Diego** (b. 1878); the phonetician **Tomás Navarro Tomás** (b. 1884; *Manual de pronunciación española*, 1918, 3rd revised ed., 1926); **Américo Castro** (b. 1885), biographer of Lope (*Vida de Lope de Vega*, 1919, with H. A. Rennert), who, in *El pensamiento de Cervantes* (1925), contrived to glean really fresh grain from a much trampled field; **Federico de Onís** (b. 1885), editor of Luis de León and professor in Columbia University; **Pedro Henríquez Ureña** (b. 1884) with studies on Alarcón, etc., and *La versificación irregular en la poesía castellana* (1920); **Antonio G. Solalinde** (b. 1892), whose life work is Alfonso X's *Grande e general historia;* **J. Gómez Ocerin, Alfonso Reyes, Erasmo Buceta, José F. Montesinos, S. Gili Gaya, Amado Alonso, Dámaso Alonso,** etc.

Outside this group are many independent scholars. **Antonio Paz y Melia** (1842–1927), a skilled and industrious worker in archives, unearthed and edited many texts and documents with accuracy and illuminating comment. **Emilio Cotarelo y Mori** (b. 1857) has continued the work of La Barrera by contributing innumerable new facts to the history of Spanish drama and acting (*Tirso de Molina*, 1893; *Don Ramón de la Cruz y sus obras*, 1899; *Isidoro Máiquez y el teatro de su tiempo*, 1902; *Orígenes y establecimiento de la opera en España . . .* , 1917; *Ensayo sobre la vida y obras de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, 1924), besides other important monographs (*El Conde de Villamediana*, 1886; *Iriarte y su época*, 1897). His editions of texts (*Comedias de Tirso de Molina*, 1906–07; *Obras de Lope de Rueda*, 1908; *Obras de Lope de Vega, nueva ed.*, 1916–) suffer from haste. **Francisco Rodríguez Marín** (b. 1855 at Osuna)[1] early compiled an excellent collection of *Cantos populares españoles* (5 vols., 1882–83), recently balanced by his *Más de 21,000 refranes castellanos* . . . (1926), which serves to complement the *Refranero general español* (10 vols., 1874–78) of **José María Sbarbi** (1834–1910). Director of the Biblioteca Nacional in succession to Menéndez y Pelayo, Rodríguez Marín has enriched literary history with definitive monographs such as *El Loaysa de "El celoso extremeño"* (1901), *Luis Barahona de Soto* (1903), *Pedro Espinosa* (1907). His *Rinconete y Cortadillo* (1905; 2nd enlarged ed., 1920), is a model critical edition, of a sort which comes from Spain too rarely. A leading Cervantist, his *edición crítica* of the *Quijote* (revised ed., 7 vols., 1927–28) contains the fullest annotation of any; the eight volumes in the *Clásicos castellanos* (1911–13) are for more popular use. **Clemente Cortejón** (1842–1911) is known chiefly for his careful edition of the *Quijote* (6 vols., 1905–13). Another Cervantist is the Mexican **Francisco A. de Icaza** (1863–1925), who was also diplomat and poet. The Sevillan **Joaquín Hazañas y la Rúa** (b. 1862) has thrown light into many dark corners (*Noticia de las Academias literarias, artísticas y cientifícas de Sevilla*, 1888; *La imprenta en Sevilla*, 1892; *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, 2 vols., 1895; *Los rufianes de Cervantes*, 1906; etc.). **Narciso Alonso Cortés** (b. 1875),[2] a native of Valladolid, and chiefly concerned with the doings of men in that city, has published excellent studies, often cited in the course of this work, on Martínez Villergas, Hernando de Acuña, Zorrilla, *Cervantes en Valladolid*

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[1] *Notas para el romancero de Fernán González* (in *Homenaje a Menéndez Pelayo*, I, 1899, 429–507), *Los romances tradicionales en América* (in *Cultura española*, I, 1906, 72–111), *Poesía popular y romancero* (in *Revista de Filol. Esp.*, I, II and III. 1914–1916), *Poesía popular y poesía tradicional en la literatura española* (Oxford, 1922), etc.

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[1] See F. Martín Caballero, *F. R. M.*, in *Vidas ajenas*, 1914, 17–40.

[2] *Miscelánea vallisoletana*, 4 series, 1912–1926.—See *Bibliography of N. A. C.*, in *Hispania* (Calif.), XI, 1928, 305–306.

(1918), etc.; he is himself a poet, and collects popular poetry (*Romances populares de Castilla*, 1906; *Romances tradicionales*, in *Rev. Hisp.* L, 1920). **Doña Blanca de los Ríos de Lampérez** (b. 1862) has studied the classic drama, especially Tirso de Molina (*Del siglo de oro*, 1910; *El enigma biográfico de Tirso de Molina*, 1928). **Cristóbal Pérez Pastor** (1842–1908) was a tireless and fortunate delver in archives and notarial documents; from them he dug out many a new item about Cervantes (*Documentos cervantinos*, 2 vols., 1897–1902), Lope de Vega (*Datos para la vida de Lope de Vega*, in *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, I, 1899; *Proceso de Lope de Vega por libelos . . .* , 1901, with A. Tomillo) and Calderón (*Documentos para la biografía de D. Pedro Calderón de la Barca*, 1905), etc. **Manuel Serrano y Sanz** (b. 1866) has published, among many books, the learned and useful *Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritoras españolas desde el año 1401 al 1833* (2 vols., 1903–05); he edited, in the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, the volume of *Autobiografías y memorias* (1905) and the two of *Historiadores de Indias* (1909). **Rafael Salillas** (1854–1923) combined linguistics and criminology; his two volumes entitled *El delincuente español* serve to elucidate the picaresque romances: *El lenguaje* (1896), and *Hampa* (*antropología picaresca*) (1898). **Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín** (1875–1926),[1] was professor of the History of Philosophy at the University of Madrid, lawyer, historian, poet and even novelist; for this last pastime he assumed the mask of *El bachiller Alonso de San Martín* (*La hostería de Cantillana*, 1902; with J. Puyol y Alonso). His *Luis Vives y la filosofía del renacimiento* (1903) is a thorough and richly documented study of the great Valencian humanist. In collaboration with his master Menéndez y Pelayo he published researches on *Fernando de Córdoba (¿1425–1486?) y los orígenes del renacimiento filosófico en España* (1911). His *Historia de la filosofía española* (2 vols., 1908–11) was unhappily never completed, and so does not extend beyond the 12th century. He edited a collection of manuscript Latin letters of Spanish humanists (*Rev. Hisp.*, VIII, 1901), the *Libros de caballerías* (2 vols., 1907–08) for the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, and the fourth volume of *Orígenes de la novela* (1915). *Anales de la literatura española* (*Años 1900–1904*) (1904) is a valuable collection of annotated texts. He collaborated with Professor R. Schevill of the University of California in editing Cervantes's *Obras completas* (1914–). This genial polygraph scattered critical and erudite articles in the learned journals, particularly in the *Revue Hispanique.* Bonilla's close friend **Julio Puyol y Alonso** (b. 1865) made a study, already cited, of the *Cantar de gesta de Don Sancho II de Castilla* (1911), and edited *La pícara Justina* (3 vols., 1912); his work on *La crónica particular del Cid* (1911) and his contribution to the history of feudalism entitled *El abadengo de Sahagún* (1915) should also be cited.

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[1] See Julio Puyol, *A. B. y S. M., su vida y sus obras*, 1927.

Julio Cejador y Frauca (1864–1927), an Aragonese, distinguished himself by his voluminous production as philologist, historian of literature and editor of classic texts. His important *Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana* (14 vols., 1915–22) is an indispensable tool, though theory and fact must be subjected to scrutiny; the contemporary section constitutes a major effort of bibliography. His twelve volumes on *El lenguaje* (1902–1911), and *La lengua de Cervantes; gramática y diccionario de la lengua castellana en El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha* (2 vols., 1905–06) are works no Hispanist can be without. His editions, among them those of the *Arcipreste de Hita,* the *Celestina,* and the *Lazarillo de Tormes,* all in the *Clásicos castellanos,* furnish stimulating suggestions, even if one cannot always accept the conclusions of this scholar, whose method did not equal his industry. **Miguel Artigas** (b. 1877) has charge of the library which Menéndez y Pelayo willed to the city of Santander, and edits the valuable *Boletín* emanating from that source; he has published numerous scholarly studies (*Luis de Góngora y Argote,* 1925; *Menéndez y Pelayo,* 1927).

9. Beside these works, which have a scientific and erudite character, stands the informative **literary criticism** whose mission it is to post the public from day to day concerning books, ideas and writers. This branch is prolific in Spain, and one can name only those critics whose writing, if not of permanent value, rises above the common level by reason of style, creative interpretation or firm aesthetic criterion. In his day "**Clarín**" (p. 556) led in this field. **González Serrano** (p. 571) applied philosophy to current books (*La literatura del día (1900–1903),* 1903). **Manuel Bueno** (b. 1874) possesses a concise, solid phrase, and judges with the impartiality of a realist (*Teatro español contemporáneo,* 1909); he is also a story-writer and novelist of distinction (*Corazón adentro*, 1903; *El dolor de vivir*, 1924). **José María Salaverría** (b. 1873),[1] of Basque lineage, sincere and positive of opinion, has written travel impressions (*Vieja España, impresión de Castilla*, 1907), novels and critical essays (*La afirmación española*, 1917; *Retratos*, 1926; *Instantes*, 1927). **Eduardo Gómez de Baquero** (1866–1929), better known as **"Andrenio,"** wrote for the press judicious and cultured criticism, gathered later into volumes (*Novelas y novelistas*, 1918; *El renacimiento de la novela española en el siglo XIX*, 1924; *De Gallardo a Unamuno*, 1926; *Nacionalismo e hispanismo*, 1928). **Andrés González-Blanco** (1886–1924), digressive and hasty, displayed nevertheless an eager intellectual curiosity that led him to alluring corners (*Los contemporáneos*, 4 vols., 1907–10; *Los dramaturgos españoles contemporáneos*, 1918; *Historia de la novela en España desde el Romanticismo a nuestros días*, 1909; etc.); he too was poet and novelist. **Julio Casares** (b. 1877) represents a more cold-blooded scrutiny of language and methods; grammarian and maker of dictionaries, he has trained the microscope of his not insensitive mind upon various aesthetes (*Crítica profana*, 1916; *Crítica efímera*, 2 vols., 1918–19). **Luis Araquistáin** (b. 1886) is, when permitted, a militant political publicist; but whether in satirical novel (*Las columnas de Hércules*, 1921), political treatise (*La agonía antillana*, 1928) or literary essay (*El arca de Noé*, 1926), he shows himself an incisive thinker and a virile writer. The Sevillan **Rafael Cansinos Asséns** (b. 1885), though an admirer of the modernists, preserves a relatively independent point of view (*La nueva literatura*, 2 vols., 1917; 2 vols., 1927; etc.). The scintillating Catalan psychologist **Eugenio d'Ors** (b. 1882), who writes as " Xenius " (a local familiar form of his first name), is a widely read journalist as well as a serious scholar; writing at first mostly in Catalan (*Glosari*, 1906–17, Castilian translation of selections by A. Maseras, *Páginas de glosari*, 1920), he has continued in Castilian his paradoxical essays (*El molino de viento*, 1925; *Cinco minutos de silencio*, 1925).

The name must not be forgotten of **Francisco Navarro y Ledesma** (1869–1905),[2] a sensitive man of letters who died prematurely, just after the publication of *El ingenioso hidalgo Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, sucesos de su vida* (1905). With this book may be grouped the original philosophic commentary of Unamuno, *Vida de Don Quijote y Sancho* (1905; p. 576), Madariaga's *Guía del lector del Quijote* (1926; p. 576), the *Gloses al Quijote* of the Catalan professor **Gabriel Alomar** (b. 1873) (Castilian translation, *Notas marginales al Quijote*), Castro's *Pensamiento de Cervantes* (p. 585), and *Don Quijote, Don Juan y la Celestina* (1926), by the forceful publicist **Ramiro de Maeztu** (b. 1875), in order to exemplify the revival of interest by modern criticism in a theme on which it seemed the last word had been said. More space must be granted to the eloquent professor of metaphysics and penetrating moralist, **José Ortega y Gasset** (b. 1883; cf. p. 571), author of the profound *Meditaciones del Quijote* (1914). Ortega, trained in German philosophy and gifted with marvelous power of expression, is doubtless the leading cultural force in the Spain of 1930. By founding the important literary review, *Revista de Occidente* (1923–), by his subtle literary disquisitions, by couching in choicely modulated phrases his judgments upon the degeneracy of Spain (*España invertebrada*, 1922) and the sorriness of tradition, he placed himself quickly at the head of a large section of thinkers. His essays appear in the series he calls *El Espectador* (1916–1927; 6 vols. to date), and in other volumes, *Personas, obras, cosas . . .* (1916), *Espíritu de la letra* (1927), *Notas* (1928), etc. *La deshumanización del arte, e Ideas sobre la novela* (1925), contains a brilliant analysis of the "modernist" movement in literature and the arts.

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[1] See A. González-Blanco, in *Los contemporáneos*, 3ª serie, 1910, 45–86.

[2] See A. González-Blanco, *F. N. L.*, in *Los contemporáneos*, 1ª serie, I, Paris, 1907. 222–270.

10. Ortega y Gasset sticks closely to the prose essay, but, as may have been noticed, most Spanish literary critics are to be found also in other ranks, for example, among the poets or novelists. This is true of some of the best, Ramón Pérez de Ayala (p. 562), Díez-Canedo (p. 523), and Ramón María Tenreiro (p. 567), who wrote for *La Lectura*. Such is notably the case with two writers who will close this chapter. Unlike as they are in turn of mind and intellectual orientation, they represent excellently, it seems to me, two directions in recent criticism. They are Emilio Bobadilla and José Martínez Ruiz, better known by their respective pen-names of "Fray Candil" and "Azorín."

The work of the Cuban **Emilio Bobadilla** (1868–1921) includes novels, simple, clear and vibrant in style, but sometimes too realistic

(*Novelas en germen*, 1900; *En la noche dormida*, 1913; *En pos de la paz*, 1917; etc.); travel impressions, for as a consul he became perforce a cosmopolitan (*La ciudad sin vértebras*, impressions of London; *Viajando por España*, 1912; *Bulevar arriba, bulevar abajo*, 1912, Parisian notes; etc.) and verse (*Relámpagos*, 1884; *Vórtice*, 1902; *Rojeces de Marte*, 1921). But his favorite idiom was criticism, or better perhaps, literary satire. His satire is passionate, virulent, unjust at times, but it is always frank and courageous. It made him many enemies, which troubled him not at all, as appears from González Serrano's preface to *Solfeo*. The titles of his collections are significant: *Escaramuzas* (1888), *Capirotazos* (1890), *Triquitraques* (1892), *Solfeo* (1894), *Grafómanos de América* (1902), *Al través de mis nervios* (1903), *Sintiéndome vivir* (1906). He had at least two qualities of a good judge: independence of any clique and rich culture to furnish points of comparison. In the skirmishes brought on by his recklessness he often hit the mark and demolished an idol. " Azorín " was able to say of him that " modern literary culture in Spain owes to Bobadilla many of the ideas which are current among the younger generation. His critical labor is comparable to that of Leopoldo Alas." [1]

José Martínez Ruiz (b. 1876?),[2] born in Monóvar (Alicante), borrowed his pseudonym **"Azorín"** from the hero of several of his early works. These show him at the very beginning as a subtle moralist and an original thinker (*La voluntad*, 1902; *Antonio Azorín*, 1903; *Las confesiones de un pequeño filósofo*, 1904). In *El político, arte de conducirse en el mundo* (1908) he competes with one of his favorite authors, Baltasar Gracián, in mental jugglery. His great aim is to penetrate the meaning of the vanished past as well as life of the present; if not by methodical analysis, then by sympathetic divination. No one so well as he can instil into the reader the spirit of the "ancient things of Spain" made more tragic by the memory of lost glories. Who can forget the vision that emerges from *El alma castellana, 1600–1800* (1900); *Los pueblos, ensayos sobre la vida provinciana* (1905); *España: hombres y paisajes* (1909); *Castilla* (1912); *Una hora de España, entre 1560 y 1590* (1924)? It is a vision of a traditional Spain, of the lethargic villages and austere landscapes of Castile, of her monarchs and her saints. "Azorín" excels in evoking that deep, moving, nostalgic sadness which, in the phrase of Ortega y Gasset, "beneath the present ever sees and feels the continuing past."

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[1] *Los valores literarios*, 1913, p. 66.

[2] *Obras completas*, 1919– . *Las confesiones de un pequeño filósofo*, ed. L. Imbert and F. de Onís, N. Y., 1923 (selections from the work of like name, *Los pueblos* and *Antonio Azorín*, with preface and bibliography).—See A. González-Blanco, *J. M. R.*, in *Los contemporáneos*, 1ª serie, I, Paris, 1907, 1–73. Julio Casares, "*A.*" (*J. M. R.*), in *Crítica profana*, 1916, 133–242. R. Cansinos Asséns, *M. R.* (*A.*), in *La nueva literatura*, I, 1917, 87–107. J. Ortega y Gasset, "*A.*:" *Primores de lo vulgar*, in *El Espectador*, II, 1917, 67–154. S. de Madariaga, *A.*, *Gabriel Miró*, in *The Genius of Spain*, Oxford, 1923, 148–164. W. Mulertt, *A.*, Halle, 1926.

The literary critic in him came to light almost as soon as the moralist, for he has read widely in the classics and knows how to interpret them. He guides the reader step by step along *La ruta de Don Quijote* (1905),[1] and, as he goes, places before him with admirable skill the plan and background of the masterpiece. But he has read his classics in a completely independent spirit, bowing to no preconceived opinion. At his own risk and peril he has preached a "revision of literary values," in a series of brief studies, *Lecturas españolas* (1912), *Clásicos y modernos* (1913), *Los valores literarios* (1913), *Al margen de los clásicos* (1915), *El licenciado Vidriera* (1915), *Rivas y Larra* (1916), *Los Quinteros y otras páginas* (1925), not to mention innumerable scattered pages; each contributes some original note, some personal impression, seldom a dogmatic conclusion. To such eminently impressionistic criticism one has a right to oppose his own impressions; but "Azorín's" power of suggestion makes of him one of the guides and masters of recent literature.

As critic and interpreter of the national consciousness he will live. His novels (*La voluntad*, etc.; *Don Juan*, 1922; *Doña Inés*, 1925) expose a native impotence of narration, and lapse too often into sentimentalism scarcely disguised by an intellectual veil. The early fiction possesses at least the merit of recording with a fidelity greater, perhaps, than the author intended, a moment of abulia in the history of the Spanish nation. It is interesting to observe that "Azorín," least dramatic of writers, as one had thought, has in late years turned with persistence toward the stage (p. 535).

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[1] Compare the similar book by Augusto F. Jaccaci, *On the Trail of Don Quixote*, N. Y., 1896, translated into Spanish by Ramón Jaén as *El camino de Don Quijote* (1915).

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

These enumerations, though hasty, dry and probably incomplete, convey, if I am not mistaken, a favorable impression of the activity of contemporary scholars and men of letters. There is no lack of talent and production, nor even of the method and patience which are a requisite condition for this field, if not a guarantee of success in it. Despite many obstacles, Spain of the twentieth century seems in a fair way to regain her place in a domain where she had allowed herself to be outstripped by her Latin sisters, not to speak of other nations.

The same impression will persist, I believe, if one considers her literary production as a whole during the period known as contemporary. Poetry, drama, novel, oratory, are represented by names which may well stand beside those which honor " European literature " of today. Why is it then that the latter writers have become, so to speak, citizens of the world, while Spaniards, in my opinion as worthy of being known, remain in obscurity? We may accuse our own ignorance and lack of curiosity, if you like, or the weak though natural propensity to judge worth by strength, and merit by reputation; we follow too indolently, perhaps, the old adage: *ignotum, ergo ignobile.* But this explanation does not suffice; the fact has other causes.

It is not quite exact, though there is some truth in the assertion,[1] to say that the exportation into foreign countries of works produced by Spanish genius has been hindered by the extreme particularism of that genius and by the sort of originality that is too pleased with itself. On the contrary, is it not true that Spain's most characteristic and original creations—the *comedia*, the picaresque novel, mystic literature, the *romancero*—are those which have most influenced other literatures and have been most admired, even at the period when "antipathy between French character and Spanish character" was much in evidence, namely in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? And besides, what is it that a Frenchman admires, as for some time he has, in Russian, Scandinavian or English works, if not the originality and novelty he sees in them, or thinks he sees? We do not wish always to find ourselves in others; we enjoy also what takes us out of ourselves, what gives us different sensations, a novel conception of life and nature. Too often, as has been noted in several periods, a French conception may be found in certain Spanish writers over-prompt to copy foreign ways.

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[1] " This great and curious Spanish literature . . . is original, profoundly original, in some respects perhaps the most original of modern European literatures; but by a law of compensation, as a penalty for an originality due as much to haughty isolation from the rest of the world as to its essential nature, this literature is so individual that it suits no land but Spain." F. Brunetière, *Études critiques*, III, 1890, p. 89.

With these reservations, it is very true (so much of M. Brunetière's assertion can be retained) that Spanish literature, considered in its long historical development, presents a markedly national character. This character persists through the centuries, despite all borrowings, from epic and chronicle to *romancero* and *comedia*. For this reason Bouterwek and Friedrich Schlegel had a real basis for assigning the first rank among all literatures to that of Spain, "from the standpoint of national value." Just what are the traits by which this "nationalism" reveals itself? It is not easy to specify them with exactness, for the same reason that it was hard to define Spanish genius, doubtless because that genius is in reality a composite, a resultant of peculiarities confined to each of the nation's various elements, to each of the regions which taken together form the nation. These peculiarities have often manifested themselves in regional schools which provide a literature or art more nearly faithful to the particular types of each province. A second difficulty arises from the fact that the mentality of a people, and consequently its intellectual production, cannot remain always constant. Both change, under the influence of fresh events and new ideas, to such an extent that they seem to contradict themselves at times. It is doubtless because they felt sure these changes and modifications took place that several critics (Friedrich Schlegel, Milá y Fontanals, Agustín Durán and others) have agreed in recognizing two distinct and contrasting periods in the history of Spanish literature, that before and that after the sixteenth century. How could Spanish thought fail to be affected, and to some extent modified, by such events as the Renaissance or, later, the French Revolution? Religious faith and loyalty to a knightly ideal or to the monarchy, two generally recognized moral characteristics of Spain's mentality (which caused her greatness, according to some, or, according to others, her disaster),[1] are surely more easily discovered in the older literature than in that of today.

Are there, however, beneath this apparent and natural mutability, certain fundamental, essential characteristics, peculiar to the *race*, if this word itself has any precise meaning? D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal answers in the affirmative, and has tried to back his claim in a scholarly and ingenious study on " some of the primordial characteristics of Spanish literature." [2] What are, in his opinion, the characteristics whose permanence makes them common to both periods? First, a certain *moral austerity*, recognized already by Milá; a *realism*, which is shown, among other ways, by " elimination of the superhuman " (and is this not, after all, the basic intent of the most Spanish of all books, the *Quijote?*); lastly, " *interpenetration of the artist's genius and that of the people*," and hence a *popular spirit* which manifests itself in preference for the simplest, least complex, most impersonal forms (ametric verse, assonance, *romance* and other popular meters, continual use of the same themes, persistence of types, etc.) Hence too the frequent anonymity, and the astonishing carelessness in the transmission of writings.

These conclusions, firmly supported by facts, are for the most part acceptable. It is only proper to note, however, that the characteristics named are most apparent in the medieval period; for when they are found in later centuries, it is in weakened form; they become less recognizable as exceptions increase in number and the free play of more personal inspiration tends to break away from traditional norms. In certain periods passion, or imagination, or stilted elegance became dominant, running counter to "moral austerity" and popular simplicity.[3] For my part, I shall repeat here what I said at the very beginning: what appears to be characteristic of the Spanish genius in every period and in every intellectual domain, is individualism, and, in all uncensored fields, love of independence, evident in every branch of intellectual activity. It was beyond question an inspiration free of all restraint, scornful of rules, anti-classic, stubborn against imitation, that produced the national masterpieces, from the *Celestina* to *Don Quijote*, from the *Libro de buen amor* to the comedies of Lope and the dramas of Calderón. Isolated by nature and its own desire, the nation succeeded, doubtless, better than most others in preserving its distinctive virtues; but it was compelled to feed on its own substance. Spain has created as much as any other nation, perhaps more, and her creations bear her clear imprint. Unfortunately inventive power cannot last forever. Exhaustion comes, and then thought can only drag along in the old ruts. These are the periods of lassitude and sterility.

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[1] The latter, of course, is the basic thesis of the historian H. T. Buckle, whose *History of Civilization in England* was in part translated by J. J. Morato, under the title *Bosquejo de una historia del intelecto español* (Valencia, 1908).

[2] *Algunos caracteres primordiales de la literatura española*, in *Bull. Hisp.*, XX, 1918, 205–232. Cf. Arturo Farinelli, *Consideraciones sobre los caracteres fundamentales de la lit. esp.*, in *Archivum romanicum*, VII, 1923, 249–274. Cf. also the works cited in note 1, p. 7.

[3] Menéndez Pidal rightly points out, in his conclusions, that the imposition of the same permanent literary characteristics upon all the regions of the Peninsula cannot fail to be somewhat artificial, and that such a reduction to unity must admit exceptions. What we consider today eminently Spanish was originally native to the genius of Castile alone, and sometimes in direct opposition to that of the rest of Spain.

We must not exaggerate, however, nor overlook Spain's debt to other countries. We have seen that her literary genius was awakened at the call of France; it is true that at that time the ideal of a universal Catholic Christianity united all the civilized nations under one dogma, one religious and political conception. Later it was Italy, then France again, who pointed out new paths to Spain. She followed them distrustfully, as if she felt herself on unfamiliar ground. The material obtained at those times by copying was either not completely assimilated, so that the superficial imitation never penetrated the popular strata of the nation, or it was disgorged later as a foreign element repugnant to her inner nature and national taste.[1]

It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that in Spain literature, in its great creations, has seemed like a perpetual improvisation. "With us," says the best informed of all Spanish critics, "power has always manifested itself in productivity; instead of concentrating upon one master work, it scatters itself in numberless minor efforts. Every Spaniard is a natural improviser, whether his field be science, art or even politics."[2] And Ángel Ganivet, after repeating in a jocular vein almost the same idea as Menéndez y Pelayo, remarks that the fate of such improvisation depends usually on the merest chance: "Every time a genuine Spaniard takes up his pen, brush, or any other implement of artistic production, you may be sure, with no danger of mistake, that that man stands an equal chance of creating a masterpiece or some ridiculous monstrosity, *algún estupendo mamarracho.*" [1] Why is that? It is because neither imagination, that mistress of error, nor passing inspiration, nor exquisite sensitiveness, nor the loftiest passion, nor yet an irrepressible flow of expression, can long in themselves suffice, though they may in a lucky moment beget within the artist's brain or soul a dream of beauty. When the exaltation drops, when the inspiration fades, the artist is left without guidance, support or strength; the author of *Don Quijote* wrote also the *Persiles.* There have been, perchance, many highly gifted spirits who, in order to recover and fix their elusive inspiration, lacked but the discipline of philosophic thought, the patient study of psychological and moral verity, or such commonplace and mediocre virtues as method and logic. Others have acquired these qualities by an effort of will which is naturally repugnant to an improviser.

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[1] On Spanish repugnance or inaptitude for imitation, see Ganivet, *Idearium español*, 1905, 82 ff.

[2] Menéndez y Pelayo, *Ramón Lull*, in *La ciencia española*, III, 1888, 21–22. Curiously, Mr. Havelock Ellis (*The Soul of Spain*) picks Ramón Lull, a Majorcan, as his perfect type of Spaniard.

Spanish critics have themselves shrewdly noted this serious weakness, and pointed out its cause. "Azorín," for example, wrote: "The failure to observe reality which is found in fiction and the drama is closely connected with the problem, formerly much discussed, of Spanish science. There has never been among us a vigorous, continued, scrupulous philosophical and scientific thought, a spirit of love of life for its own sake; and the reasons for it are the same as those which explain our lack of a drama and novel rooted in reality. . . . Excepting Cervantes and a few others, what writers have given us a loving, deep and dispassionate vision of reality?" [2]

In short, this literature, brilliant, delicate, ingenious as it is, admirably luxuriant and harmonious, is somewhat deficient in philosophy and possibly in depth. This quality alone was given it with sparing hand, and its lack is felt almost everywhere. So there is some truth in the remark of another writer, Spanish also: "Northern literature derives its beauties from the deep and intimate sorrows of the human heart, while that of the South considers life a magnificent feast, and aims to divert the imagination and captivate the senses by painting all that is marvelous, pleasant and enchanting." [1] This judgment is too absolute, of course, and requires to be tempered; it considers only one side of the facts. But, though summary, it indicates very well the charm of this curious, picturesque Spanish literature, and likewise the qualities that one regrets sometimes not to find there. After all, it is no cause for wonder that, when all the fairies were laying gifts upon Spain's cradle, one of them remained away.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

[2] *Los valores literarios*, 1913, 236–237. The author refers, for an earlier discussion of this point, to articles by Manuel de la Revilla and José del Perojo in the *Revista Contemporánea*, Aug. 15, 1876 and April 15, 1877.

Whatever reservations must be made, we may safely close this brief survey by applying to Spanish literature words written of the nation by a distinguished historian: "During many centuries Spain did much for human civilization, and even now, in her present state of decadence, she offers intellectual elements and qualities of character which it would be folly to despise." [2]

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[1] Fermín Gonzalo Morón, *Ensayo histórico-filosófico sobre el antiguo teatro español,* 1843.

[2] R. Altamira, *Psicología del pueblo español,* 1917, p. 136.

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